

Dedicated phrasal and clausal standard markers in Ukrainian

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Dedicated clausal and phrasal markers

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What are SMs?

Standard markers (SM) -
functional elements introducing the **standard** in comparatives.

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functional elements introducing the **standard** in comparatives.

*She is taller **than** me.*

The standard

- ▶ Phrasal (PC) - consisting of a single constituent

The standard

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*I am taller than **George**.*
*I play guitar better than **you**.*

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- ▶ Phrasal (PC) - consisting of a single constituent
*I am taller than **George**.*
*I play guitar better than **you**.*
- ▶ Clausal (CC) - consisting of a full clause

The standard

- ▶ Phrasal (PC) - consisting of a single constituent
I am taller than George.
I play guitar better than you.
- ▶ Clausal (CC) - consisting of a full clause
I am taller than George is.
I play guitar better than you do.

Two views on PCs

- ▶ Reduction Analysis - PCs are directly derived from CCs through ellipsis (Bresnan 1973), (Lechner 2001)
- ▶ Direct Analysis - PCs are prepositional phrases that do not involve any ellipsis (Napoli 1983), (Kennedy 1997)

Types of comparatives

- ▶ clausal comparatives (CC)
- ▶ reduced clausal comparatives (RCC)
- ▶ true phrasal comparatives (TPC)

Pancheva (2006), Merchant (2009), Lindenbergh (2016), Rudin (2018)

Aims of this talk:

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- ▶ Describe different Ukrainians standard markers

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- ▶ Describe different Ukrainians standard markers
- ▶ Prove that there are dedicated clausal and phrasal markers
- ▶ Provide further support for distinguishing true phrasal comparatives from reduced clausal comparatives

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English: two *than*'s

Hankamer (1973) argued that there are two types of *than* in English:

- ▶ a preposition taking a single DP as its complement -> PC
- ▶ a subordinating particle taking a clause as its complement -> CC

Dutch: two *dan*'s

- (1) Ik ben beter **dan** jij/jou.
I.NOM am better than you.NOM/you.ACC
'I am better than you.'
- (2) Ik ben beter **dan** jij/*jou bent.
I.NOM am better than you.NOM/you.ACC are
'I am better than you are.'

(Lindenbergh 2016)

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- ▶ *Ik ben beter dan jij (NOM).* - reduced clausal comparative

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- ▶ *Ik ben beter dan jou* (ACC). - phrasal comparative
- ▶ *Ik ben beter dan jij bent*. - clausal comparative
- ▶ *Ik ben beter dan jij* (NOM). - reduced clausal comparative

**dan jou bent*, is not expected because *dan jou* is not derived from the same underlying source as *dan jij*.

Greek: *apo* and *ap'oti*

- (3) I Maria pezi kiθara kalitera *apo* ton
the Maria.NOM plays guitar better than.PHRAS the
Gianni.
Giannis.ACC
'Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis.'

Greek: *apo* and *ap'oti*

- (3) I Maria pezi kiθara kalitera *apo* ton
the Maria.NOM plays guitar better than.PHRAS the
Gianni.
Giannis.ACC
'Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis.'
- (4) I Maria pezi kiθara kalitera *ap'oti* pezi kiθara o
the Maria.nom plays guitar better than.CLAUS plays guitar the
Giannis.
Giannis.NOM
'Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis plays the guitar.'

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Giannis.NOM
'Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis plays the guitar.'
- (5) I Maria pezi kiθara kalitera *ap'oti* o
the Maria.nom plays guitar better than.CLAUS the
Giannis.
Giannis.NOM
'Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis plays the guitar.'

Greek

- ▶ *apo* is a SM for true phrasal comparatives (TPCs)
- ▶ *apo'ti* is a SM for clausal comparatives (CCs) and reduced clausal comparatives (RCCs)

Bulgarian and Macedonian

BG	MC	type
ot 'than'	od 'than'	PP
otkolkoto 'than.how.much'	odkolku 'than.how.much'	reduced clause
otkolkoto 'than.how.much'	odkolku 'than.how.much'	full clause

Bulgarian and Macedonian

BG	MC	type
ot	od	PP
'than'	'than'	
otkolkoto	odkolku	reduced clause
'than.how.much'	'than.how.much'	
otkolkoto	odkolku	full clause
'than.how.much'	'than.how.much'	

Presence of a *wh* operator indicates either a full or reduced CP, while lack of *wh* indicates lack of CP structure. (Rudin 2018: 229)

Bulgarian and Macedonian

- ▶ *ot/od* is a SM for true phrasal comparatives (TPCs)
- ▶ *otkolkoto/odkolku* is a SM for clausal comparatives (CCs) and reduced clausal comparatives (RCCs)

Ukrainian: how many SMs?

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	SM	meaning
1.	niž	comparative specific

Ukrainian: how many SMs?

	SM	meaning
1.	niž	comparative specific
2.	čym	'with what'

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	SM	meaning
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Ukrainian: how many SMs?

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1.	niž	comparative specific
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4.	vid	preposition 'from'

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Ukrainian: how many SMs?

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(Pugh and Press 1999)

Ukrainian: how many SMs?

	SM	meaning
1.	niž	comparative specific
2.	čym	'with what'
3.	jak	'how'
4.	vid	preposition 'from'
5.	proty	preposition 'against'
6.	za	preposition 'behind'
7.	nad	preposition 'above'
8.	<i>null</i>	absence of SM

Ukrainian

Ukrainian

	SM	group	type
1.	niž		CC
2.	čym	GROUP ₁	CC
3.	jak		CC
4.	vid		TPC
5.	proty		TPC
6.	za	GROUP ₂	TPC
7.	nad		TPC

Ukrainian

	SM	group	type
1.	niž		CC
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4.	vid		TPC
5.	proty		TPC
6.	za	GROUP ₂	TPC
7.	nad		TPC

- ▶ GROUP₁ SM introduce (reduced) clausal comparatives
- ▶ GROUP₂ introduce true phrasal comparatives

The main claim

Ukrainian is like Greek, Bulgarian, and Macedonian in having different SMs for different types of comparative constructions.

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I apply three different tests to show why Ukrainian SMs should be categorised in such way.

	SM	group	type
1.	niž		CC
2.	čym	GROUP ₁	CC
3.	jak		CC
4.	vid		TPC
5.	proty		TPC
6.	za	GROUP ₂	TPC
7.	nad		TPC

Test 1: full clausal standard

If a PC is derived from a CC, we expect the SM of the PC to be compatible with a full clausal standard.

Test 1: GROUP₁

- (6) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **niž** Olena.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.NOM
'Ostap plays guitar better than Olena.'
- (7) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **jak** Olena.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.NOM
'Ostap plays guitar better than Olena.'
- (8) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **čym** Olena.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.NOM
'Ostap plays guitar better than Olena.'

Test 1: GROUP₁

- (9) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **niž** Olena hraje.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.NOM play
'Ostap plays guitar better than Olena does.'
- (10) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **jak** Olena hraje.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.NOM play
'Ostap plays guitar better than Olena does.'
- (11) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **čym** Olena hraje.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.NOM play
'Ostap plays guitar better than Olena does.'

Test 1: GROUP₂

- (12) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **vid** Oleny.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.GEN
'Ostap plays the guitar better than Olena.'
- (13) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **proty** Oleny.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.GEN
'Ostap plays the guitar better than Olena.'
- (14) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **za** Oleny.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.ACC
'Ostap plays the guitar better than Olena.'
- (15) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **nad** Oleny.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.ACC
'Ostap plays the guitar better than Olena.'

Test 1: GROUP₂

- (16) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **vid** Oleny *hraje.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.GEN
'Ostap plays the guitar better than Olena.'
- (17) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **proty** Oleny *hraje.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.GEN
'Ostap plays the guitar better than Olena.'
- (18) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **za** Oleny *hraje.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.ACC
'Ostap plays the guitar better than Olena.'
- (19) Ostap hraje na hitari krašče **nad** Oleny *hraje.
Ostap play on guitar better than Olena.ACC
'Ostap plays the guitar better than Olena.'

Test 1: results

- ▶ GROUP₁ comparatives are grammatical with an overt verb, and thus with a full clausal standard.
- ▶ GROUP₂ comparatives are ungrammatical with an overt verb, and thus with a full clausal standard.

Test 2: non-DP standard

If SM is a preposition, we expect the standard to be only a DP, as Ps cannot select for anything else (Hankamer 1973), (Bhatt and Takahashi 2011).

Test 2: GROUP₁

- (20) U Kyjevi biljše ljudej **niž** v Odesi.
in Kyiv more people than in Odesa.LOC
'There is more people in Kyiv than in Odesa.'
- (21) U Kyjevi biljše ljudej **jak** v Odesi.
in Kyiv more people than in Odesa.LOC
'There is more people in Kyiv than in Odesa.'
- (22) U Kyjevi biljše ljudej **čym** v Odesi.
in Kyiv more people than in Odesa.LOC
'There is more people in Kyiv than in Odesa.'

Test 2: GROUP₂

- (23) U Kyjevi biljše ljudej **vid** *v Odesi.
in Kyiv more people than in Odesa.LOC
'There is more people in Kyiv than in Odesa.'
- (24) U Kyjevi biljše ljudej **proty** *v Odesi.
in Kyiv more people than in Odesa.LOC
'There is more people in Kyiv than in Odesa.'
- (25) U Kyjevi biljše ljudej **za** *v Odesi.
in Kyiv more people than in Odesa.LOC
'There is more people in Kyiv than in Odesa.'
- (26) U Kyjevi biljše ljudej **nad** *v Odesi.
in Kyiv more people than in Odesa.LOC
'There is more people in Kyiv than in Odesa.'

Test 2: results

- ▶ GROUP₁ comparatives are grammatical with a non-DP standard.
- ▶ GROUP₂ comparatives are ungrammatical with a non-DP standard.

Test 3: case assignment

If SM is a preposition, we expect it to assign case to the standard.

Test 3: GROUP₁

- (27) Ostap maje biljše knyžok **niž** Olena.
Ostap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**NOM**
'Ostap has more books than Olena.'

Test 3: GROUP₁

- (27) Ostap maje biljše knyžok **niž** Olena.
Ostap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**NOM**
'Ostap has more books than Olena.'
- (28) Ostap maje biljše knyžok **jak** Olena.
Ostap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**NOM**
'Ostap has more books than Olena.'

Test 3: GROUP₁

- (27) Oštap maje biljše knyžok **niž** Olena.
Oštap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**NOM**
'Oštap has more books than Olena.'
- (28) Oštap maje biljše knyžok **jak** Olena.
Oštap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**NOM**
'Oštap has more books than Olena.'
- (29) Oštap maje biljše knyžok **čym** Olena.
Oštap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**NOM**
'Oštap has more books than Olena.'

Test 3: GROUP₁

- (30) Meni spodobavsja film biljše niž tobi.
I.**DAT** liked.REFL movie more than you.**DAT**
'I liked the movie more that you did.'

Test 3: GROUP₁

- (30) Meni spodobavsja film biljše **niž** tobi.
I.**DAT** liked.REFL movie more than you.**DAT**
'I liked the movie more that you did.'
- (31) Meni spodobavsja film biljše **jak** tobi.
I.**DAT** liked.REFL movie more than you.**DAT**
'I liked the movie more that you did.'

Test 3: GROUP₁

- (30) Meni spodobavsja film biljše **niž** tobi.
I.**DAT** liked.REFL movie more than you.**DAT**
'I liked the movie more that you did.'
- (31) Meni spodobavsja film biljše **jak** tobi.
I.**DAT** liked.REFL movie more than you.**DAT**
'I liked the movie more that you did.'
- (32) Meni spodobavsja film biljše **čym** tobi.
I.**DAT** liked.REFL movie more than you.**DAT**
'I liked the movie more that you did.'

Test 3: GROUP₁

- (30) Meni spodobavsja film biljše **niž** tobi.
I.**DAT** liked.REFL movie more than you.**DAT**
'I liked the movie more that you did.'
- (31) Meni spodobavsja film biljše **jak** tobi.
I.**DAT** liked.REFL movie more than you.**DAT**
'I liked the movie more that you did.'
- (32) Meni spodobavsja film biljše **čym** tobi.
I.**DAT** liked.REFL movie more than you.**DAT**
'I liked the movie more that you did.'

The case of DP in the standard correlates with the case of the relevant DP in the matrix clause.

Test 3: GROUP₂

- (33) Ostap maje biljše knyžok **vid** Oleny/*Olena
Ostap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**GEN/NOM**
'Ostap has more books than Olena.'

Test 3: GROUP₂

- (33) Ostap maje biljše knyžok **vid** Oleny/*Olena
Ostap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**GEN/NOM**
'Ostap has more books than Olena.'
- (34) Ostap maje biljše knyžok **proty** Oleny/*Olena
Ostap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**GEN/NOM**
'Ostap has more books than Olena.'

Test 3: GROUP₂

- (33) Ostap maje biljše knyžok **vid** Oleny/*Olena
Ostap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**GEN/NOM**
'Ostap has more books than Olena.'
- (34) Ostap maje biljše knyžok **proty** Oleny/*Olena
Ostap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**GEN/NOM**
'Ostap has more books than Olena.'
- (35) Ostap maje biljše knyžok **za** Oleny/*Olena
Ostap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**ACC/NOM**
'Ostap has more books than Olena.'

Test 3: GROUP₂

- (33) Oštap maje biljše knyžok **vid** Oleny/*Olena
Oštap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**GEN/NOM**
'Oštap has more books than Olena.'
- (34) Oštap maje biljše knyžok **proty** Oleny/*Olena
Oštap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**GEN/NOM**
'Oštap has more books than Olena.'
- (35) Oštap maje biljše knyžok **za** Oleny/*Olena
Oštap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**ACC/NOM**
'Oštap has more books than Olena.'
- (36) Oštap maje biljše knyžok **nad** Oleny/*Olena
Oštap.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**ACC/NOM**
'Oštap has more books than Olena.'

Test 3: GROUP₂

- (33) Ostop maje biljše knyžok **vid** Oleny/*Olena
Ostop.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**GEN/NOM**
'Ostop has more books than Olena.'
- (34) Ostop maje biljše knyžok **proty** Oleny/*Olena
Ostop.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**GEN/NOM**
'Ostop has more books than Olena.'
- (35) Ostop maje biljše knyžok **za** Oleny/*Olena
Ostop.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**ACC/NOM**
'Ostop has more books than Olena.'
- (36) Ostop maje biljše knyžok **nad** Oleny/*Olena
Ostop.**NOM** has more books than Olena.**ACC/NOM**
'Ostop has more books than Olena.'

The case of DP in the standard differs from the case of the relevant DP in the matrix clause.

Test 3

	SM	group	type	case
1.	niž		CC	-
2.	čym	GROUP ₁	CC	-
3.	jak		CC	-
4.	vid		TPC	GEN
5.	proty		TPC	GEN
6.	za	GROUP ₂	TPC	ACC
7.	nad		TPC	ACC

Test 3: results

- ▶ GROUP_1 does not assign case to the standard.
- ▶ GROUP_2 assigns case to the standard.

Tests: overview

	GROUP ₁	GROUP ₂
full clausal standard	✓	✗
non-DP standard	✓	✗
case-assignment	✗	✓

Tests: overview

	GROUP ₁	GROUP ₂
full clausal standard	✓	✗
non-DP standard	✓	✗
case-assignment	✗	✓

- ▶ GROUP₁ SM are (reduced) clausal comparative SM
- ▶ GROUP₂ SM are true phrasal comparative SM

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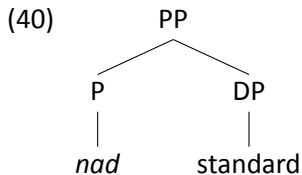
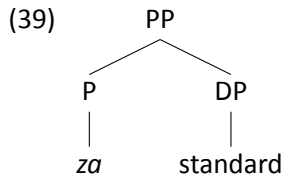
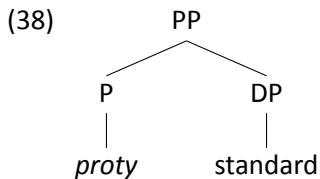
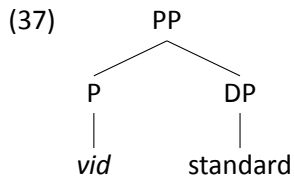
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True phrasal comparatives

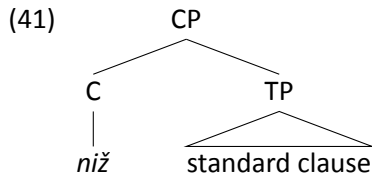
GROUP₂ SM always introduce TPCs. Following Hankamer (1973), Napoli (1983), Kennedy (1997) I assign a prepositional structure to it.

True phrasal comparatives



Clausal comparatives: *niž*

SM *niž* is not as a preposition, but as a complementizer introducing a clause, which can be reduced.



Bulgarian:

- (42) Te sa po-umni **otkolkoto** sme nie.
they are smarter than.how.much are we
'They are smarter than we are.'

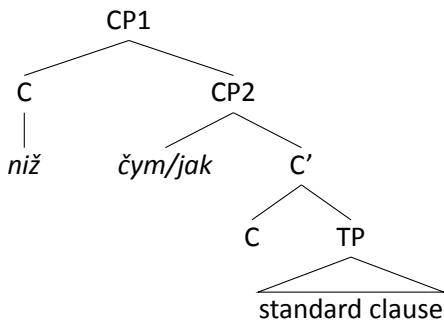
BSC:

- (43) Marijina soba je bolja **nego što** je Ivanova soba.
Mary's room is better than what is Ivan's room
'Mary's room is better than Ivan's room is.'
- (44) Marijina soba je bolja **nego što li** je Ivanova soba.
Mary's room is better than what Q is Ivan's room
'Mary's room is better than Ivan's room is.'

Clausal comparatives

In the case of *wh*-items *čym* and *jak*, I follow Pancheva (2006) in assuming a null complementizer followed by the *wh*-item.

(45)



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- ▶ Ukrainian has three types of comparative constructions: true phrasal comparatives, clausal comparatives, and reduced clausal comparatives.

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- ▶ Ukrainian has three types of comparative constructions: true phrasal comparatives, clausal comparatives, and reduced clausal comparatives.
- ▶ SM *za*, *vid*, *proty*, *nad* introduce true phrasal comparatives.

Conclusions

- ▶ Ukrainian has dedicated markers for phrasal and clausal comparatives.
- ▶ Ukrainian has three types of comparative constructions: true phrasal comparatives, clausal comparatives, and reduced clausal comparatives.
- ▶ SM *za, vid, proty, nad* introduce true phrasal comparatives.
- ▶ SM *niž, čym, jak* introduce clausal comparatives and reduced clausal comparatives.

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- ▶ SM *za, vid, proty, nad* introduce true phrasal comparatives.
- ▶ SM *niž, čym, jak* introduce clausal comparatives and reduced clausal comparatives.
- ▶ Ukrainian provides further support for distinguishing true phrasal comparatives from reduced clausal comparatives.

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- ▶ Ukrainian has three types of comparative constructions: true phrasal comparatives, clausal comparatives, and reduced clausal comparatives.
- ▶ SM *za, vid, proty, nad* introduce true phrasal comparatives.
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- ▶ Ukrainian provides further support for distinguishing true phrasal comparatives from reduced clausal comparatives.

References

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