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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Adjective	translation	
vesel-yj	cheerful	

	Adjective	translation
vesel-yj		cheerful
	Inchoative	translation
	vesel-ity	to become cheerful

Adjective	translation
vesel-yj	cheerful
1	to a state of
Inchoative	translation
vesel-ity	to become cheerful
Causative	translation
vesel-yty	to make X cheerful

Adjective	translation
vesel-yj	cheerful
vesel-iš-yj	more cheerful
Inchoative	translation
vesel-ity	to become cheerful
vesel-iš-aty	to become more cheerful
Causative	translation
vesel-yty	to make X cheerful
_	-

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

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

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

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

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

	Inchoative	translation	Causative	translation
a.	zelen-i-ty	to turn green	zelen-y-ty	to make X green
b	. bil- <mark>i</mark> -ty	to turn white	bil- <mark>y</mark> -ty	to make X white
c.	tverd-i-ty	to become hard	za-tverd-y-ty	to make X hard

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

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

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

[&]quot;-ity expresses intransitivity, while -yty expresses the corresponding transitive notion" (Pugh & Press 1999: 268).

- (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."

- (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- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	(more) cheerful
tup-yj	tup- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	(more) dumb

Inchoatives and causatives: positive and comparative

Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
vesel-yj	vesel- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	(more) cheerful
tup-yj	tup- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	(more) dumb

Inchoative

Inch POS	Inch CMPR	translation
vesel-i-ty	vesel-iš-a-ty	to become (more) cheerful
tup-i-ty	tup- <mark>iš-a</mark> -ty	to become (more) dumb

Inchoatives and causatives: positive and comparative

Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
vesel-yj	vesel- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	(more) cheerful
tup-yj	tup- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	(more) dumb

Inchoative

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

Causative

POS Caus	CMPR Caus	translation
vesel-y-ty	-	to make X cheerful
tup-y-ty	-	to make X dumb

Inchoatives: positive and comparative

Q: What is the difference between -i and -iš verbs?

Inchoatives: positive and comparative

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(5) Mykola troxy Mykola a.bit po-tup-i-v/po-tup-iš-a-v. PERF-dumb-INCH-PAST/PERF-dumb-CMPR-INCH-PAST 'Mykola has become a bit dumber.'

Inchoatives: positive and comparative

Q: What is the difference between -i and -iš verbs?

- (5) Mykola troxy Mykola a.bit po-tup-i-v/po-tup-iš-a-v. PERF-dumb-INCH-PAST/PERF-dumb-CMPR-INCH-PAST 'Mykola has become a bit dumber.'
- (6) Mykola zovsim Mykola at.all po-tup-i-v/*po-tup-iš-a-v. PERF-dumb-INCH-PAST/PERF-dumb-CMPR-INCH-PAST 'Mykola has become completely 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.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	mudr-yj	mudr- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	wise

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	mudr-yj	mudr- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	wise
b.	nov-yj	nov- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	new

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

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

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

There are two comparative allomorphs in Ukrainian: $-i\check{s}$ and $-\check{s}$, where $-\check{c}$ is a phonological alternant of $-\check{s}$ (Vyshnevska 2022a).

	-	-		Inch CMPR	
a.	mudr-yj	mudr- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	mudr-i-ty	mudr-iš-a-ty	wise

	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- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	nov-i-ty	nov-iš-a-ty	new

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

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

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Caus POS	Caus CMPR	translation
a.	mudr-yj	mudr- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	u-mudr- <mark>y</mark> -ty	-	wise

		Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Caus POS	Caus CMPR	translation
a	١.	mudr-yj	mudr-iš-yj	u-mudr-y-ty	-	wise
b).	nov-yj	nov- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	o-nov- <mark>y</mark> -ty	-	new

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Caus POS	Caus CMPR	translation
а	. mudr-yj	mudr- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	u-mudr- <mark>y</mark> -ty	-	wise
b	. nov-yj	nov- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	o-nov- <mark>y</mark> -ty	-	new
С	. dešev-yj	dešev- <mark>š</mark> -yj	z-dešev-y-ty	-	cheap

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Caus POS	Caus CMPR	translation
a.	mudr-yj	mudr- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	u-mudr- <mark>y</mark> -ty	-	wise
b.	nov-yj	nov- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	o-nov- <mark>y</mark> -ty	-	new
c.	dešev-yj	dešev- <mark>š</mark> -yj	z-dešev- <mark>y</mark> -ty	-	cheap
d.	doroh-yj	dorož- <mark>č</mark> -yj	dorož- <mark>y</mark> -ty	-	expensive

	Adj POS	translation
a.	korot- <mark>k</mark> -yj	short

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

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

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

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	translation
a.	korot- <mark>k</mark> -yj	korot- š -yj	short

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

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

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

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	translation
a.	korot- <mark>k</mark> -yj	korot- <mark>š</mark> -yj	korot-š-a-ty	short
			korot-i-ty	

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	translation
a.	korot- <mark>k</mark> -yj	korot- <mark>š</mark> -yj	korot-š-a-ty	short
b.	tiaž- <mark>k</mark> -yj	tiaž- <mark>č</mark> -yj	korot-i-ty tiaž-č-a-ty tiaž-i-ty	heavy
			tiaz-i-ty	

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	translation
a.	korot- <mark>k</mark> -yj	korot-š-yj	korot-š-a-ty	short
			korot-i-ty	
b.	tiaž- <mark>k</mark> -yj	tiaž- <mark>č</mark> -yj	tiaž-č- <mark>a</mark> -ty	heavy
			tiaž- <mark>i</mark> -ty	
c.	rid- <mark>k</mark> -yj	rid-š-yj	rid-š- <mark>a</mark> -ty	liquid
			rid- <mark>i</mark> -ty	

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

We see these patterns repeated in the inchoative.

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

There are doublets: with and without comparative morphology.

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

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

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	translation
a.	korot- <mark>k</mark> -yj	korot- <u>š</u> -yj	-	short
			v-korot-y-ty	
b.	tiaž- <mark>k</mark> -yj	tiaž- <mark>č</mark> -yj	-	heavy
			ob-tiaž- <mark>y</mark> -ty	
c.	rid- <mark>k</mark> -yj	rid- <mark>š</mark> -yj	-	liquid
			roz-rid- <mark>y</mark> -ty	

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	translation
a.	korot- <mark>k</mark> -yj	korot-š-yj	-	short
			v-korot- <mark>y</mark> -ty	
b.	tiaž- <mark>k</mark> -yj	tiaž- <mark>č</mark> -yj	-	heavy
			ob-tiaž- <mark>y</mark> -ty	
C.	rid- <mark>k</mark> -yj	rid- <mark>š</mark> -yj	-	liquid
			roz-rid- <mark>y</mark> -ty	
d.	švyd- <mark>k</mark> -yj	švyd- <mark>š</mark> -yj	pry-švyd- <u>š-y</u> -ty	fast
			_	

	Adj POS	translation
a.	hlyb- <mark>ok</mark> -yj	deep

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

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

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

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

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

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

-ok augments: positive and comparative

This -ok always disappears in the comparative.

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

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inchoative	translation
a.	hlyb- <mark>ok</mark> -yj	hlyb- <mark>š</mark> -yj	hlyb- <mark>š-a</mark> -ty	deep

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

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

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

In the inchoative, we see the pattern repeated.

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

The comparative suffix is always present.

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	translation
a.	hlyb- <mark>ok</mark> -yj	hlyb- <u>š</u> -yj	-	deep
			po-hlyb-y-ty	

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

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

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

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

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

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

	Adj POS	Inchoative	translation
a.	hlyb- <mark>ok</mark> -yj	hlyb- <mark>oč-i</mark> -ty	deep
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c.	vys- <mark>ok</mark> -yj	vys- <mark>oč-i</mark> -ty	tall
d.	dal- <mark>ek</mark> -yj	dal- <mark>eč-i</mark> -ty	far

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

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

- -> 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

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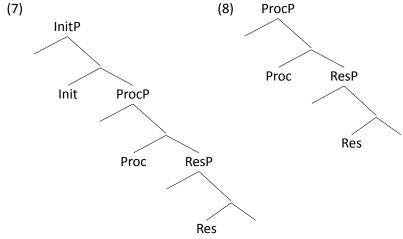
Ingredients for the analysis

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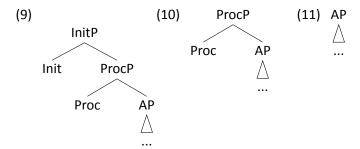
The structure of deadjectival verbs

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

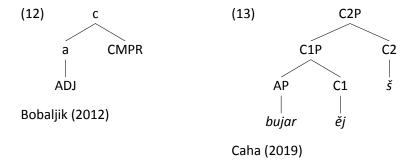


The containment relation

The causative verb contains the inchoative, just like both types of verbs contain the adjective (Vanden Wyngaerd et al. 2022).



The structure of the comparative

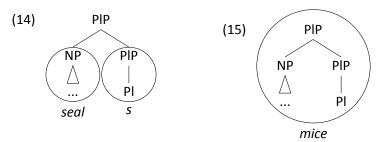


Nanosyntax (Starke 2009)

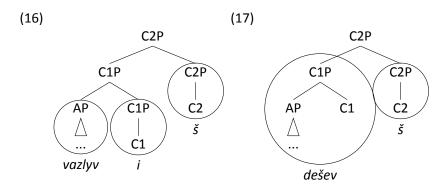
- submorphemic syntax (there are more featural distinctions than there are morphemes available)
- phrasal spell-out (spell-out targets phrases, not heads).

Nanosyntax (Starke 2009)

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



Ukrainian comparatives



Vyshnevska (2022b)

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The main idea

The differences in morphology comes from the number of features that is spelled out.

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

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

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

-> Init is absent in inchoatives.

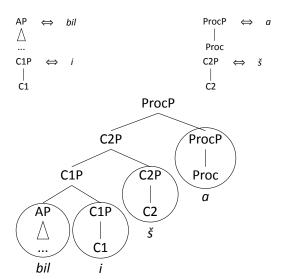
AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	а		ty	Inch 1
root		Š	a		ty	Inch 1
root	i				ty	Inch 2

- -> Init is absent in inchoatives.
- -> The root of Inch 1 can be either of size AP or C1P.

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

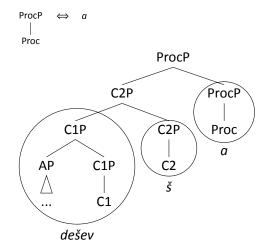
- -> Init is absent in inchoatives.
- -> The root of Inch 1 can be either of size AP or C1P.
- -> C2 is absent in Inch 2.

Inch 1: AP

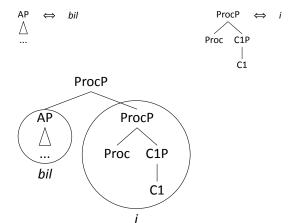


Inch 1: C1P

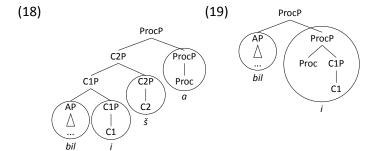




Inch 2



Inchoatives



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

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	а		ty	*Caus 1
root		š	а		ty	*Caus 1
root	У				ty	Caus 2

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
root	i	š	а		ty	*Caus 1
root		Š	a		ty	*Caus 1
root	У				ty	Caus 2

-> Init is present in causatives.

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

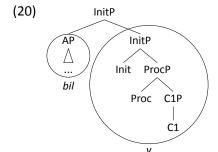
- -> Init is present in causatives.
- -> There is nothing that can spell out Init in Caus 1, so it's ruled out.

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





AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
bil	i	Š	а		ty	Inch 1
dešev		š	а		ty	Inch 1
bil	i				ty	Inch 2
bil	У				ty	Caus

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	Infin	
bil	i	š	а		ty	Inch 1
dešev		š	а		ty	Inch 1
bil	i				ty	Inch 2
bil	У				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	а		ty	Inch 1
dešev		š	а		ty	Inch 1
bil	i				ty	Inch 2
bil	У				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	а		ty	Inch 1
dešev		š	a		ty	Inch 1
bil	i				ty	Inch 2
bil	У				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	а		ty	Inch 1
dešev		š	а		ty	Inch 1
bil	i				ty	Inch 2
bil	У				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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- 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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Appendix 1: -x adjectives

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	Inchoative	translation
a.	tyx-yj	tyx- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	z-tyš-y-v	z-tyx-n-u-v	quiet

Appendix 1: -x adjectives

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	Inchoative	translation
a.	tyx-yj	tyx- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	z-tyš-y-v	z-tyx-n-u-v	quiet
b.	sux-yj	sux- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	vy-suš-y-v	vy-sox-n-u-v	dry

Appendix 1: -x adjectives

	Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Causative	Inchoative	translation
a.	tyx-yj	tyx- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	z-tyš-y-v	z-tyx-n-u-v	quiet
b.	sux-yj	sux- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	vy-suš-y-v	vy-sox-n-u-v	dry
c.	hlux-yj	hlux- <mark>iš</mark> -yj	o-hluš-y-v	o-hlox-n-u-v	deaf

Appendix 2: Different conjugation classes

ves	el-ity (Inch)	vesel-yty (Caus)		
1SG	veselij-u	1SG	veselj-u	
2SG	SG veselij- <mark>e</mark> -š		vesel-y-š	
3SG	veselij- <mark>e</mark>	3SG	vesel-ytj	
1PL	veselij- <mark>e</mark> -mo	1PL	vesel-y-mo	
2PL	veselij- <mark>e</mark> -te	2PL	vesel-y-te	
3PL	veselij- <mark>u</mark> -tj	3PL	vesel-a-tj	
Coi	njugation 1	Conjugation 2		