

# The nanosyntax of Ukrainian deadjectival verbs

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# Outline

Introduction

A unique Ukrainian data pattern

The inchoative is built on the comparative

Ingredients for the analysis

Analysis

Conclusion

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# Introduction

Adjective	translation
vesel-yj	cheerful

# Introduction

Adjective      translation

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vesel-yj      cheerful

Inchoative      translation

---

vesel-ity      to become cheerful

# Introduction

Adjective      translation

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vesel-yj      cheerful

Inchoative      translation

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vesel-ity      to become cheerful

Causative      translation

---

vesel-yty      to make cheerful

# Introduction

Adjective	translation
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vesel-yj	cheerful
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vesel-išč-yj	more cheerful
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Inchoative	translation
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vesel-ity	to become (more) cheerful
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vesel-išč-aty	to become (more) cheerful
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Causative	translation
-----------	-------------

vesel-yty	to make X cheerful
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# Aims of this talk

- ▶ To show a unique data pattern in the formation of inchoative verbs in Ukrainian.
- ▶ To prove that the inchoative is built on the comparative.
- ▶ To explain the distribution of comparative, inchoative, and causative morphemes.



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## Markers of inchoatives and causatives

	Inchoative	translation	Causative	translation
a.	zelen- <b>i</b> -ty	to turn green		

## Markers of inchoatives and causatives

	Inchoative	translation	Causative	translation
a.	zelen- <b>i</b> -ty	to turn green	zelen- <b>y</b> -ty	to make X green

## Markers of inchoatives and causatives

	Inchoative	translation	Causative	translation
a.	zelen- <b>i</b> -ty	to turn green	zelen- <b>y</b> -ty	to make X green
b.	bil- <b>i</b> -ty	to turn white		

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	Inchoative	translation	Causative	translation
a.	zelen- <b>i</b> -ty	to turn green	zelen- <b>y</b> -ty	to make X green
b.	bil- <b>i</b> -ty	to turn white	bil- <b>y</b> -ty	to make X white

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	Inchoative	translation	Causative	translation
a.	zelen- <b>i</b> -ty	to turn green	zelen- <b>y</b> -ty	to make X green
b.	bil- <b>i</b> -ty	to turn white	bil- <b>y</b> -ty	to make X white
c.	bidn- <b>i</b> -ty	to become poor		

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a.	zelen- <b>i</b> -ty	to turn green	zelen- <b>y</b> -ty	to make X green
b.	bil- <b>i</b> -ty	to turn white	bil- <b>y</b> -ty	to make X white
c.	bidn- <b>i</b> -ty	to become poor	(z-)bidn- <b>y</b> -ty	to make X poor

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	Inchoative	translation	Causative	translation
a.	zelen- <b>i</b> -ty	to turn green	zelen- <b>y</b> -ty	to make X green
b.	bil- <b>i</b> -ty	to turn white	bil- <b>y</b> -ty	to make X white
c.	bidn- <b>i</b> -ty	to become poor	(z-)bidn- <b>y</b> -ty	to make X poor

“-ity expresses intransitivity, while -yty expresses the corresponding transitive notion” (Pugh & Press 1999: 268).



## Markers of inchoatives and causatives

- (1) Stina bil-i-la.  
Wall.NOM white-INCH-PAST  
“The wall was turning white.”
- (2) Oksana bil-y-la stinu.  
Oksana white-CAUS-PAST wall.ACC  
“Oksana was whitening the wall.”

## Markers of inchoatives and causatives

- (3) Stina po-bil-i-la.  
Wall.NOM PERF.-white-INCH-PAST  
“The wall turned white.”
- (4) Oksana po-bil-y-la stinu.  
Oksana PERF.-white-CAUS-PAST wall.ACC  
“Oksana whitened the wall.”

-> Inchoatives and causatives have different morphological markers.

- > Inchoatives and causatives have different morphological markers.
- > Inchoatives and causatives belong to different conjugation classes.  
(Greščuk 1995).

## Inchoatives and causatives: positive and comparative

Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
vesel-yj	vesel-iš-yj	(more) cheerful

## Inchoatives and causatives: positive and comparative

Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
vesel-yj	vesel-iš-yj	(more) cheerful

vesel-ity (Inch)

Inch POS	Inch CMPR	translation
vesel-i-ty	vesel-iš-a-ty	to become (more) cheerful

## Inchoatives and causatives: positive and comparative

Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
vesel-yj	vesel-iš-yj	(more) cheerful

### vesel-ity (Inch)

Inch POS	Inch CMPR	translation
vesel-i-ty	vesel-iš-a-ty	to become (more) cheerful

### vesel-yty (Caus)

POS Caus	CMPR Caus	translation
vesel-y-ty	-	to make cheerful

## Inchoatives and causatives: positive and comparative

Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
vesel-yj	vesel-iš-yj	(more) cheerful

vesel-ity (Inch)

Inch POS	Inch CMPR	translation
vesel-i-ty	vesel-iš-a-ty	to become (more) cheerful

vesel-yty (Caus)

POS Caus	CMPR Caus	translation
vesel-y-ty	-	to make cheerful

-> Inchoatives can be build on the positive and the comparative adjectives, while causatives only on the positive.



## Inchoatives: positive and comparative

(5) Olesj buv sumnyj, ale raptom po-vesel-i-v.

Olesj was sad but suddenly PERF.-cheerful-**INCH**-PAST

“Olesj was sad but suddenly became (more) cheerful.”

## Inchoatives: positive and comparative

- (5) Olesj buv sumnyj, ale raptom po-vesel-**i**-v.  
Olesj was sad but suddenly PERF.-cheerful-**INCH**-PAST  
“Olesj was sad but suddenly became (more) cheerful.”
- (6) Olesj buv sumnyj, ale raptom po-vesel-**iš-a**-v.  
Olesj was sad but suddenly PERF.-cheerful-**CMPR-INCH**-PAST  
“Olesj was sad but suddenly became (more) cheerful.”

## Inchoatives: positive and comparative

- (5) Olesj buv sumnyj, ale raptom po-vesel-i-v.  
Olesj was sad but suddenly PERF.-cheerful-**INCH**-PAST  
“Olesj was sad but suddenly became (more) cheerful.”
- (6) Olesj buv sumnyj, ale raptom po-vesel-iš-a-v.  
Olesj was sad but suddenly PERF.-cheerful-**CMPR-**INCH****-PAST  
“Olesj was sad but suddenly became (more) cheerful.”
- (7) Olesj buv veselyj, i raptom šče  
Olesj was cheerful and suddenly more  
po-vesel-iš-a-v.  
PERF.-cheerful-**CMPR-**INCH****-PAST  
“Olesj was cheerful and suddenly became more cheerful.”

## Inchoatives: positive and comparative

- (8) Za ostannij rik Mykola troxy po-tup-i-v.  
In last year Mykola a.bit PERF-stupid-**INCH**-PAST  
'Over the past year, Mykola has become a bit (more) dumb'

## Inchoatives: positive and comparative

- (8) Za ostannij rik Mykola troxy po-tup-i-v.  
In last year Mykola a.bit PERF-stupid-INCH-PAST  
'Over the past year, Mykola has become a bit (more) dumb'
- (9) Za ostannij rik Mykola troxy po-tup-iš-a-v.  
In last year Mykola a.bit PERF-stupid-CMPR-INCH-PAST  
'Over the past year, Mykola has become a bit (more) dumb'

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In last year Mykola a.bit PERF-stupid-INCH-PAST  
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- (9) Za ostannij rik Mykola troxy po-tup-iš-a-v.  
In last year Mykola a.bit PERF-stupid-CMPR-INCH-PAST  
'Over the past year, Mykola has become a bit (more) dumb'
- (10) Mykola zovsim po-tup-i-v.  
Mykola at.all PERF.-stupid-INCH-PAST  
'Mykola got really dumb'

-> “Deadjectival verbs with a suffix *-a* are based on the comparative form of an adjective, [...] they have inchoative meaning. Within the Slavic family, such verbs exist only in Ukrainian”  
(Greščuk 1995: 101-102)

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The unique Ukrainian pattern allows us to examine the morphological makeup of the inchoative.

## Adjectives: positive and comparative

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	mudr-yj	mudr-iš-yj	wise

## Adjectives: positive and comparative

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	mudr-yj	mudr-iš-yj	wise
b.	nov-yj	nov-iš-yj	new

## Adjectives: positive and comparative

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	mudr-yj	mudr-iš-yj	wise
b.	nov-yj	nov-iš-yj	new
c.	dešev-yj	dešev-š-yj	cheap

## Adjectives: positive and comparative

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	mudr-yj	mudr-iš-yj	wise
b.	nov-yj	nov-iš-yj	new
c.	dešev-yj	dešev-š-yj	cheap
d.	doroh-yj	dorož-č-yj	expensive

## Adjectives: positive and comparative

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	mudr-yj	mudr-iš-yj	wise
b.	nov-yj	nov-iš-yj	new
c.	dešev-yj	dešev-š-yj	cheap
d.	doroh-yj	dorož-č-yj	expensive

There are two comparative allomorphs in Ukrainian: *-iš* and *-š*, where *-č* is a phonological alternant of *-š* (Vyshnevskya 2022a).

## Inchoatives: positive and comparative

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inch POS	Inch CMPR	translation
a.	mudr-yj	mudr-iš-yj	mudr-i-ty	mudr-iš-a-ty	wise

## Inchoatives: positive and comparative

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inch POS	Inch CMPR	translation
a.	mudr-yj	mudr-iš-yj	mudr-i-ty	mudr-iš-a-ty	wise
b.	nov-yj	nov-iš-yj	nov-i-ty	nov-iš-a-ty	new



## Inchoatives: positive and comparative

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inch POS	Inch CMPR	translation
a.	mudr-yj	mudr-iš-yj	mudr-i-ty	mudr-iš-a-ty	wise
b.	nov-yj	nov-iš-yj	nov-i-ty	nov-iš-a-ty	new
c.	dešev-yj	dešev-š-yj	dešev-i-ty	dešev-š-a-ty	cheap

## Inchoatives: positive and comparative

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inch POS	Inch CMPR	translation
a.	mudr-yj	mudr-iš-yj	mudr-i-ty	mudr-iš-a-ty	wise
b.	nov-yj	nov-iš-yj	nov-i-ty	nov-iš-a-ty	new
c.	dešev-yj	dešev-š-yj	dešev-i-ty	dešev-š-a-ty	cheap
d.	doroh-yj	dorož-č-yj	dorož-i-ty	dorož-č-a-ty	expensive

## -k augments: positive

	Adj POS	translation
a.	korot-k-yj	short

## -k augments: positive

	Adj POS	translation
a.	korot- <b>k</b> -yj	short
b.	tiaž- <b>k</b> -yj	heavy

## -k augments: positive

	Adj POS	translation
a.	korot-k-yj	short
b.	tiaž-k-yj	heavy
c.	švyd-k-yj	fast

## -k augments: positive

	Adj POS	translation
a.	korot- <b>k</b> -yj	short
b.	tiaž- <b>k</b> -yj	heavy
c.	švyd- <b>k</b> -yj	fast
d.	rid- <b>k</b> -yj	liquid

## -k augments: positive and comparative

This *-k* can disappear in the comparative.

## -k augments: positive and comparative

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	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	korot-k-yj	korot-š-yj	short



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This -k can disappear in the comparative.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	korot- <b>k</b> -yj	korot- <b>š</b> -yj	short
b.	tiaž- <b>k</b> -yj	tiaž- <b>č</b> -yj	heavy

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	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	korot-k-yj	korot-š-yj	short
b.	tiaž-k-yj	tiaž-č-yj	heavy
c.	švyd-k-yj	švyd-š-yj	fast

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	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	korot-k-yj	korot-š-yj	short
b.	tiaž-k-yj	tiaž-č-yj	heavy
c.	švyd-k-yj	švyd-š-yj	fast
d.	rid-k-yj	rid-k-iš-yj rid-š-yj	liquid

(while it can also be kept)

## -k augments: inchoatives

We see these patterns repeated in the inchoative.

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	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	translation
a.	korot-k-yj	korot-š-yj	korot-š-a-ty korot-i-ty	short

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	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	translation
a.	korot-k-yj	korot-š-yj	korot-š-a-ty korot-i-ty	short
b.	tiaž-k-yj	tiaž-č-yj	tiaž-č-a-ty tiaž-i-ty	heavy

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a.	korot-k-yj	korot-š-yj	korot-š-a-ty korot-i-ty	short
b.	tiaž-k-yj	tiaž-č-yj	tiaž-č-a-ty tiaž-i-ty	heavy
c.	švyd-k-yj	švyd-š-yj	švyd-š-a-ty -	fast

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	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	translation
a.	korot-k-yj	korot-š-yj	korot-š-a-ty korot-i-ty	short
b.	tiaž-k-yj	tiaž-č-yj	tiaž-č-a-ty tiaž-i-ty	heavy
c.	švyd-k-yj	švyd-š-yj	švyd-š-a-ty -	fast
d.	rid-k-yj	rid-k-iš-yj rid-š-yj	- rid-š-a-ty rid-i-ty	liquid



## -k augments: causatives

But they are rarely repeated in the causative.

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	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	translation
a.	korot-k-yj	korot-š-yj	- v-korot-y-ty	short

## -k augments: causatives

But they are rarely repeated in the causative.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	translation
a.	korot-k-yj	korot-š-yj	- v-korot-y-ty	short
b.	tiaž-k-yj	tiaž-č-yj	- ob-tiaž-y-ty	heavy

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But they are rarely repeated in the causative.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	translation
a.	korot-k-yj	korot-š-yj	- v-korot-y-ty	short
b.	tiaž-k-yj	tiaž-č-yj	- ob-tiaž-y-ty	heavy
c.	švyd-k-yj	švyd-š-yj	pry-švyd-š-y-ty -	fast

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But they are rarely repeated in the causative.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	translation
a.	korot-k-yj	korot-š-yj	- v-korot-y-ty	short
b.	tiaž-k-yj	tiaž-č-yj	- ob-tiaž-y-ty	heavy
c.	švyd-k-yj	švyd-š-yj	pry-švyd-š-y-ty -	fast
d.	rid-k-yj	rid-k-iš-yj rid-š-yj	- roz-rid-y-ty	liquid

## -k augments

-> inchoatives are built either on the positive or on the comparative form of adjectives

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- > inchoatives are built either on the positive or on the comparative form of adjectives
- > causatives are mostly built on the positive form of adjectives

## -k augments

- > inchoatives are built either on the positive or on the comparative form of adjectives
- > causatives are mostly built on the positive form of adjectives
- > -k augment is never kept in deadjectival verbs



## -ok augments: positive

	Adj POS	translation
a.	hlyb-ok-yj	deep

## -ok augments: positive

	Adj POS	translation
a.	hlyb-ok-yj	deep
b.	šyr-ok-yj	wide

## -ok augments: positive

	Adj POS	translation
a.	hlyb-ok-yj	deep
b.	šyr-ok-yj	wide
c.	vys-ok-yj	tall

## -ok augments: positive

	Adj POS	translation
a.	hlyb-ok-yj	deep
b.	šyr-ok-yj	wide
c.	vys-ok-yj	tall
d.	dal-ek-yj	far

## -ok augments: comparative

This *-ok* always disappears in the comparative.

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	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	hlyb- <b>ok</b> -yj	hlyb- <b>š</b> -yj	deep

## -ok augments: comparative

This *-ok* always disappears in the comparative.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	hlyb- <b>ok</b> -yj	hlyb- <b>š</b> -yj	deep
b.	šyr- <b>ok</b> -yj	šyr- <b>š</b> -yj	wide

## -ok augments: comparative

This *-ok* always disappears in the comparative.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	hlyb- <b>ok</b> -yj	hlyb- <b>š</b> -yj	deep
b.	šyr- <b>ok</b> -yj	šyr- <b>š</b> -yj	wide
c.	vys- <b>ok</b> -yj	vyš- <b>č</b> -yj	tall



## -ok augments: comparative

This *-ok* always disappears in the comparative.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	hlyb- <b>ok</b> -yj	hlyb- <b>š</b> -yj	deep
b.	šyr- <b>ok</b> -yj	šyr- <b>š</b> -yj	wide
c.	vys- <b>ok</b> -yj	vyš- <b>č</b> -yj	tall
d.	dal- <b>ek</b> -yj	dalj- <b>š</b> -yj	far

## -ok augments: inchoatives

In the inchoative, we see the pattern repeated.

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	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	translation
a.	hlyb-ok-yj	hlyb-š-yj	hlyb-š-a-ty	deep

## -ok augments: inchoatives

In the inchoative, we see the pattern repeated.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	translation
a.	hlyb-ok-yj	hlyb-š-yj	hlyb-š-a-ty	deep
b.	šyr-ok-yj	šyr-š-yj	šyr-š-a-ty	wide

## -ok augments: inchoatives

In the inchoative, we see the pattern repeated.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	translation
a.	hlyb-ok-yj	hlyb-š-yj	hlyb-š-a-ty	deep
b.	šyr-ok-yj	šyr-š-yj	šyr-š-a-ty	wide
c.	vys-ok-yj	vyš-č-yj	vys-č-a-ty	tall

## -ok augments: inchoatives

In the inchoative, we see the pattern repeated.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	translation
a.	hlyb- <b>ok</b> -yj	hlyb- <b>š</b> -yj	hlyb- <b>š-a</b> -ty	deep
b.	šyr- <b>ok</b> -yj	šyr- <b>š</b> -yj	šyr- <b>š-a</b> -ty	wide
c.	vys- <b>ok</b> -yj	vyš- <b>č</b> -yj	vys- <b>č-a</b> -ty	tall
d.	dal- <b>ek</b> -yj	dalj- <b>š</b> -yj	dalj- <b>š-a</b> -ty	far

## -ok augments: inchoatives

In the inchoative, we see the pattern repeated.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	translation
a.	hlyb- <b>ok</b> -yj	hlyb- <b>š</b> -yj	hlyb- <b>š-a</b> -ty	deep
b.	šyr- <b>ok</b> -yj	šyr- <b>š</b> -yj	šyr- <b>š-a</b> -ty	wide
c.	vys- <b>ok</b> -yj	vyš- <b>č</b> -yj	vys- <b>č-a</b> -ty	tall
d.	dal- <b>ek</b> -yj	dalj- <b>š</b> -yj	dalj- <b>š-a</b> -ty	far

The comparative suffix is always present.

## -ok augments: causatives

Which is rarely the case for the causative.



## -ok augments: causatives

Which is rarely the case for the causative.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	translation
a.	hlyb-ok-yj	hlyb-š-yj	- po-hlyb-y-ty	deep

## -ok augments: causatives

Which is rarely the case for the causative.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	translation
a.	hlyb-ok-yj	hlyb-š-yj	- po-hlyb-y-ty	deep
b.	šyr-ok-yj	šyr-š-yj	- roz-šyr-y-ty	wide

## -ok augments: causatives

Which is rarely the case for the causative.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	translation
a.	hlyb- <b>ok</b> -yj	hlyb- <b>š</b> -yj	- po-hlyb- <b>y</b> -ty	deep
b.	šyr- <b>ok</b> -yj	šyr- <b>š</b> -yj	- roz-šyr- <b>y</b> -ty	wide
c.	dal- <b>ek</b> -yj	dalj- <b>š</b> -yj	- vid-dal- <b>y</b> -ty	far

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Which is rarely the case for the causative.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	translation
a.	hlyb- <b>ok</b> -yj	hlyb- <b>š</b> -yj	- po-hlyb- <b>y</b> -ty	deep
b.	šyr- <b>ok</b> -yj	šyr- <b>š</b> -yj	- roz-šyr- <b>y</b> -ty	wide
c.	dal- <b>ek</b> -yj	dalj- <b>š</b> -yj	- vid-dal- <b>y</b> -ty	far
d.	vys- <b>ok</b> -yj	vyš- <b>č</b> -yj	pid-vyš- <b>č</b> - <b>y</b> -ty pid-vys- <b>y</b> -ty	tall

## Deadjectival verbs containing *-ok*

There is no “change of state” meaning in such deadjectival verbs.

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There is no “change of state” meaning in such deadjectival verbs.

	Adj POS	Inchoative	translation
a.	hlyb- <b>ok</b> -yj	hlyb- <b>oč</b> -i-ty	to be deep

## Deadjectival verbs containing *-ok*

There is no “change of state” meaning in such deadjectival verbs.

	Adj POS	Inchoative	translation
a.	hlyb- <b>ok</b> -yj	hlyb- <b>oč</b> - <b>i</b> -ty	to be deep
b.	šyr- <b>ok</b> -yj	šyr- <b>oč</b> - <b>i</b> -ty	to be wide

## Deadjectival verbs containing *-ok*

There is no “change of state” meaning in such deadjectival verbs.

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b.	šyr- <b>ok</b> -yj	šyr- <b>oč</b> -i-ty	to be wide
c.	vys- <b>ok</b> -yj	vys- <b>oč</b> -i-ty	to be tall



## Deadjectival verbs containing -ok

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c.	vys- <b>ok</b> -yj	vys- <b>oč</b> -i-ty	to be tall
d.	dal- <b>ek</b> -yj	dal- <b>eč</b> -i-ty	to be far

## -ok augments

-> inchoatives are formed either on the positive or the comparative form of adjectives

## -ok augments

- > inchoatives are formed either on the positive or the comparative form of adjectives
- > causatives are formed mostly on the positive form of adjectives

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- > causatives are formed mostly on the positive form of adjectives
- > -ok augment is kept only in inchoatives
- > such inchoatives never have the “change of state” meaning

## -n augments: inchoatives

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	transl.
a.	čor-n-yj	čor-n-iš-yj	čor-n-i-ty čor-n-iš-a-ty	black

## -n augments: inchoatives

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	transl.
a.	čor-n-yj	čor-n-iš-yj	čor-n-i-ty čor-n-iš-a-ty	black
b.	pev-n-yj	pev-n-iš-yj	pev-n-i-ty pev-n-iš-a-ty	certain

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c.	rozum-n-yj	rozum-n-iš-yj	rozum-n-i-ty rozum-n-iš-a-ty	clever



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c.	rozum-n-yj	rozum-n-iš-yj	rozum-n-i-ty rozum-n-iš-a-ty	clever
d.	xolod-n-yj	xolod-n-iš-yj	xolod-n-i-ty xolod-n-iš-a-ty	cold

## -n augments: causatives

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	transl.
a.	čor-n-yj	čor-n-iš-yj	o-čor-n-y-ty	black
			-	

## -n augments: causatives

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	transl.
a.	čor-n-yj	čor-n-iš-yj	o-čor-n-y-ty -	black
b.	pev-n-yj	pev-n-iš-yj	za-pev-n-y-ty -	certain

## -n augments: causatives

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	transl.
a.	čor-n-yj	čor-n-iš-yj	o-čor-n-y-ty -	black
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c.	rozum-n-yj	rozum-n-iš-yj	v-rozum-y-ty -	clever

## -n augments: causatives

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	transl.
a.	čor-n-yj	čor-n-iš-yj	o-čor-n-y-ty -	black
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c.	rozum-n-yj	rozum-n-iš-yj	v-rozum-y-ty -	clever
d.	xolod-n-yj	xolod-n-iš-yj	o-xolod-y-ty -	cold

## *-n* augments

-> inchoatives are formed either on the positive or the comparative form of adjectives

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## *-n* augments

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- > *-n* augment is always kept in the inchoative, and sometimes kept in the causative



# Outline

Introduction

A unique Ukrainian data pattern

The inchoative is built on the comparative

**Ingredients for the analysis**

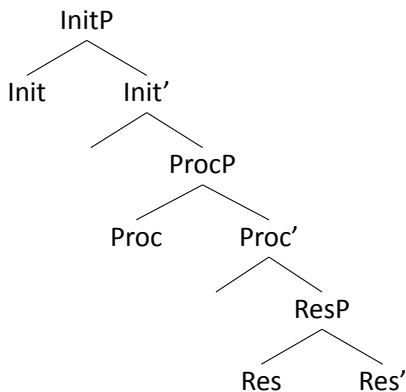
Analysis

Conclusion

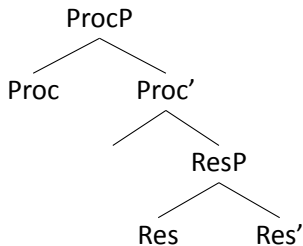
## The structure of deadjectival verbs

Ramchand (2008) suggests that the InitP is absent in inchoatives (2).

(11)



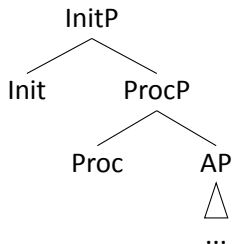
(12)



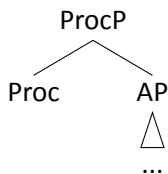
## The containment relation

The causative verb contains the inchoative, just like both types of verbs contain the adjective (Caha et al. Accepted).

(13)



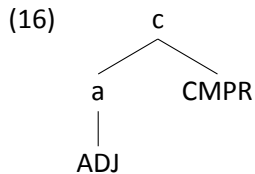
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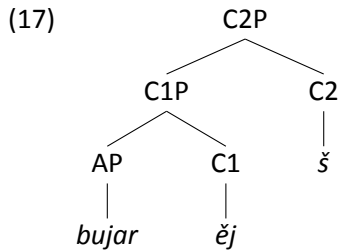
(15) AP



## The structure of the comparative



Bobaljik (2012)



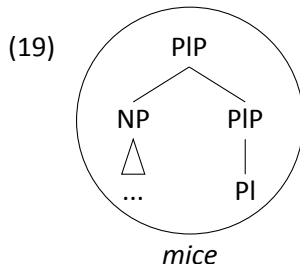
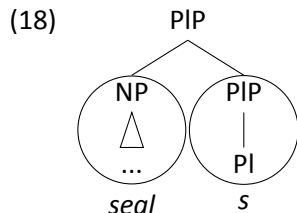
Caha (2019)

## Nanosyntax (Starke 2009)

- submorphemic syntax (there are more featural distinctions than there are morphemes available)
- phrasal spell-out (spell-out targets phrases, not heads).

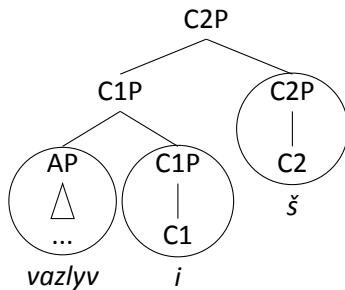
# Nanosyntax (Starke 2009)

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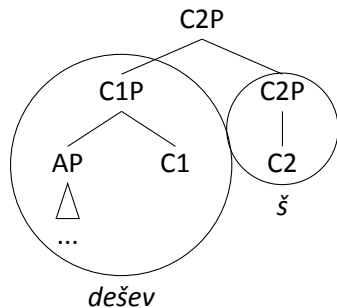


# Ukrainian comparatives

(20)



(21)



Vyshnevskaja (2022b)

# Outline

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## The main idea

The differences in morphology come from the features that get spelled out.

# Inchoatives

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	a		ty	Inch 1
root		š	a		ty	Inch 1

# Inchoatives

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	a		ty	Inch 1
root		š	a		ty	Inch 1
root	i				ty	Inch 2

# Inchoatives

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	a		ty	Inch 1
root		š	a		ty	Inch 1
root	i				ty	Inch 2

-> Init is absent in inchoatives.

# Inchoatives

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	a		ty	Inch 1
root		š	a		ty	Inch 1
root	i				ty	Inch 2

-> Init is absent in inchoatives.

-> The root of Inch 1 can be either of size AP or C1P.

# Inchoatives

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	a		ty	Inch 1
root		š	a		ty	Inch 1
root	i				ty	Inch 2

-> Init is absent in inchoatives.

-> The root of Inch 1 can be either of size AP or C1P.

-> C2 is absent in Inch 2.

# Inch 1: AP

AP  $\Leftrightarrow$  *bil*



...

C1P  $\Leftrightarrow$  *i*



C1

ProcP  $\Leftrightarrow$  *a*

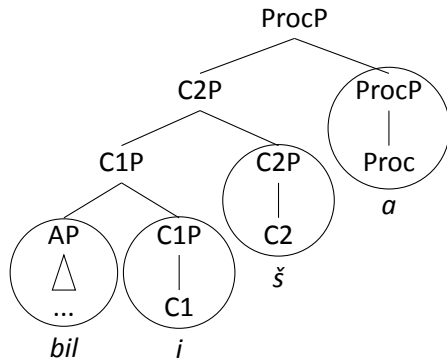


Proc

C2P  $\Leftrightarrow$  *š*



C2



# Inch 1: C1P

C1P  $\Leftrightarrow$  *dešev*



...

C2P  $\Leftrightarrow$  *š*

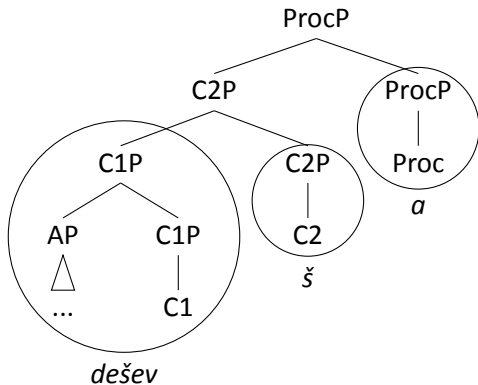


C2

ProcP  $\Leftrightarrow$  *a*



Proc

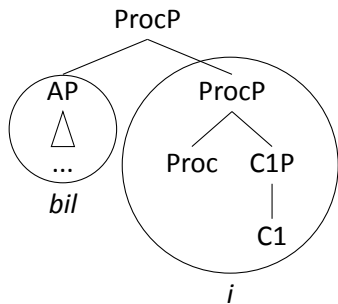




## Inch 2

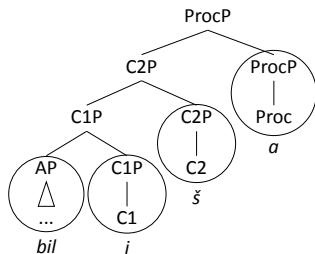
AP  $\Leftrightarrow$  *bil*  
△  
...

ProcP  $\Leftrightarrow$  *i*  
Proc C1P  
|  
C1

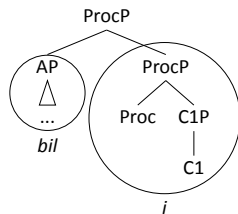


# Inchoatives

(22)



(23)



# Causatives

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	a		ty	*Caus 1
root		š	a		ty	*Caus 1

# Causatives

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	a		ty	*Caus 1
root		š	a		ty	*Caus 1
root	y				ty	Caus 2

# Causatives

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	a		ty	*Caus 1
root		š	a		ty	*Caus 1
root	y				ty	Caus 2

-> Init is present in causatives.

# Causatives

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	a		ty	*Caus 1
root		š	a		ty	*Caus 1
root	y				ty	Caus 2

-> Init is present in causatives.

-> There is nothing that can spell out Init in Caus 1, so it's ruled out.

# Causatives

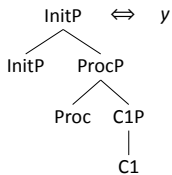
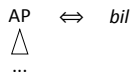
AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	a		ty	*Caus 1
root		š	a		ty	*Caus 1
root	y				ty	Caus 2

-> Init is present in causatives.

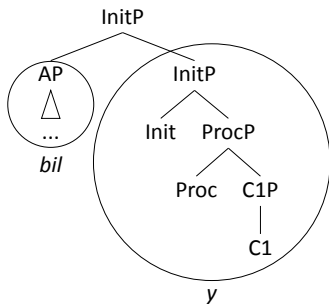
-> There is nothing that can spell out Init in Caus 1, so it's ruled out.

-> C2 is absent in Caus 2.

## Caus 2



(24)





AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
bil	i	š	a		ty	Inch 1
dešev		š	a		ty	Inch 1
bil	i				ty	Inch 2
bil	y				ty	Caus

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
bil	i	š	a		ty	Inch 1
dešev		š	a		ty	Inch 1
bil	i				ty	Inch 2
bil	y				ty	Caus

- ▶ Inchoatives with a comparative marker *-iš* (*Inch1*): C1 is spelled out as *-i*, C2 is spelled out as *-š*, and Proc is spelled out as *-a*.

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
bil	i	š	a		ty	Inch 1
dešev		š	a		ty	Inch 1
bil	i				ty	Inch 2
bil	y				ty	Caus

- ▶ Inchoatives with a comparative marker *-iš* (*Inch1*): C1 is spelled out as *-i*, C2 is spelled out as *-š*, and Proc is spelled out as *-a*.
- ▶ Inchoatives which do not have comparative morphology (*Inch2*): C1 and Proc are all spelled out as *-i*.

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
bil	i	š	a		ty	Inch 1
dešev		š	a		ty	Inch 1
bil	i				ty	Inch 2
bil	y				ty	Caus

- ▶ Inchoatives with a comparative marker *-iš* (*Inch1*): C1 is spelled out as *-i*, C2 is spelled out as *-š*, and Proc is spelled out as *-a*.
- ▶ Inchoatives which do not have comparative morphology (*Inch2*): C1 and Proc are all spelled out as *-i*.
- ▶ Causatives (*Caus*): C1, Proc, and Init all get spelled out as *-y*.

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
bil	i	š	a		ty	Inch 1
dešev		š	a		ty	Inch 1
bil	i				ty	Inch 2
bil	y				ty	Caus

- ▶ Inchoatives with a comparative marker *-iš* (*Inch1*): C1 is spelled out as *-i*, C2 is spelled out as *-š*, and Proc is spelled out as *-a*.
- ▶ Inchoatives which do not have comparative morphology (*Inch2*): C1 and Proc are all spelled out as *-i*.
- ▶ Causatives (*Caus*): C1, Proc, and Init all get spelled out as *-y*.
- ▶ Init is absent in inchoatives and present in causatives.

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# Conclusion

- ▶ Inchoatives and causatives in Ukrainian have different markers.
- ▶ Inchoatives form doublets: they can be build on the positive and on the comparative forms of adjectives, which is unique.
- ▶ These doublets can be explained using Ramchand (2008) and the framework of Nanosyntax.

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