

Degrees in 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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Adjective	translation
vesel-yj	cheerful

Introduction

Adjective translation

vesel-yj cheerful

Inchoative translation

vesel-ity to become cheerful

Introduction

Adjective translation

vesel-yj cheerful

Inchoative translation

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
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vesel-yty	to make 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

Markers of inchoatives and causatives

	Inchoative	translation	Causative	translation
a.	zelen- i -ty	to turn green		

Markers of inchoatives and causatives

	Inchoative	translation	Causative	translation
a.	zelen- i -ty	to turn green	zelen- y -ty	to make green

Markers of inchoatives and causatives

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

Markers of inchoatives and causatives

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

Markers of inchoatives and causatives

	Inchoative	translation	Causative	translation
a.	zelen- i -ty	to turn green	zelen- y -ty	to make green
b.	bil- i -ty	to turn white	bil- y -ty	to make white
c.	tverd- i -ty	to become hard		

Markers of inchoatives and causatives

	Inchoative	translation	Causative	translation
a.	zelen- i -ty	to turn green	zelen- y -ty	to make green
b.	bil- i -ty	to turn white	bil- y -ty	to make white
c.	tverd- i -ty	to become hard	(za)-tverd- y -ty	to make hard

Markers of inchoatives and causatives

	Inchoative	translation	Causative	translation
a.	zelen- i -ty	to turn green	zelen- y -ty	to make green
b.	bil- i -ty	to turn white	bil- y -ty	to make white
c.	tverd- i -ty	to become hard	(za)-tverd- y -ty	to make hard
d.	bidn- i -ty	to become poor		

Markers of inchoatives and causatives

	Inchoative	translation	Causative	translation
a.	zelen- i -ty	to turn green	zelen- y -ty	to make green
b.	bil- i -ty	to turn white	bil- y -ty	to make white
c.	tverd- i -ty	to become hard	(za)-tverd- y -ty	to make hard
d.	bidn- i -ty	to become poor	(z)-bidn- y -ty	to make poor

Markers of inchoatives and causatives

- (1) Stina bil-i-la.
Wall.NOM white-INCH-PAST
“The wall was turning white.”

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.”

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

- > “-ity expresses intransitivity, while -yty expresses the corresponding transitive notion” (Pugh & Press 1999: 268).
- > Inchoatives and causatives have different morphological markers.

- > “-ity expresses intransitivity, while -yty expresses the corresponding transitive notion” (Pugh & Press 1999: 268).
- > Inchoatives and causatives have different morphological markers.
- > Inchoatives and causatives belong to different conjugation classes. (Greščuk 1995).

Inchoatives: positive and comparative

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

Inchoatives: positive and comparative

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

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

Inchoatives: positive and comparative

- (3) Vin buv sumnyj, ale raptom po-vesel-i-v.
He was sad but suddenly cheerful-**INCH**-PAST
“He was sad but suddenly became cheerful.”

Inchoatives: positive and comparative

- (3) Vin buv sumnyj, ale raptom po-vesel-i-v.
He was sad but suddenly cheerful-**INCH**-PAST
“He was sad but suddenly became cheerful.”
- (4) Vin buv veselyj, i raptom šče po-vesel-iš-a-v.
He was cheerful and suddenly more cheerful-**CMPR-**INCH****-PAST
“He was cheerful and suddenly became more cheerful.”

Inchoatives and causatives: positive and comparative

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

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

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

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

Causatives: only positive

- (5) Ostap buv sumnyj, ale Oleh joho roz-vesel-y-v.
Ostap was sad but Oleh him cheerful-CAUS-PAST
“Ostap was sad but Oleh cheered him up.”

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

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

-> “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- k -yj	short
b.	tiaž- k -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- k -yj	short
b.	tiaž- k -yj	heavy
c.	švyd- k -yj	fast
d.	rid- k -yj	liquid

-k augments: positive and comparative

This *-k* can disappear in the comparative.

-k augments: positive and comparative

This -k can disappear in the comparative.

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

-k augments: positive and comparative

This -k can disappear in the comparative.

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

-k augments: positive and comparative

This -k can disappear in the comparative.

	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

-k augments: positive and comparative

This -k can disappear in the comparative.

	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.

-k augments: inchoatives

We see these patterns repeated in the inchoative.

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

-k augments: inchoatives

We see these patterns repeated in the inchoative.

	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

-k augments: inchoatives

We see these patterns repeated in the inchoative.

	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

-k augments: inchoatives

We see these patterns repeated in the inchoative.

	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.

-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

-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

-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
c.	švyd-k-yj	švyd-š-yj	pry-švyd-š-y-ty -	fast

-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
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

-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 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.

-ok augments: comparative

This *-ok* always disappears in the comparative.

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

-ok augments: comparative

This *-ok* always disappears in the comparative.

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

-ok augments: comparative

This *-ok* always disappears in the comparative.

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

-ok augments: comparative

This *-ok* always disappears in the comparative.

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

-ok augments: inchoatives

In the inchoative, we see the pattern repeated.

-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

-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- 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
d.	dal- ek -yj	dalj- š -yj	dalj- š - a -ty	far

-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
d.	dal- ek -yj	dalj- š -yj	dalj- š-a -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- ok -yj	hlyb- š -yj	- po-hlyb- y -ty	deep
b.	šyr- ok -yj	šyr- š -yj	- roz-šyr- y -ty	wide
c.	dal- ek -yj	dalj- š -yj	- vid-dal- y -ty	far

-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
c.	dal- ek -yj	dalj- š -yj	- vid-dal- y -ty	far
d.	vys- ok -yj	vyš- č -yj	pid-vyš- č - y -ty pid-vys- y -ty	tall

Deadjectival verbs containing *-ok*

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

Deadjectival verbs containing *-ok*

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

	Adj POS	Inchoative	translation
a.	hlyb- ok -yj	hlyb- oč -i-ty	deep

Deadjectival verbs containing -ok

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

	Adj POS	Inchoative	translation
a.	hlyb- ok -yj	hlyb- oč - i -ty	deep
b.	šyr- ok -yj	šyr- oč - i -ty	wide

Deadjectival verbs containing -ok

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

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

Deadjectival verbs containing -ok

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

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

Deadjectival verbs containing *-ok*

What if we add a perfectivizing prefix *po-*?

Deadjectival verbs containing *-ok*

What if we add a perfectivizing prefix *po-*?

	Inchoative	translation	Inchoative <i>po-</i>	translation
a.	hlyb- oč -i-ty	to be deep	po-hlyb- oč -i-ty	to be deep for a bit

Deadjectival verbs containing *-ok*

What if we add a perfectivizing prefix *po-*?

	Inchoative	translation	Inchoative <i>po-</i>	translation
a.	hlyb- oč-i -ty	to be deep	po-hlyb- oč-i -ty	to be deep for a bit
b.	šyr- oč-i -ty	to be wide	po-šyr- oč-i -ty	to be wide for a bit

Deadjectival verbs containing *-ok*

What if we add a perfectivizing prefix *po-*?

	Inchoative	translation	Inchoative <i>po-</i>	translation
a.	hlyb- oč-i -ty	to be deep	po-hlyb- oč-i -ty	to be deep for a bit
b.	šyr- oč-i -ty	to be wide	po-šyr- oč-i -ty	to be wide for a bit
c.	vys- oč-i -ty	to be tall	po-vys- oč-i -ty	to be tall for a bit

Deadjectival verbs containing *-ok*

What if we add a perfectivizing prefix *po-*?

	Inchoative	translation	Inchoative <i>po-</i>	translation
a.	hlyb- oč-i -ty	to be deep	po-hlyb- oč-i -ty	to be deep for a bit
b.	šyr- oč-i -ty	to be wide	po-šyr- oč-i -ty	to be wide for a bit
c.	vys- oč-i -ty	to be tall	po-vys- oč-i -ty	to be tall for a bit
d.	dal- eč-i -ty	to be far	po-dal- eč-i -ty	to be far for a bit

-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

-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
- > -ok augment is kept only in inchoatives

-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
- > -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

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

-n augments: inchoatives

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b.	pev-n-yj	pev-n-iš-yj	pev-n-i-ty pev-n-iš-a-ty	certain
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
b.	pev-n-yj	pev-n-iš-yj	za-pev-n-y-ty -	certain
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
b.	pev-n-yj	pev-n-iš-yj	za-pev-n-y-ty -	certain
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

-n augments

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

-n augments

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

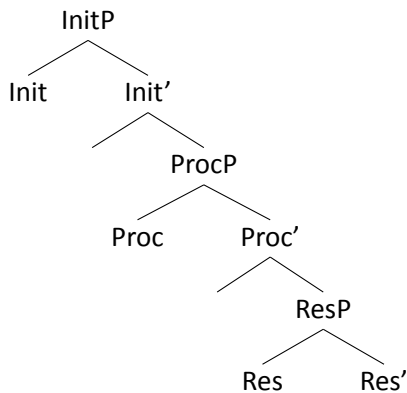
Analysis

Conclusion

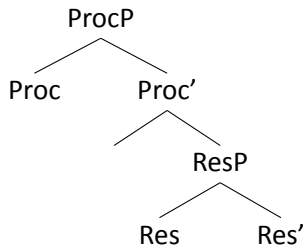
The structure of deadjectival verbs

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

(6)



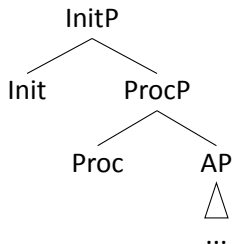
(7)



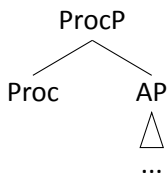
The containment relation

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

(8)



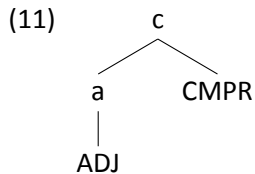
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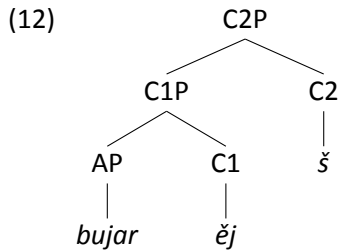
(10) AP



The structure of the comparative



Bobaljik (2012)



Caha (2019)

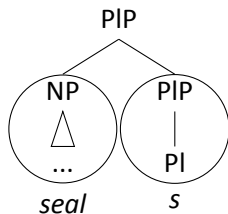
Nanosyntax (Starke 2009)

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

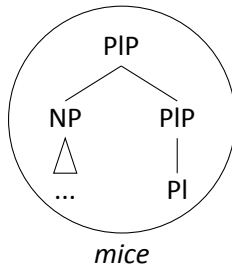
Nanosyntax (Starke 2009)

- submorphemic syntax (there are more featural distinctions than there are morphemes available)
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(13)

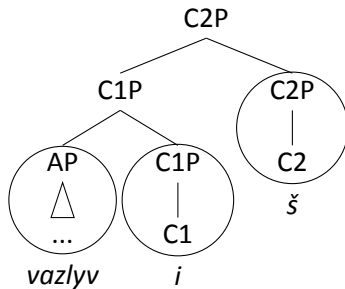


(14)

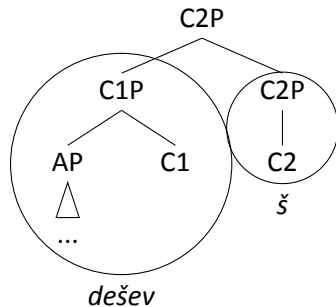


Ukrainian comparatives

(15)



(16)



Vyshnevskaya (2022b)

Outline

Introduction

A unique Ukrainian data pattern

The inchoative is built on the comparative

Ingredients for the analysis

Analysis

Conclusion

The main idea

The differences in morphology comes from the number of features that is 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*

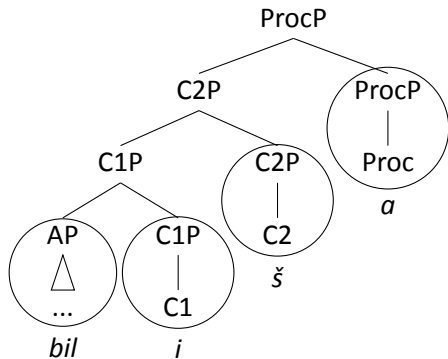


Proc

C2P \Leftrightarrow *š*



C2



Inch 1: C1P

C1P \Leftrightarrow *dešev*



...

C2P \Leftrightarrow *š*

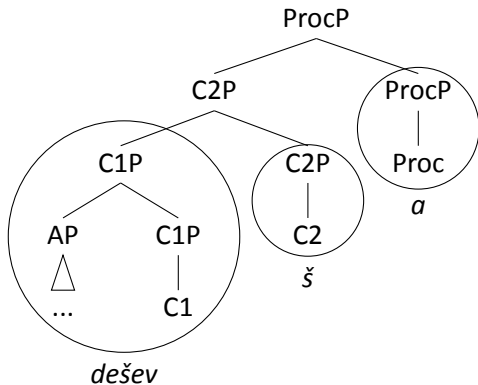


C2

ProcP \Leftrightarrow *a*



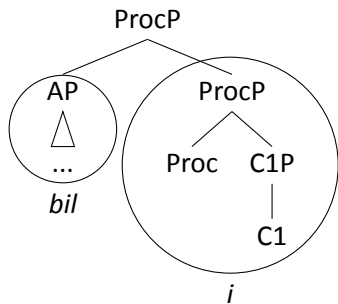
Proc



Inch 2

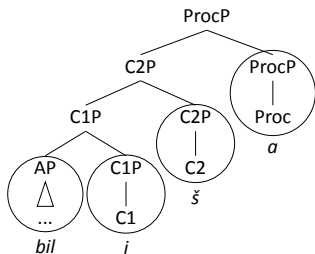
AP \Leftrightarrow *bil*
△
...

ProcP \Leftrightarrow *i*
Proc C1P
|
C1

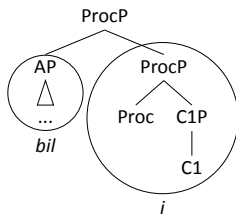


Inchoatives

(17)



(18)



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

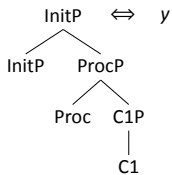
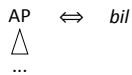
AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	a		ty	*Caus 1
root		š	a		ty	*Caus 1
root	y				ty	Caus 2

-> Init is present in causatives.

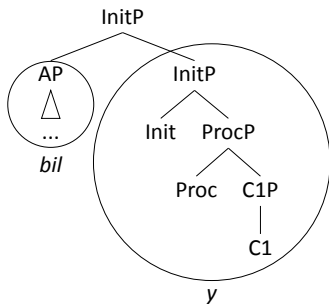
-> There is nothing that can spell out Init in Caus 1, so it's ruled out.

-> C2 is absent in Caus 2.

Caus 2



(19)



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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Ingredients for the analysis

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Conclusion

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- ▶ Inchoatives and causatives in Ukrainian have different markers.

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- ▶ Inchoatives form doublets: they can be build on the positive and on the comparative forms of adjectives, which is unique.

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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