

Making sense of Comparative Allomorphy in Slavic

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SinFonIJA 16
Brno, 21-23 September 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

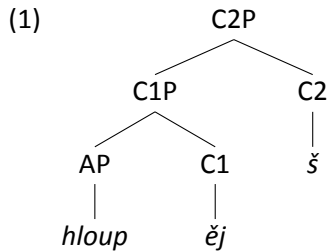
Comparative suffixes in Slavic

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



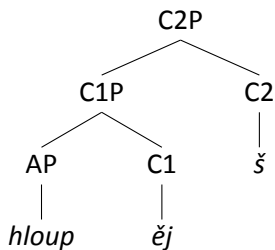
Root size determines allomorphy selection

(2)

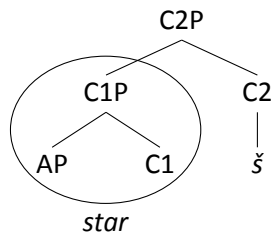
AP	C1	C2	AGR	gloss
hloup	-ěj	-š	-í	'stupid'
star		-š	-í	'old'

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:
 - ▶ PAL₁
 - ▶ PAL₃

Outline

Introduction

Czech

Ukrainian

Russian

Conclusions

	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		AGR	IPA	gloss
	AP	AGR		C1	C2			
G	stroh	ý	stroh	PAL ₁ +ej	PAL ₃ +š	í	[stroʒɛjfi:]	'austere'
A	bujar	ý	bujar	PAL ₁ +ej	PAL ₃ +š	í	[bujarɟɛjfi:]	'merry'
L	chab	ý	chab	PAL ₁ +ej	PAL ₃ +š	í	[xabʲɛjfi:]	'weak'
G	drah	ý	drah		PAL ₃ +š	í	[draʒji:]	'rich'
A	star	ý	star		PAL ₃ +š	í	[starji:]	'old'
L	slab	ý	slab		PAL ₃ +š	í	[slabji:]	'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	stroʒ	←	ɛj	█	ʃ ←	i:	
MS	drah			PAL ₃	š PAL ₂	í	'rich'
IPA	draʒ			←	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:	

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	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:	
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 _ʒ	← εj	█	ʃ ← i:	
	MS	drah	PAL ₃ š	PAL ₂ í		'rich'
	IPA	dra _ʒ	←	█	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:	
	MS	slab	PAL ₃ š	PAL ₂ í		'weak'
	IPA	slab	█	█	ʃ ← i:	

The effects of PAL₁

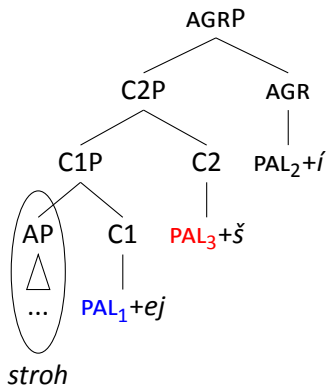
	IPA	POS	CMPR	gloss
G	h → ʒ	stroh-ý	strož-ejš-í	'austere'
V	k → tʃ	divok-ý	divoč-ejš-í	'wild'
A	t → tʲ	kulat-ý	kulat-ějš-í	'round'
	r → ṛ	bujar-ý	bujař-ejš-í	'merry'
	n → ɲ	benign-í	benign-ějš-í	'benign'
L	p → pʲ	hloup-ý	hloup-ějš-í	'stupid'
	b → bʲ	blb-ý	blb-ějš-í	'stupid'

The effects of PAL₃

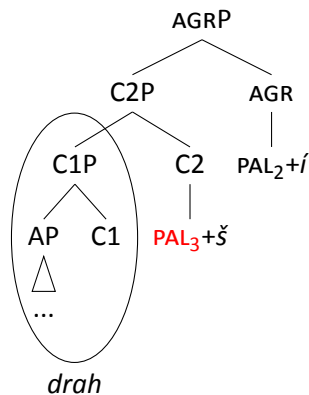
	IPA	POS	CMPR	gloss
G	h → ɜ	drah-ý	draž-š-í	'austere'
V	k → tʃ	kluz-k-ý	kluzč-(š)-í	'wild'
	x → ʃ	tich-ý	tiš-š-í	'silent'

Czech root sizes

(4) a.



b.



Outline

Introduction

Czech

Ukrainian

Russian

Conclusions

Ukrainian

	POS		CMPR			IPA	gloss	
	AP	AGR	AP	C1	C2			
G	voloh	yj	voloh	PAL ₁ +i	PAL ₃ +š	yj	[ʋolɔɦʲijij]	'humid'
A	sviž	yj	sviž	PAL ₁ +i	PAL ₃ +š	yj	[sʋʲizʲijij]	'fresh'
L	krasyv	yj	krasyv	PAL ₁ +i	PAL ₃ +š	yj	[krasiʋʲijij]	'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	[dɛʃɛʋʲij]	'cheap'

Ukrainian

	AP	C1	C2	CMPR	AGR	gloss
G MS	voloh	PAL ₁	i	PAL ₃	š yj	'humid'
IPA	vɔlɔf ^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 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	vɔlɔfʲ	←	i	█	ʃ ij	
MS	doroh	PAL ₃	š	yj		'expensive'
IPA	dɔrɔʃt	←	ʃ	ij		
A MS	sviž	PAL ₁	i	PAL ₃	š yj	'fresh'
IPA	svʲiʒʲ	←	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	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	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	dufʲ	█	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	PAL ₃ š	yj	'expensive'
	IPA	dɔrɔf ^t	←	█	ʃ ij	
A	MS	sviž	PAL ₁ i	PAL ₃ š	yj	'fresh'
	IPA	sviʒ ^j	← i	█	ʃ ij	
	MS	duž	PAL ₃ š	PAL ₃ š	yj	'strong'
	IPA	duf ^t	←	█	ʃ ij	
L	MS	krasyv	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	sviʒ ^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	dɛšɛu		█	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	ʒ → ʒ ^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'
	ʊ → ʊ ^j	krasyv-yj	krasyv-iš-yj	'beautiful'
	m → m ^j	vidom-yj	vidom-iš-yj	'famous'

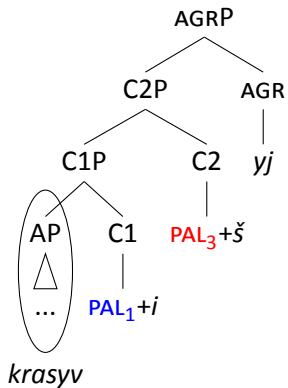
(Pompino-Marschall et al. 2017)

The effects of PAL₃

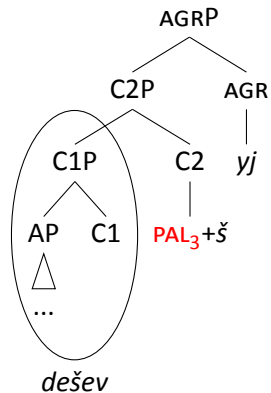
	IPA	POS	CMPR	gloss
G	ħ → ʒ	doroh-yj	dorož-č-yj	'expensive'
A	s → ʃ	vys-ok-yj	vyš-č-yj	'tall'

Ukrainian root sizes

(5) a.



b.



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Introduction

Czech

Ukrainian

Russian

Conclusions

Russian

- ▶ Three allomorphs (Wade 2011, among others)

Russian

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- ▶ ‘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/	dešev	yj	dešev		PAL ₃ +e	[dʲeʃevʲe]	‘cheap’
/t/	bogat	yj	bogat		PAL ₃ +e	[bogatʲe]	‘rich’
/d/	molod	oj	molod		PAL ₃ +e	[melozɐ]	‘young’

Russian

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

Russian

		CMPR		
	AP	C1	C2	gloss
/v/	MS	krasiv	PAL ₁ e PAL ₃ e	'beautiful'
	IPA	krasiv ^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	krasiv ^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	krasiv ^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

		CMPR			
		AP	C1	C2	gloss
/v/	MS	krasiv	PAL ₁ e	PAL ₃ e	'beautiful'
	IPA	krasiv ^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	begatʃ	← 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 → t̪	grom-k-yj	grom[t̪]-e	'loud'
		lëg-k-ij	leg[t̪]-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 → t̪	bogat-yj	boga[t̪]-e	'expensive'
		krut-oj	kru[t̪]-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 → \widehat{tj}	grom-k-yj	grom[\widehat{tj}]-e	'loud'
	x → j	tix-ij	ti[j]-e	'quiet'
A	d → ʒ	molod-oj	molo[ʒ]-e	'young'
	t → \widehat{tj}	bogat-yj	boga[\widehat{tj}]-e	'expensive'
	st → j	čist-yj	či[j]-e	'clean'
	s → j	vys-ok-ij	vy[j]-e	'high'
L	v → v ^l i	dešëv-yj	deše[v ^l i]-e	'cheap'
V	lg → lgj → lj	dolg-oj	dol-[^j]e	'long'
A	n → nj	ton-k-ij	ton-[^j]e	'thin'
	r → rj	star-yj	star-[j]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			dolʒʃ	← e	

Two residual cases

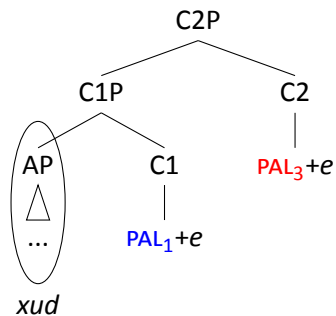
		POS	CMPR	gloss
A	/d/ → /ʒ/	molod-oj	molo[ʒ]-e	'young'
	/d/ → /j/	slad-k-ij	sla[j]-e	'sweet'

Two residual cases

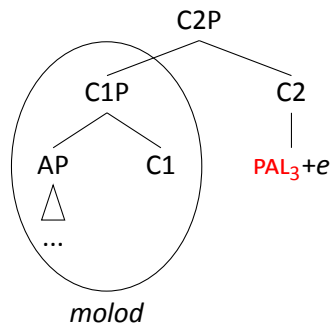
		POS	CMPR	gloss
A	/d/ → /ʒ/	molod-oj	molo[ʒ]-e	'young'
	/d/ → /j/	slad-k-ij	sla[j]-e	'sweet'
A	/r/ → /rʃ/	star-yj	star-[ʃ]e	'old'
	/r/ → /r/	šir-ok-ij	šir-e	'wide'

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

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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

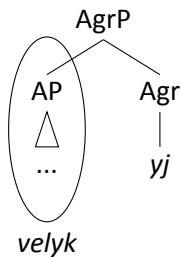
Russian: more effects of PAL₃

Suppletion

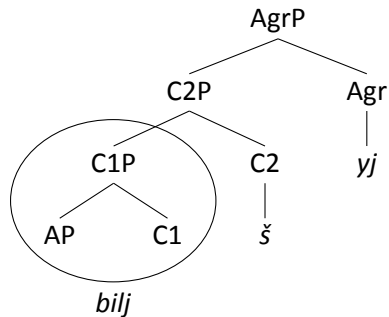
	POS		CMPR			gloss
	AP	AGR	AP	C1	C2	
Cz	velk	ý	vět	š	í	
Ukr	velyk	yj	bilj	š	yj	'big'
Rus	velik	ij	boljš	PAL ₃	+e	
Cz	mal	ý	men	š	í	
Ukr	mal	yj	men	š	yj	'small'
Rus	malenk	ij	men	PAL ₃	+e	

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 ^j -itj	šutʃ ^j u	to joke
/d/ -> /ʒ/	sid ^j etj	siʒ ^j u	to sit
	glʲad ^j 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'