

Making sense of Comparative Allomorphy in Slavic

Guido Vanden Wyngaerd and Anastasiia Vyshnevskia

KU Leuven, CRISSP

Linguistic Society of Belgium

Linguists Day

Antwerp, 13 October 2023

Outline

Introduction

Czech

Ukrainian

Russian

Conclusions

Outline

Introduction

Czech

Ukrainian

Russian

Conclusions

Comparative suffixes in Slavic

| PROTO-SLAVIC | *-ejbs | *-jbs |
|---------------------|--------|-------|
| OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC | -ějbš | -jbš |
| <hr/> | | |
| POLISH | -ejsz | -sz |
| CZECH | -ějš | -š |
| SLOVAK | -ejš | -š |
| UKRAINIAN | -iš | -š |
| RUSSIAN | -ee | -e |

Comparative suffixes in Slavic

| | | |
|---------------------|----------------|---------------|
| PROTO-SLAVIC | *-ej ьs | *-j ьs |
| OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC | -ěj ьš | -j ьš |
| <hr/> | | |
| POLISH | -ej sz | - sz |
| CZECH | -ěj š | - š |
| SLOVAK | -ej š | - š |
| UKRAINIAN | -i š | - š |
| RUSSIAN | -e e | - e |

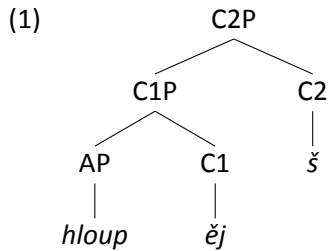
Comparative suffixes in Slavic

| | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| PROTO-SLAVIC | *-e-j ьs | *-j ьs |
| OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC | -ě-j ьš | -j ьš |
| <hr/> | | |
| POLISH | -ej- sz | - sz |
| CZECH | -ěj- š | - š |
| SLOVAK | -ej- š | - š |
| UKRAINIAN | -i- š | - š |
| RUSSIAN | -e- e | - e |

Comparative suffixes in Slavic

| | | | |
|-----------|-------|----|-------------------------------|
| CZECH | -ěj-š | -š | Caha et al. (2019) |
| SLOVAK | -ej-š | -š | Vanden Wyngaerd et al. (2020) |
| UKRAINIAN | -i-š | -š | Vyshnevskaja (2022) |

The split CMPR hypothesis



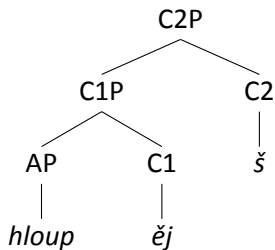
Root size determines allomorphy selection

(2)

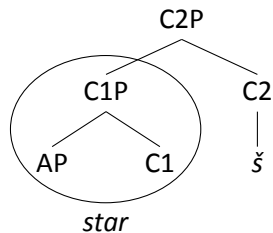
| AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | gloss |
|-------|-----|----|-----|----------|
| hloup | -ěj | -š | -í | 'stupid' |
| star | | -š | -í | 'old' |

Root size determines allomorphy selection

(3) a.



b.



Aim of this paper

- ▶ we look at Czech, Ukrainian, Russian
- ▶ we show that the C1 and C2 exponents show internal phonological complexity
- ▶ this complexity reveals itself in palatalisation effects on preceding segments
- ▶ two different processes of palatalisation are at work, which we represent as two different floating segments:
 - ▶ PAL_1
 - ▶ PAL_3

Outline

Introduction

Czech

Ukrainian

Russian

Conclusions

Czech

| POS | | CMPR | | | | gloss | |
|--------|-----|--------|------------------|----|------------------|-------|-----------|
| AP | AGR | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | | |
| stroh- | ý | stroh- | PAL ₁ | ej | PAL ₃ | š í | 'austere' |

Czech

| POS | | CMPR | | | | gloss | |
|--------|-----|----------------------------|------------------|----|------------------|-------|-----------|
| AP | AGR | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | | |
| stroh- | ý | stroh- | PAL ₁ | ej | PAL ₃ | š í | 'austere' |
| | | [stro ₃ -ejji:] | | | | | |

| | affects | example | today |
|--------------------|---|---------|------------------|
| PAL _{VAL} | velars/glottals alveolars labials | -ěj | PAL ₁ |
| PAL _{VA} | velars/glottals alveolars | -í | PAL ₂ |
| PAL _V | velars/glottals | -š, -št | PAL ₃ |

(Caha et al. 2019)

Czech

| | POS | | AP | CMPR | | | IPA | gloss |
|---|-------|-----|-------|----------------------|---------------------|-----|----------------------------|-----------|
| | AP | AGR | | C1 | C2 | AGR | | |
| G | stroh | ý | stroh | PAL ₁ +ej | PAL ₃ +š | í | [stro ³ ɛjʃi:] | ‘austere’ |
| A | bujar | ý | bujar | PAL ₁ +ej | PAL ₃ +š | í | [bujar ^ɟ ɛjʃi:] | ‘merry’ |
| L | chab | ý | chab | PAL ₁ +ej | PAL ₃ +š | í | [xab ⁱ ɛjʃi:] | ‘weak’ |
| G | drah | ý | drah | | PAL ₃ +š | í | [dra ³ ʃi:] | ‘rich’ |
| A | star | ý | star | | PAL ₃ +š | í | [starʃi:] | ‘old’ |
| L | slab | ý | slab | | PAL ₃ +š | í | [slabʃi:] | ‘weak’ |

Czech

| | | CMPR | | | | | |
|------|-------|------------------|----|------------------|--------------------|-------|-----------|
| | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | | gloss | |
| G MS | stroh | PAL ₁ | ej | PAL ₃ | š PAL ₂ | í | 'austere' |
| IPA | stroʒ | ← εj | █ | ʃ | ← | i: | |

Czech

| | | CMPR | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|------------------|----|------------------|--------------------|-------|-----------|
| | | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | gloss | |
| G MS | stroh | PAL ₁ | ej | PAL ₃ | š PAL ₂ | í | 'austere' |
| IPA | stro ₃ | ← | ɛj | █ | ʃ ← | i: | |
| MS | drah | | | PAL ₃ | š PAL ₂ | í | 'rich' |
| IPA | dra ₃ | | | ← | ʃ ← | i: | |

Czech

| | | CMPR | | | | |
|---|-----|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| | | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | gloss |
| G | MS | stroh | PAL ₁ ej | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | 'austere' |
| | IPA | stro ₃ | ← εj | █ | ʃ ← i: | |
| | MS | drah | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | | 'rich' |
| | IPA | dra ₃ | ← | ʃ ← i: | | |
| A | MS | bujar | PAL ₁ ej | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | 'merry' |
| | IPA | bujar̩ | ← εj | █ | ʃ ← i: | |

Czech

| | | CMPR | | | | |
|---|-----|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| | | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | gloss |
| G | MS | stroh | PAL ₁ ej | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | 'austere' |
| | IPA | stro ₃ | ← εj | █ | ʃ ← i: | |
| | MS | drah | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | | 'rich' |
| | IPA | dra ₃ | ← | ʃ ← i: | | |
| A | MS | bujar | PAL ₁ ej | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | 'merry' |
| | IPA | bujar̩ | ← εj | █ | ʃ ← i: | |
| | MS | star | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | | 'old' |
| | IPA | star | █ | ʃ ← i: | | |

Czech

| | | CMPR | | | | |
|---|-----|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| | | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | gloss |
| G | MS | stroh | PAL ₁ ej | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | 'austere' |
| | IPA | stroʒ | ← εj | █ | ʃ ← i: | |
| | MS | drah | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | | 'rich' |
| | IPA | draʒ | ← | █ | ʃ ← i: | |
| A | MS | bujar | PAL ₁ ej | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | 'merry' |
| | IPA | bujar̩ | ← εj | █ | ʃ ← i: | |
| | MS | star | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | | 'old' |
| | IPA | star | █ | █ | ʃ ← i: | |
| L | MS | chab | PAL ₁ ej | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | 'weak' |
| | IPA | xab ^j | ← εj | █ | ʃ ← i: | |

Czech

| | | CMPR | | | | |
|---|-----|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| | | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | gloss |
| G | MS | stroh | PAL ₁ ej | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | 'austere' |
| | IPA | stro ₃ | ← ej | █ | ʃ ← i: | |
| | MS | drah | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | | 'rich' |
| | IPA | dra ₃ | ← | ʃ ← i: | | |
| A | MS | bujar | PAL ₁ ej | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | 'merry' |
| | IPA | bujar̩ | ← ej | █ | ʃ ← i: | |
| | MS | star | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | | 'old' |
| | IPA | star | █ | ʃ ← i: | | |
| L | MS | chab | PAL ₁ ej | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | 'weak' |
| | IPA | xab ^j | ← ej | █ | ʃ ← i: | |
| | MS | slab | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₂ í | | 'weak' |
| | IPA | slab | █ | ʃ ← i: | | |

The effects of PAL₁

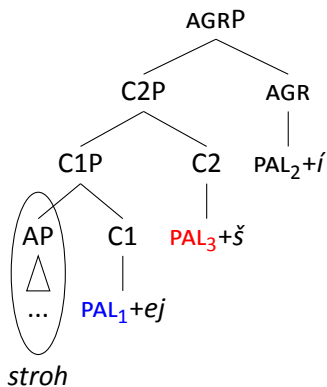
| | IPA | POS | CMPR | gloss |
|---|--------|----------|--------------|-----------|
| G | h → ʒ | stroh-ý | strož-ejš-í | 'austere' |
| V | k → tʃ | divok-ý | divoč-ejš-í | 'wild' |
| A | t → tʲ | kulat-ý | kulat-ějš-í | 'round' |
| | r → ṛ | bujar-ý | bujař-ejš-í | 'merry' |
| | n → ɲ | benign-í | benign-ějš-í | 'benign' |
| L | p → pʲ | hloup-ý | hloup-ějš-í | 'stupid' |
| | b → bʲ | blb-ý | blb-ějš-í | 'stupid' |

The effects of PAL₃

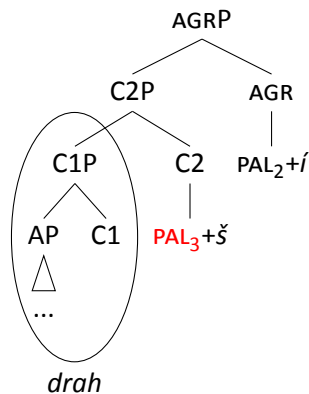
| | IPA | POS | CMPR | gloss |
|---|--------|----------|-------------|-----------|
| G | h → ɜ | drah-ý | draž-š-í | 'austere' |
| V | k → tʃ | kluz-k-ý | kluzč-(š)-í | 'wild' |
| | x → ʃ | tich-ý | tiš-š-í | 'silent' |

Czech root sizes

(4) a.



b.



Outline

Introduction

Czech

Ukrainian

Russian

Conclusions

Ukrainian

| | POS | | CMPR | | | IPA | gloss | |
|---|--------|-----|--------|---------------------|---------------------|-----|---------------|-------------|
| | AP | AGR | AP | C1 | C2 | | | AGR |
| G | voloh | yj | voloh | PAL ₁ +i | PAL ₃ +š | yj | [ʋolɔhʲijij] | 'humid' |
| A | sviž | yj | sviž | PAL ₁ +i | PAL ₃ +š | yj | [svʲizʲijij] | 'fresh' |
| L | krasyv | yj | krasyv | PAL ₁ +i | PAL ₃ +š | yj | [krasʲʋʲijij] | 'beautiful' |
| G | doroh | yj | dorož | | PAL ₃ +š | yj | [dorɔʃtʲij] | 'expensive' |
| A | duž | yj | duž | | PAL ₃ +š | yj | [duʃtʲij] | 'strong' |
| L | dešev | yj | dešev | | PAL ₃ +š | yj | [dɛʃɛʋijij] | 'cheap' |

Ukrainian

| | AP | C1 | C2 | CMPR | AGR | gloss |
|------|---------|------------------|----|------------------|------|---------|
| G MS | voloh | PAL ₁ | i | PAL ₃ | š yj | 'humid' |
| IPA | ʋolɔfʰj | ← i | ■ | ʃ | ij | |

Ukrainian

| | AP | C1 | C2 | CMPR | AGR | gloss |
|------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------|-----|-------------|
| G MS | voloh | PAL ₁ i | PAL ₃ š | yj | | 'humid' |
| IPA | vɔlɔf ^j | ← i | █ | ʃ | ij | |
| MS | doroh | | PAL ₃ š | yj | | 'expensive' |
| IPA | dɔrɔɔ ³ | | ← | ʃ | ij | |

Ukrainian

| | | CMPR | | | | |
|------|--------|------------------|----|------------------|-------------|---------|
| | | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | gloss |
| G MS | voloh | PAL ₁ | i | PAL ₃ | š yj | 'humid' |
| IPA | vɔlɔfʲ | ← | i | ʃ | ij | |
| MS | doroh | PAL ₃ | š | yj | 'expensive' | |
| IPA | dɔrɔʃt | ← | ʃ | ij | | |

Ukrainian

| | | CMPR | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------|-------------|
| | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | gloss |
| G MS | voloh | PAL ₁ i | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'humid' |
| IPA | vɔɫɔf ^j | ← i | █ | ʃ ij | |
| MS | doroh | PAL ₃ š | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'expensive' |
| IPA | dɔrɔf ^t | ← | █ | ʃ ij | |
| A MS | sviž | PAL ₁ i | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'fresh' |
| IPA | sv ^j iʒ ^j | ← i | █ | ʃ ij | |

Ukrainian

| | | CMPR | | | | |
|---|-----|---------|--------------------|--------------------|------|-------------|
| | | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | gloss |
| G | MS | voloh | PAL ₁ i | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'humid' |
| | IPA | vɔlɔfʲ | ← i | █ | ʃ ij | |
| | MS | doroh | | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'expensive' |
| | IPA | dɔrɔfʲt | | ← | ʃ ij | |
| A | MS | sviž | PAL ₁ i | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'fresh' |
| | IPA | svʲiʒʲ | ← i | █ | ʃ ij | |
| | MS | duž | | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'strong' |
| | IPA | duʒ | | █ | ʃ ij | |

Ukrainian

| | | CMPR | | | | |
|---|-----|--------|--------------------|--------------------|------|-------------|
| | | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | gloss |
| G | MS | voloh | PAL ₁ i | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'humid' |
| | IPA | vɔlɔfʲ | ← i | █ | ʃ ij | |
| | MS | doroh | | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'expensive' |
| | IPA | dɔrɔfʲ | | ← | ʃ ij | |
| A | MS | sviž | PAL ₁ i | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'fresh' |
| | IPA | svʲiʒʲ | ← i | █ | ʃ ij | |
| | MS | duž | | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'strong' |
| | IPA | duʃʲ | | █ | ʃ ij | |

Ukrainian

| | | CMPR | | | | |
|---|-----|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------|-------------|
| | | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | gloss |
| G | MS | voloh | PAL ₁ i | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'humid' |
| | IPA | vɔlɔf ^j | ← i | █ | ʃ ij | |
| | MS | doroh | | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'expensive' |
| | IPA | dɔrɔ ^j t | | ← | ʃ ij | |
| A | MS | sviž | PAL ₁ i | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'fresh' |
| | IPA | svʲiʒ ^j | ← i | █ | ʃ ij | |
| | MS | duž | | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'strong' |
| | IPA | du ^j t | | █ | ʃ ij | |
| L | MS | krasiv | PAL ₁ i | PAL ₃ š | yj | 'beautiful' |
| | IPA | krasiu ^j | ← i | █ | ʃ ij | |

Ukrainian

| | | CMPR | | | | |
|------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----|----|-------------|
| | AP | C1 | C2 | AGR | | gloss |
| G MS | voloh | PAL ₁ i | PAL ₃ š | yj | | 'humid' |
| IPA | vɔlɔf ^j | ← i | █ | ʃ | ij | |
| MS | doroh | | PAL ₃ š | yj | | 'expensive' |
| IPA | dɔrɔ ^j t | | ← | ʃ | ij | |
| A MS | sviž | PAL ₁ i | PAL ₃ š | yj | | 'fresh' |
| IPA | svʲiʒ ^j | ← i | █ | ʃ | ij | |
| MS | duž | | PAL ₃ š | yj | | 'strong' |
| IPA | du ^j t | | █ | ʃ | ij | |
| L MS | krasyv | PAL ₁ i | PAL ₃ š | yj | | 'beautiful' |
| IPA | krasiu ^j | ← i | █ | ʃ | ij | |
| MS | dešev | | PAL ₃ š | yj | | 'cheap' |
| IPA | dɛʃɛu | | █ | ʃ | ij | |

The effects of PAL₁

| | IPA | POS | CMPR | gloss |
|---|--------------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| G | h → h ^j | voloh-yj | voloh-iš-yj | 'humid' |
| V | k → k ^j | brydk-yj | brydk-iš-yj | 'ugly' |
| A | z → z ^j | sviž-yj | sviž-iš-yj | 'fresh' |
| | t → t ^j | krut-yj | krut-iš-yj | 'steep' |
| | r → r ^j | mudr-yj | mudr-iš-yj | 'bitter' |
| | n → n ^j | hučn-yj | hučn-iš-yj | 'loud' |
| | l → l ^j | myl-yj | myl-iš-yj | 'nice' |
| L | p → p ^j | tup-yj | tup-iš-yj | 'dumb' |
| | b → b ^j | hrub-yj | hrub-iš-yj | 'rough' |
| | u → u ^j | krasyv-yj | krasyv-iš-yj | 'beautiful' |
| | m → m ^j | vidom-yj | vidom-iš-yj | 'famous' |

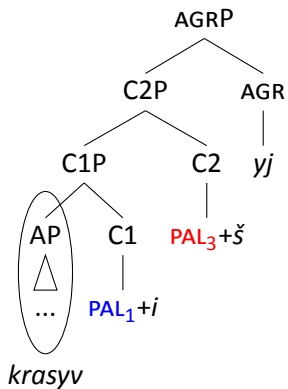
(Pompino-Marschall et al. 2017)

The effects of PAL₃

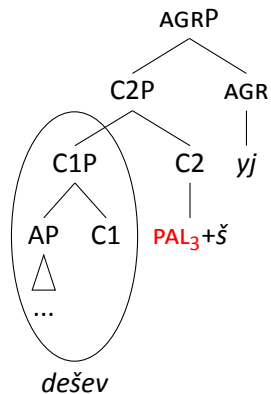
| | IPA | POS | CMPR | gloss |
|---|-------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| G | ħ → ʒ | doroh-yj | dorož-č-yj | 'expensive' |
| A | s → ʃ | vys-ok-yj | vyš-č-yj | 'tall' |

Ukrainian root sizes

(5) a.



b.



Outline

Introduction

Czech

Ukrainian

Russian

Conclusions

Russian

- ▶ Three allomorphs (Wade 2011, among others)

Russian

- ▶ Three allomorphs (Wade 2011, among others)
- ▶ 'the Russian [suffixes] do not exhibit a clear containment pattern' (Kukhto to appear)

Russian

- ▶ Three allomorphs (Wade 2011, among others)
- ▶ 'the Russian [suffixes] do not exhibit a clear containment pattern' (Kukhto to appear)
- ▶ We argue that there are two allomorphs

Russian

- ▶ Three allomorphs (Wade 2011, among others)
- ▶ 'the Russian [suffixes] do not exhibit a clear containment pattern' (Kukhto to appear)
- ▶ We argue that there are two allomorphs
- ▶ The two allomorphs stand in a containment relation

Russian

| | POS | CMPR | |
|----|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| ee | krasiv-yj | krasiv-ee | 'beautiful' |
| e | bogat-yj | bogat-e | 'rich' |
| še | star-yj | star-še | 'old' |

Russian

| | POS | CMPR | |
|----|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| ee | krasiv-yj | krasiv-ee | 'beautiful' |
| e | bogat-yj | boga[tʃ]e | 'rich' |
| še | star-yj | star-še | 'old' |

Russian

| | POS | CMPR | |
|----|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| ee | krasiv-yj | krasiv-ee | 'beautiful' |
| še | bogat-yj | boga[tʃ]e | 'rich' |
| še | star-yj | star-še | 'old' |

Russian

| | POS | CMPR | |
|----|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| ee | krasiv-yj | krasiv-ee | 'beautiful' |
| še | bogat-yj | boga[tʃ]e | 'rich' |

Russian

| | POS | CMPR | |
|----|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| ee | krasiv-yj | krasiv-e[j]e | 'beautiful' |
| še | bogat-yj | boga[tʃ]e | 'rich' |

Russian

| | POS | CMPR | |
|-----|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| eje | krasiv-yj | krasiv-e[j]e | 'beautiful' |
| še | bogat-yj | boga[tj]e | 'rich' |

Russian

| | AP | C1 | C2 | |
|-----|--------|----|-----|-------------|
| eje | krasiv | e | j e | 'beautiful' |
| še | bogat | š | e | 'rich' |

Russian

| | AP | C1 | C2 | |
|-----|--------|------------------|------------------|---------------|
| eje | krasiv | e | PAL ₃ | e 'beautiful' |
| še | bogat | PAL ₃ | e | 'rich' |

Russian

| | AP | C1 | C2 | |
|-----|--------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| eje | krasiv | PAL ₁ e | PAL ₃ e | 'beautiful' |
| še | bogat | PAL ₃ e | | 'rich' |

Russian

| | POS | | CMPR | | IPA | gloss | |
|-----|--------|-----|--------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|-------------|
| | AP | AGR | AP | C1 | | | C2 |
| /v/ | krasiv | yj | krasiv | PAL ₁ +e | PAL ₃ +e | [krasʲivʲeje] | ‘beautiful’ |
| /t/ | syt | yj | syt | PAL ₁ +e | PAL ₃ +e | [sitʲeje] | ‘full’ |
| /d/ | xud | oj | xud | PAL ₁ +e | PAL ₃ +e | [xudʲeje] | ‘thin’ |
| /v/ | dešëv | yj | dešëv | | PAL ₃ +e | [dʲeʃevʲe] | ‘cheap’ |
| /t/ | bogat | yj | bogat | | PAL ₃ +e | [bogatʲe] | ‘rich’ |
| /d/ | molod | oj | molod | | PAL ₃ +e | [melozʲe] | ‘young’ |

Russian

| | AP | CMPR | | gloss |
|--------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| | | C1 | C2 | |
| /v/ MS | krasiv | PAL ₁ e | PAL ₃ e | 'beautiful' |
| IPA | kras ^j iv ^j | ← e | j e | |

Russian

| | | CMPR | | |
|--------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| | AP | C1 | C2 | gloss |
| /v/ MS | krasiv | PAL ₁ e | PAL ₃ e | 'beautiful' |
| IPA | kras'iv ^j | ← e | j e | |
| MS | dešev | | PAL ₃ e | 'cheap' |
| IPA | dʲeʃev ^j | | ← e | |

Russian

| | | CMPR | | |
|--------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| | AP | C1 | C2 | gloss |
| /v/ MS | krasiv | PAL ₁ e | PAL ₃ e | 'beautiful' |
| IPA | kras'iv ^j | ← e | j e | |
| MS | dešev | | PAL ₃ e | 'cheap' |
| IPA | dʲeʃev ^j | | ← e | |

Russian

| | | AP | CMPR | | gloss |
|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| | | | C1 | C2 | |
| /v/ | MS | krasiv | PAL ₁ e | PAL ₃ e | 'beautiful' |
| | IPA | kras ^j iv ^j | ← e | j e | |
| | MS | dešev | | PAL ₃ e | 'cheap' |
| | IPA | dʲeʃev ^j | | ← e | |
| /t/ | MS | syt | PAL ₁ e | PAL ₃ e | 'full' |
| | IPA | sit ^j | ← e | j e | |

Russian

| | | CMPR | | |
|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| | AP | C1 | C2 | gloss |
| /v/ | MS | krasiv | PAL ₁ e PAL ₃ e | 'beautiful' |
| | IPA | kras ^j iv ^j | ← e j e | |
| | MS | dešev | PAL ₃ e | 'cheap' |
| | IPA | dʲeʃev ^j | ← e | |
| /t/ | MS | syt | PAL ₁ e PAL ₃ e | 'full' |
| | IPA | sit ^j | ← e j e | |
| | MS | bogat | PAL ₃ e | 'rich' |
| | IPA | begat ^ʃ | ← e | |

Russian

| | | CMPR | | | |
|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| | | AP | C1 | C2 | gloss |
| /v/ | MS | krasiv | PAL ₁ e | PAL ₃ e | 'beautiful' |
| | IPA | kras ^j iv ^j | ← e | j e | |
| | MS | dešev | PAL ₃ e | | 'cheap' |
| | IPA | dʲeʃev ^j | ← e | | |
| /t/ | MS | syt | PAL ₁ e | PAL ₃ e | 'full' |
| | IPA | sit ^j | ← e | j e | |
| | MS | bogat | PAL ₃ e | | 'rich' |
| | IPA | begat ^ʃ | ← e | | |
| /d/ | MS | xud | PAL ₁ e | PAL ₃ e | 'thin' |
| | IPA | xud ^j | ← e | j e | |

Russian

| | | AP | CMPR | | gloss |
|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| | | | C1 | C2 | |
| /v/ | MS | krasiv | PAL ₁ e | PAL ₃ e | 'beautiful' |
| | IPA | kras ^j iv ^j | ← e | j e | |
| | MS | dešev | PAL ₃ e | | 'cheap' |
| | IPA | dʲeʃev ^j | ← e | | |
| /t/ | MS | syt | PAL ₁ e | PAL ₃ e | 'full' |
| | IPA | sit ^j | ← e | j e | |
| | MS | bogat | PAL ₃ e | | 'rich' |
| | IPA | begat ^ʃ | ← e | | |
| /d/ | MS | xud | PAL ₁ e | PAL ₃ e | 'thin' |
| | IPA | xud ^j | ← e | j e | |
| | MS | molod | PAL ₃ e | | 'young' |
| | IPA | melo ₃ | ← e | | |

j vs j

| | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|----------|-----------|------|------------|
| (6) | | Cyrillic | Romanised | IPA | meaning |
| | PAL ₁ | сел | s'el | sʲel | 'sat down' |
| | PAL ₃ | сьел | sjel | sjel | 'ate up' |

Root mutations triggered by PAL₃

Wade (2011: 197)

| | IPA | POS | CMPR | gloss |
|-------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| V | k → tʃ | grom-k-yj | grom[tʃ]-e | 'loud' |
| | | lëg-k-ij | leg[tʃ]-e | 'light' |
| | x → ʃ | tix-ij | ti[ʃ]-e | 'quiet' |
| | | sux-oj | su[ʃ]-e | 'dry' |
| A | d → ʒ | molod-oj | molo[ʒ]-e | 'young' |
| | | glad-k-ij | gla[ʒ]-e | 'smooth' |
| | t → tʃ | bogat-yj | boga[tʃ]-e | 'expensive' |
| | | krut-oj | kru[tʃ]-e | 'steep' |
| | st → ʃ | čist-yj | či[ʃ]-e | 'clean' |
| | | tolst-yj | tol[ʃ]-e | 'thick' |
| s → ʃ | vys-ok-ij | vy[ʃ]-e | 'high' | |
| | plos-k-ij | plo[ʃ]-e | 'flat' | |
| L | v → vlʲ | dešëv-yj | deše[vlʲ]-e | 'cheap' |

Irregular cases

Wade (2011: 198)

| | IPA | POS | CMPR | gloss |
|---|---------------|------------|-----------|--------|
| V | lg → lgʃ → lʃ | dolg-ij | dol-[ʃ]e | 'long' |
| A | n → nʃ | ton-k-ij | ton-[ʃ]e | 'thin' |
| | r → rʃ | star-yj | star-[ʃ]e | 'old' |
| L | b → bʒ | glub-ok-ij | glub-[ʒ]e | 'deep' |

Irregular cases

Wade (2011: 198)

| | IPA | POS | CMPR | gloss |
|---|---------------|------------|-----------|--------|
| V | lg → lgʃ → lʃ | dolg-ij | dol-[ʃ]e | 'long' |
| A | n → nʃ | ton-k-ij | ton-[ʃ]e | 'thin' |
| | r → rʃ | star-yj | star-[ʃ]e | 'old' |
| L | b → bʒ | glub-ok-ij | glub-[ʒ]e | 'deep' |

- ▶ suppletion

Irregular cases

Wade (2011: 198)

| | IPA | POS | CMPR | gloss |
|---|---------------|------------|-----------|--------|
| V | lg → lgʃ → lʃ | dolg-ij | dol-[ʃ]e | 'long' |
| A | n → nʃ | ton-k-ij | ton-[ʃ]e | 'thin' |
| | r → rʃ | star-yj | star-[ʃ]e | 'old' |
| L | b → bʒ | glub-ok-ij | glub-[ʒ]e | 'deep' |

- ▶ suppletion
- ▶ regular segmental realisation of PAL₃

Irregular cases

| | IPA | POS | CMPR | gloss |
|---|---------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| V | k → t̪ | grom-k-yj | grom[t̪]-e | 'loud' |
| | x → ʃ | tix-ij | ti[ʃ]-e | 'quiet' |
| A | d → ʒ | molod-oj | molo[ʒ]-e | 'young' |
| | t → t̪ | bogat-yj | boga[t̪]-e | 'expensive' |
| | st → ʃ | čist-yj | či[ʃ]-e | 'clean' |
| | s → ʃ | vys-ok-ij | vy[ʃ]-e | 'high' |
| L | v → vʲ | dešëv-yj | deše[vʲ]-e | 'cheap' |
| V | lg → lgʃ → lʃ | dolg-oj | dol-[ʃ]e | 'long' |
| A | n → nʃ | ton-k-ij | ton-[ʃ]e | 'thin' |
| | r → rʃ | star-yj | star-[ʃ]e | 'old' |
| L | b → bʒ | glub-ok-ij | glub-[ʒ]e | 'deep' |

Irregular cases

| | | POS | | CMPR | | gloss |
|-----|-----|------|-----|-------|--------------------|-------|
| | | AP | AGR | AP C1 | C2 | |
| /r/ | MS | star | yj | star | PAL ₃ e | 'old' |
| | IPA | | | starʃ | ← e | |

Irregular cases

| | | POS | | CMPR | | gloss |
|-----|-----|---------|-----|-------|--------------------|---------|
| | | AP | AGR | AP C1 | C2 | |
| /r/ | MS | star | yj | star | PAL ₃ e | 'old' |
| | IPA | | | starʃ | ← e | |
| /n/ | MS | ton-k | ij | ton | PAL ₃ e | 'thin' |
| | IPA | | | tonʃ | ← e | |
| | MS | malen-k | ij | men | PAL ₃ e | 'small' |
| | IPA | | | menʃ | ← e | |
| /b/ | MS | glub-ok | ij | glub | PAL ₃ e | 'deep' |
| | IPA | | | glubʒ | ← e | |
| /g/ | MS | dolg | oj | dolg | PAL ₃ e | 'long' |
| | IPA | | | dolgʃ | ← e | |

Two residual cases

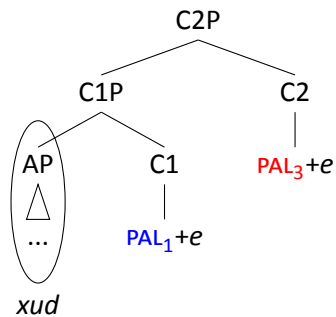
| | | POS | CMPR | gloss |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| A | /d/ → /ʒ/ | molod-oj | molo[ʒ]-e | 'young' |
| | /d/ → /j/ | slad-k-ij | sla[j]-e | 'sweet' |

Two residual cases

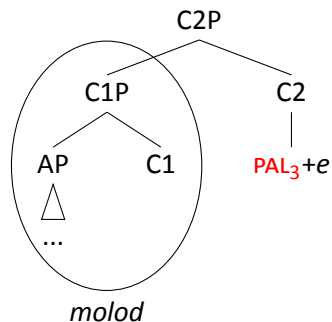
| | | POS | CMPR | gloss |
|---|------------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| A | /d/ → /ʒ/ | molod-oj | molo[ʒ]-e | 'young' |
| | /d/ → /ʃ/ | slad-k-ij | sla[ʃ]-e | 'sweet' |
| A | /r/ → /rʃ/ | star-yj | star-[ʃ]e | 'old' |
| | /r/ → /r/ | šir-ok-ij | šir-e | 'wide' |

Russian root sizes

(7) a.



b.



Outline

Introduction

Czech

Ukrainian

Russian

Conclusions

Conclusions

- ▶ Despite some important surface differences, Czech, Ukrainian, and Russian show a surprising similarity in the allomorphs of the comparative
- ▶ they provide support for the split comparative hypothesis (CMPR=C1-C2)
- ▶ palatalisation processes provide evidence for the presence of two different floating segments inside the exponents of C1 and C2, respectively:
 - ▶ PAL₁
 - ▶ PAL₃

References

- Caha, P., De Clercq, K. and Vanden Wyngaerd, G. (2019), 'The fine structure of the comparative', *Studia Linguistica* **73**(3), 470–521.
- Kukhto, A. (to appear), On Russian comparative morphology, nanosyntax, and pointers, in 'Proceedings of WCCFL 39', Cascadilla Press.
- Pompino-Marschall, B., Steriopolo, E. and Žygis, M. (2017), 'Illustrations of the ipa: Ukrainian', *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* **47**(3), 349–357.
- Vanden Wyngaerd, G., Starke, M., De Clercq, K. and Caha, P. (2020), 'How to be positive', *Glossa* **5**(1), 23. 1–34.
- Vyshnevskaya, A. (2022), 'There is more to the morphology of -š/-iš: the comparative in Ukrainian', *Linguistics in the Netherlands* **39**, 263–278.
- Wade, T. (2011), *A comprehensive Russian Grammar*, 3rd edn, Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, UK.

Outline

Adjectives and Adverbs

Suppletion

Russian: more effects of PAL₃

Comparative suffixes in Slavic

| | | ADJ | | ADV | |
|----|---------------------|--------|-------|------|------|
| a. | PROTO-SLAVIC | *-ejьs | *-jьs | | |
| b. | OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC | -ějьš | -jьš | -ěje | -ějь |
| c. | POLISH | -ejsz | -sz | | -ej |
| d. | CZECH | -ějš | -š | -ěji | -e |
| e. | SLOVAK | -ejš | -š | | |
| f. | UKRAINIAN | -iš | -š | -iše | -še |
| g. | RUSSIAN | | | -ee | -e |

Adjectives and Adverbs

| | | LF ADJ | SF ADJ | ADV |
|-----|----|-------------|----------|----------|
| POS | F | krasiv-a-ja | krasiv-a | krasiv-o |
| | M | krasiv-ij | krasiv | krasiv-o |
| | N | krasiv-o-je | krasiv-o | krasiv-o |
| | PL | krasiv-y-je | krasiv-y | krasiv-o |

Adjectives and Adverbs

| | | LF ADJ | SF ADJ | ADV |
|------|----|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| POS | F | krasiv-a-ja | krasiv-a | krasiv-o |
| | M | krasiv-ij | krasiv | krasiv-o |
| | N | krasiv-o-je | krasiv-o | krasiv-o |
| | PL | krasiv-y-je | krasiv-y | krasiv-o |
| CMPR | | | krasiv-e-je | krasiv-e-je |
| | | | bliž-e | bliž-e |

Adjectives and Adverbs

| | | LF ADJ | SF ADJ | ADV |
|------|----|------------------|-------------|---------------|
| POS | F | krasiv-a-ja | krasiv-a | krasiv-o |
| | M | krasiv-ij | krasiv | krasiv-o |
| | N | krasiv-o-je | krasiv-o | krasiv-o |
| | PL | krasiv-y-je | krasiv-y | krasiv-o |
| CMPR | | | krasiv-e-je | krasiv-e-je |
| | | | bliž-e | bliž-e |
| SPRL | F | krasiv-ej-š-a-ja | | krasiv-ej-š-e |
| | M | krasiv-ej-š-ij | | krasiv-ej-š-e |
| | N | krasiv-ej-š-ej-e | | krasiv-ej-š-e |
| | PL | krasiv-ej-š-ij-e | | krasiv-ej-š-e |

Adjectives and Adverbs

- (8) a. *krasiv- a devuška
beautiful AGR1 girl.F
b. krasiv- a- ja devuška
beautiful AGR1 AGR2 girl.F
'a beautiful girl'
- (9) a. *krasiv- ee devuška
beautiful CMPR girl.F
b. devuška (po-) krasiv- ee
girl.F a.bit beautiful CMPR
'a more beautiful girl'

Outline

Adjectives and Adverbs

Suppletion

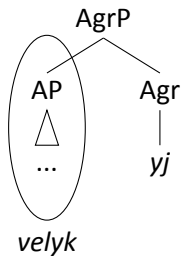
Russian: more effects of PAL₃

Suppletion

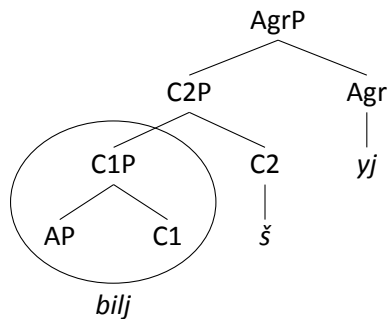
| | POS | | CMPR | | | gloss |
|-----|--------|-----|-------|------------------|----|---------|
| | AP | AGR | AP | C1 | C2 | |
| Cz | velk | ý | vět | š | í | |
| Ukr | velyk | yj | bilj | š | yj | 'big' |
| Rus | velik | ij | boljš | PAL ₃ | +e | |
| Cz | mal | ý | men | š | í | |
| Ukr | mal | yj | men | š | yj | 'small' |
| Rus | malenk | ij | men | PAL ₃ | +e | |

Suppletive roots: Ukrainian

(10)



(11)



Outline

Adjectives and Adverbs

Suppletion

Russian: more effects of PAL₃

Root mutations triggered by PAL₃ (verbs)

| | INF | 1SG | translation |
|-------------|------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| /t/ -> /tʃ/ | lʲet ^j etj | lʲetʃ ^j u | to fly |
| | šut-itj | šutʃ ^j u | to joke |
| /d/ -> /ʒ/ | si ^d etj | siʒ ^j u | to sit |
| | glʲad ^d etj | glʲaʒ ^j u | to look |

/l/-epenthesis

Epenthetic /l/ in 1SG following labials (and preceding PAL₃):

| | INF | 1SG | 2SG | translation |
|-----|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| /b/ | ljub-itj | ljub ^l -u | ljub-eš | 'to love' |
| /p/ | sp-atj | sp ^l -u | sp-iš | 'to sleep' |
| /v/ | dav-itj | dav ^l -u | dav-iš | 'to press' |
| /f/ | graf-itj | graf ^l -u | graf-iš | 'to draw into graphs/columns' |
| /m/ | šum ^j -etj | šum ^l -u | šum ^j -iš | 'to make noise' |
| | um ^j -etj | um ^j -ej-u | um ^j -eje-š | 'to be able to' |