The Nanosyntax of Ukrainian Adjectives and Adverbs

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FASL33
19 May 2024

Outline

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Aims of this talk

- To take a close look at the morphology of Ukrainian adjectives and adverbs

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- To analyse the interaction between the comparative marker and adjectivizing morphology

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- To take a close look at the morphology of Ukrainian adjectives and adverbs
- To analyse the interaction between the comparative marker and adjectivizing morphology
- To investigate the internal structure of comparative adjectives and adverbs

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	adjective	translation
a.	vesel-yj	‘cheerful’

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	adjective	translation
a.	vesel-yj	‘cheerful’
b.	dešev-yj	‘cheap’

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	adverb	translation
a.	vesel-o	‘cheerfully’

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	adverb	translation
a.	vesel-o	‘cheerfully’
b.	dešev-o	‘cheaply’

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	POS adjective	CMPR adjective	translation
a.	vesel-yj	vesel-iš-yj	‘cheerful’

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	POS adverb	CMPR adverb	translation
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	POS adjective	CMPR adjective	translation
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a.	vesel-o	vesel-iš-e	‘cheerfully’
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Comparative allomorphy

	POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation
a.	važlyv-yj	važlyv-iš-yj	‘important’

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b.	dešev-yj	dešev-š-yj	‘cheap’

	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
a.	važlyv-o	važlyv-iš-e	‘importantly’

Comparative allomorphy

	POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation
a.	važlyv-yj	važlyv-iš-yj	‘important’
b.	dešev-yj	dešev-š-yj	‘cheap’

	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
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Comparative allomorphy

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a.	važlyv-yj	važlyv-iš-yj	‘important’
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	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
a.	važlyv-o	važlyv-iš-e	‘importantly’
b.	dešev-o	dešev-š-e	‘cheaply’

- There are two comparative allomorphs in Ukrainian: *-iš* and *-š* (Vyshnevska 2023).

Comparative allomorphy

	POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation
a.	važlyv-yj	važlyv-iš-yj	‘important’
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a.	važlyv-o	važlyv-iš-e	‘importantly’
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- There are two comparative allomorphs in Ukrainian: *-iš* and *-š* (Vyshnevska 2023).
- The choice between the two is an arbitrary property of the root.

Slavic comparative suffixes

PS	OCS	Ukrainian	Polish	Czech	Slovak
*-jьs	-jьš	-š	-sz	-š	-š
*-ejьs	-ějьš	-iš	-ejsz	-ějš	-ejš

Table 1: Slavic CMPR suffixes

Two types of comparatives in OCS

Pancheva (2024: 21-22)

Two types of comparatives in OCS

Pancheva (2024: 21-22)

Type 1 comparative:

- *xoud-a* ‘poor’ -> *xoužd-ьš-i* ‘poorer’
- old
- very frequent adjectives
- not productive anymore
- only PC-denoting expressions

Two types of comparatives in OCS

Pancheva (2024: 21-22)

Type 1 comparative:

- *xoud-a* ‘poor’ -> *xoužd-ьš-i* ‘poorer’
- old
- very frequent adjectives
- not productive anymore
- only PC-denoting expressions

Type 2 comparative:

- *větr-ьn-a* ‘windy’ -> *větr-ьn-ěiš-i* ‘more windy’
- new
- productive
- non PC-denoting expressions

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- Comparative form

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- Adjectives

POS	CMPR
-AGR	-š-AGR
-AGR	-iš-AGR
-n-AGR	-n-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-k-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-š-AGR

Overview of patterns

- Adjectives

POS	CMPR
-AGR	-š-AGR
-AGR	-iš-AGR
-n-AGR	-n-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-k-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-š-AGR

- Adverbs

POS	CMPR
-ADV	-š-ADV
-ADV	-iš-ADV
-n-ADV	-n-iš-ADV
-k-ADV	-k-iš-ADV
-k-ADV	-š-ADV

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Positive form
Simple adjectives and adverbs

Positive form
Simple adjectives and adverbs

	POS ADJ	translation
a.	mudr-yj	‘wise’
b.	nov-yj	‘new’
c.	dovh-yj	‘long’
d.	mal-yj	‘small’

Positive form
Simple adjectives and adverbs

	POS ADJ	translation
a.	mudr-yj	‘wise’
b.	nov-yj	‘new’
c.	dovh-yj	‘long’
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	POS ADV	translation
a.	mudr-o	‘wisely’
b.	nov-o	‘newly’
c.	dovh-o	‘a long time’
d.	mal-o	‘a little’

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Positive form
Complex adjectives with *-n*

	noun	POS ADJ	translation
a.	*sklad* ‘storage’	sklad-n-yj	‘complex’
b.	*rozum* ‘mind’	rozum-n-yj	smart’
c.	*xolod* ‘cold’	xolod-n-yj	‘cold’

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- an adjectivizer

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- an adjectivizer
- very productive

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- an adjectivizer
- very productive
- can derive loan adjectives

Positive form

Complex adjectives and adverbs with *-n*

	POS ADJ	translation
a.	sklad-n-yj	‘complex’
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Complex adjectives and adverbs with *-n*

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d.	militar-n-yj	‘military’

	POS ADV	translation
a.	sklad-n-o	‘complexly’
b.	rozum-n-o	‘smartly’
c.	xolod-n-o	‘coldly’
d.	militar-n-o	‘militarily’

Positive form
Complex adjectives with *-k*

	noun	POS ADJ	translation
a.	*dzvin* ‘bell’	dzvin-k-yj	‘resonant’
b.	*slyzj* ‘slime’	slyzj-k-yj	‘slimy’
c.	*solod* ‘malt’	solod-k-yj	‘sweet’

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c.	*solod* ‘malt’	solod-k-yj	‘sweet’
d.	*bryd	bryd-k-yj	‘ugly’

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d.	*bryd	bryd-k-yj	‘ugly’

- an adjectivizer
- less productive
- rarely derives loan adjectives

Positive form

Complex adjectives and adverbs with *-k*

	POS ADJ	translation
a.	dzvin-k-yj	‘resonant’
b.	slyzj-k-yj	‘slimy’
c.	solod-k-yj	‘sweet’
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Complex adjectives and adverbs with *-k*

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d.	bryd-k-yj	‘ugly’

	POS ADV	translation
a.	dzvin-k-o	‘resonantly’
b.	slyzj-k-o	‘slimily’
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d.	bryd-k-o	‘ugly’

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	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
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b.	nov-o	nov-iš-e	‘newly’
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- either -*š* or -*iš* suffix is used

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Simple adjectives and adverbs

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- either -*š* or -*iš* suffix is used
- the suffix that is used in the adjective is used in the corresponding adverb (Bevzenko 1960: 386).

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c.	xolod-n-yj	xolod-n-iš-yj	‘cold’
d.	militar-n-yj	militar-n-iš-yj	‘military’

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d.	militar-n-o	militar-n-iš-e	‘militarily’

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d.	militar-n-o	militar-n-iš-e	‘militarily’

- *-n* is always kept in the comparative
- *-n* is always followed by *-iš*

Comparative form
Complex adjectives and adverbs with *-k*: Option 1

Comparative form

Complex adjectives and adverbs with *-k*: Option 1

	POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation
a.	dzvin-k-yj	dzvin-k-iš-yj	‘resonant’
b.	slyzj-k-yj	slyzj-k-iš-yj	‘slimy’
c.	bryd-k-yj	bryd-k-iš-yj	‘ugly’
d.	rid-k-yj	rid-k-iš-yj	‘liquid’

Comparative form

Complex adjectives and adverbs with *-k*: Option 1

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a.	dzvin-k-yj	dzvin-k-iš-yj	‘resonant’
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d.	rid-k-yj	rid-k-iš-yj	‘liquid’

	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
a.	dzvin-k-o	dzvin-k-iš-e	‘resonantly’
b.	slyzj-k-o	slyzj-k-iš-e	‘slimily’
c.	bryd-k-o	mil-k-iš-e	‘ugly’
d.	rid-k-o	rid-k-iš-e	‘liquid’

Comparative form

Complex adjectives and adverbs with *-k*: Option 1

	POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation
a.	dzvin-k-yj	dzvin-k-iš-yj	‘resonant’
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c.	bryd-k-yj	bryd-k-iš-yj	‘ugly’
d.	rid-k-yj	rid-k-iš-yj	‘liquid’

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d.	rid-k-o	rid-k-iš-e	‘liquid’

- *-k* is kept in the comparative
- in such case *-k* is always followed by *-iš*

Comparative form
Complex adjectives and adverbs with *-k*: Option 2

Comparative form

Complex adjectives and adverbs with *-k*: Option 2

	POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	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.	solod-k-yj	solod-š-yj	‘sweet’

Comparative form

Complex adjectives and adverbs with *-k*: Option 2

	POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation
a.	korot-k-yj	korot-š-yj	‘short’
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	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
a.	korot-k-o	korot-š-e	‘short’
b.	tiaž-k-o	tiaž-č-e	‘heavily’
c.	švyd-k-o	švyd-š-e	‘fast’
d.	solod-k-o	solod-š-e	‘sweetly’

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Complex adjectives and adverbs with *-k*: Option 2

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d.	solod-k-o	solod-š-e	‘sweetly’

- *-k* is dropped in the comparative
- in such case *-š* is always used

Overview of patterns

- Adjectives

POS	CMPR
-AGR	-š-AGR
-AGR	-iš-AGR
-n-AGR	-n-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-k-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-š-AGR

Overview of patterns

- Adjectives

POS	CMPR
-AGR	-š-AGR
-AGR	-iš-AGR
-n-AGR	-n-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-k-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-š-AGR

- Adverbs

POS	CMPR
-ADV	-š-ADV
-ADV	-iš-ADV
-n-ADV	-n-iš-ADV
-k-ADV	-k-iš-ADV
-k-ADV	-š-ADV

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

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- phrasal spell-out (spell-out targets phrases, not heads)

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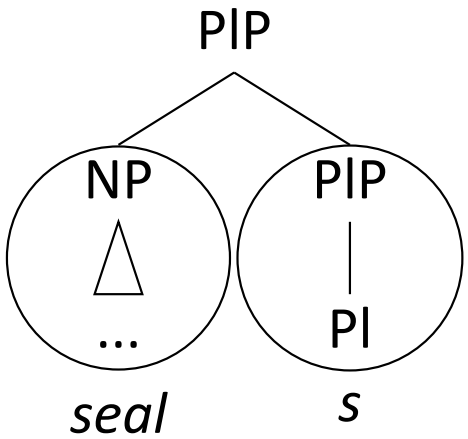
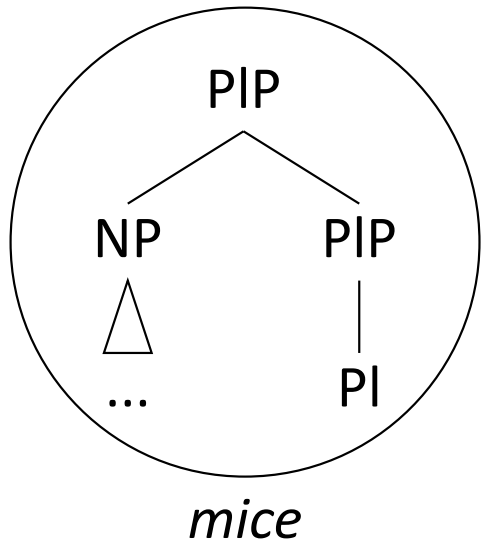
(1)



(2)



Nanosyntax

Superset Principle (Starke 2009)

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Superset Principle (Starke 2009)
A lexically stored tree L matches a syntactic node S iff L contains the syntactic tree dominated by S as a subtree.

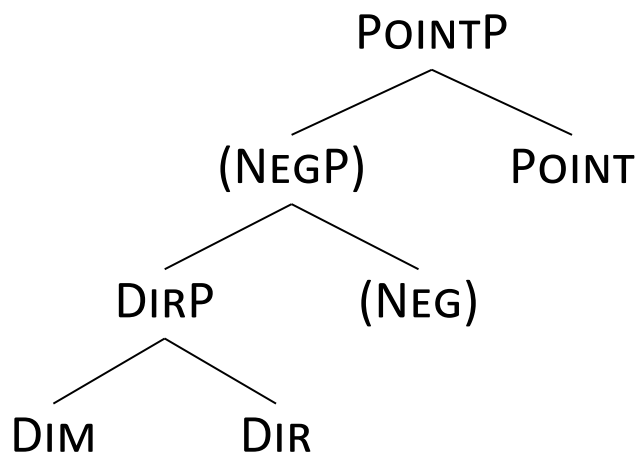
Lexicalisation algorithm (Starke 2018)
a. Merge F and lexicalize.
b. If fail, try a spec-to-spec movement and lexicalize.
c. If fail, try a movement of the complement of the newly inserted feature and lexicalize.

The structure of the adjective

Vanden Wyngaerd et al. (2020):

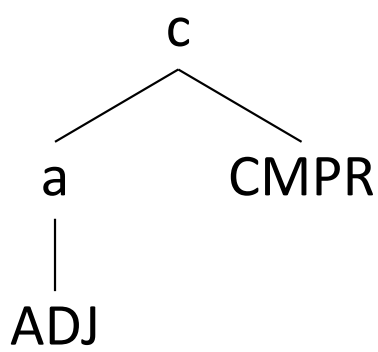
- DIMENSION (DIMP) such as size, velocity, height, color;
- DIRECTION (DIRP) that can be reversed from positive to negative using NEGP;
- POINT (POINTP) that divides the scale into two parts: one exceeds the point and another one does not.

(3)



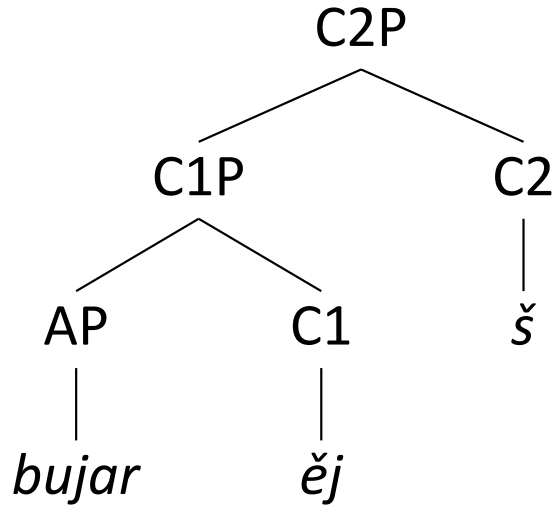
The structure of the comparative

(4)



Bobaljik (2012)

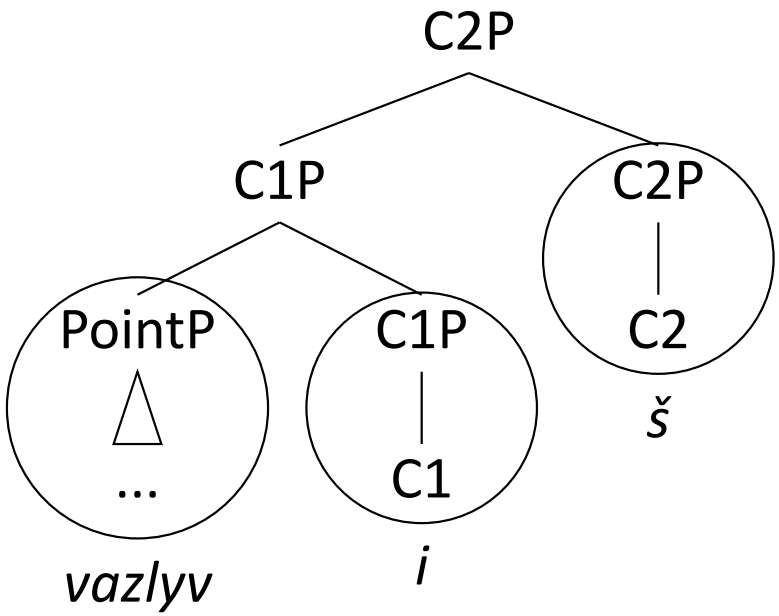
(5)



Caha et al. (2019)

Ukrainian comparatives

(6)



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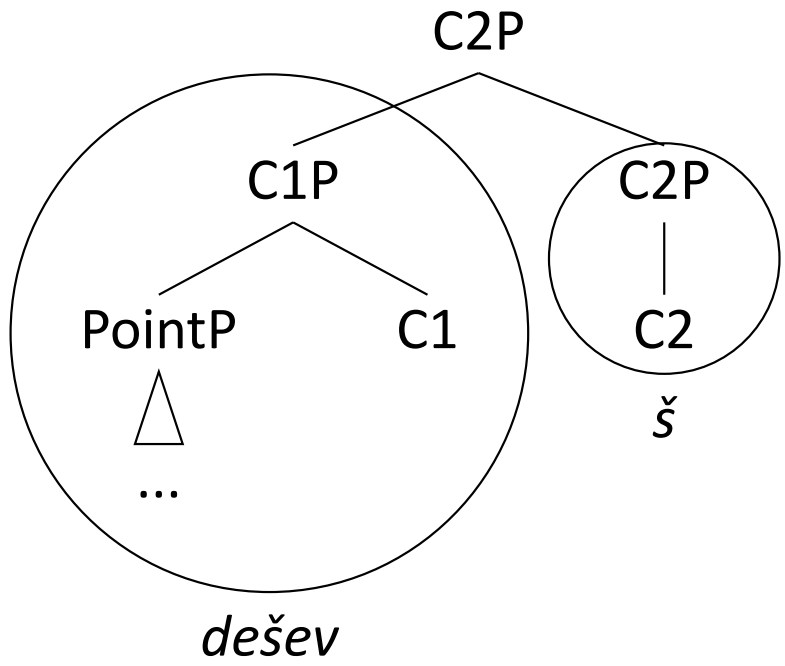

Vyshnevska (2022)

Outline

Introduction

Comparative suffixes

The data: adjectives and adverbs

Ingredients for the analysis

Analysis

Conclusions

My main ideas

- The roots of Ukrainian adjectives and adverbs come in different sizes. The larger the root, the less morphology it needs in the comparative.

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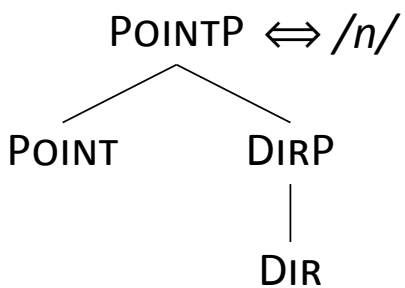
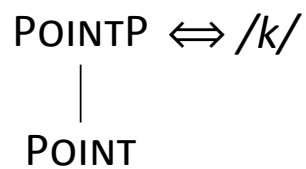
- The roots of Ukrainian adjectives and adverbs come in different sizes. The larger the root, the less morphology it needs in the comparative.
- Different suffixes lexicalise different amount of structure. *-n* lexicalises a bigger amount of structure than *-k*.





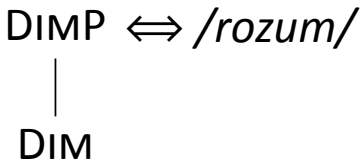
Ukrainian adjectives: lexicalisation table

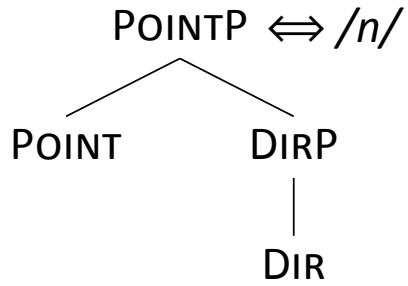
root	adjective	Dim	Dir	Point	C1	C2	Agr
XS	smart, POS	rozum		n			yj
	smart, CMPR	rozum		n	-i	-š	yj
S	resonant, POS	dzvin		k			yj
	resonant, CMPR	dzvin		k	-i	-š	yj
M	important, POS	važlyv					yj
	important, CMPR	važlyv			-i	-š	yj
L	cheap, POS	dešev					yj
	cheap, CMPR	dešev				-š	yj

Ukrainian adverbs: lexicalisation table

root	adverb	Dim	Dir	Point	C1	C2	Adv
XS	smartly, POS	rozum		n			o
	smartly, CMPR	rozum		n	-i	-š	e
S	resonantly, POS	dzvin		k			o
	resonantly, CMPR	dzvin		k	-i	-š	e
M	importantly, POS	važlyv					o
	importantly, CMPR	važlyv			-i	-š	e
L	cheaply, POS	dešev					o
	cheaply, CMPR	dešev				-š	e

XS-root: positive





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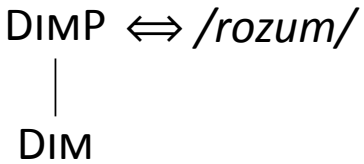

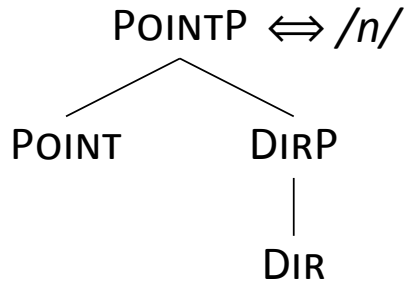

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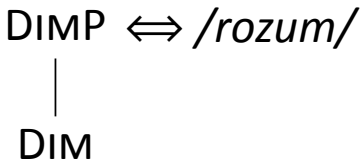

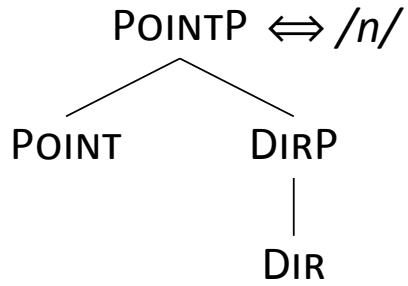

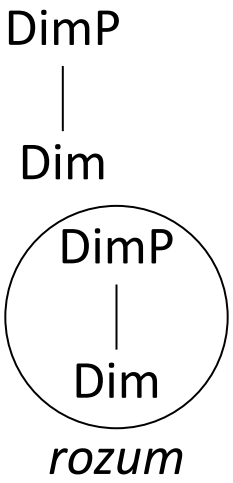

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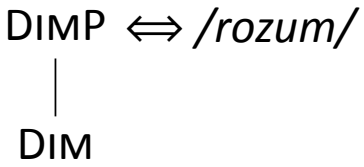

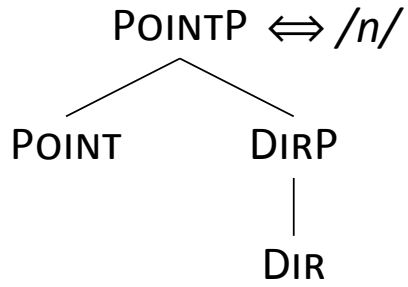

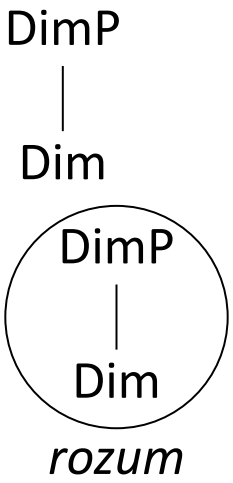

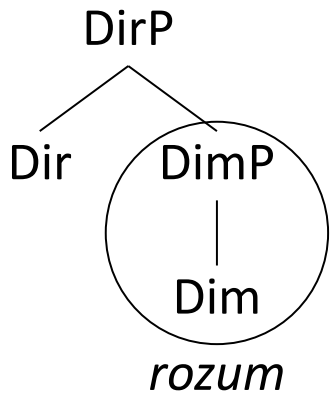

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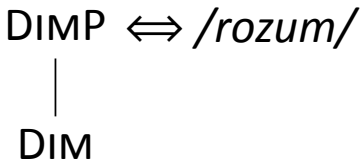

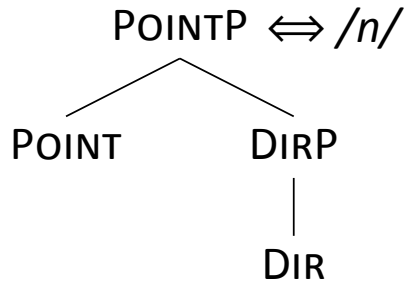

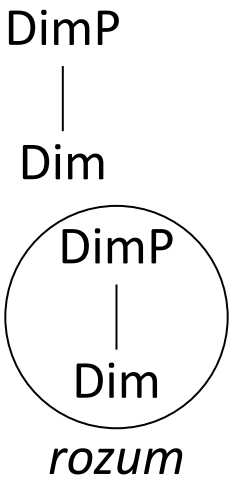

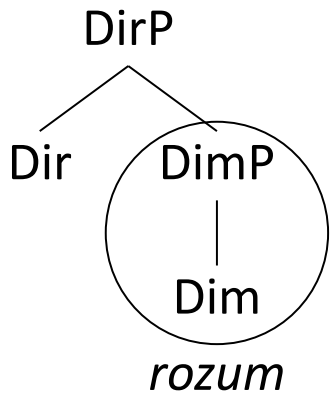

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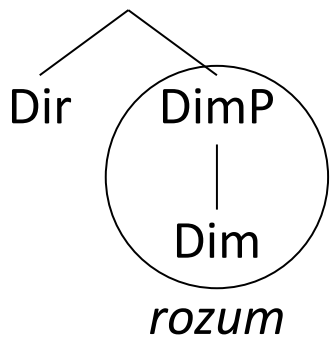

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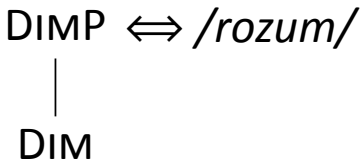

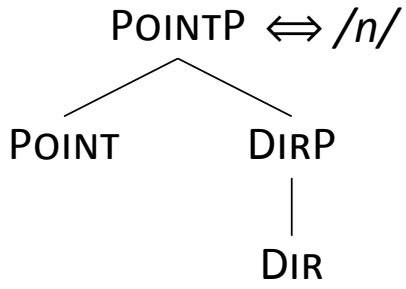

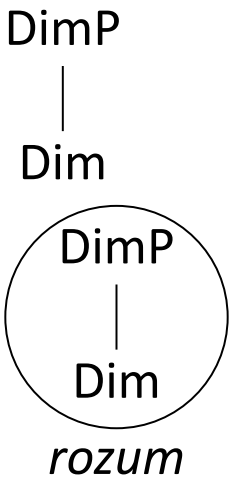

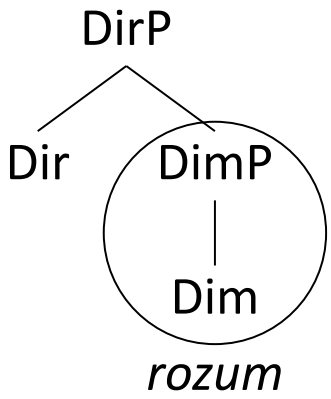

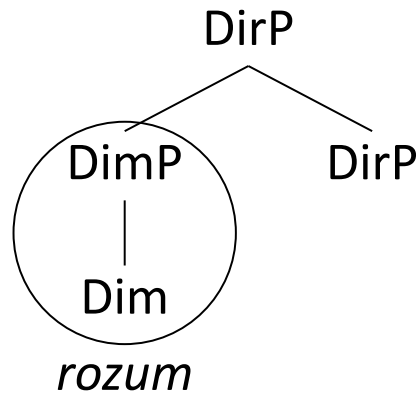

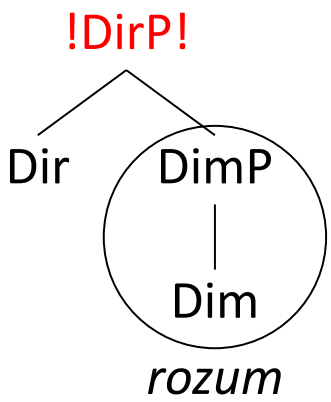

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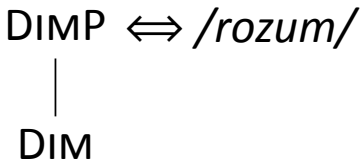

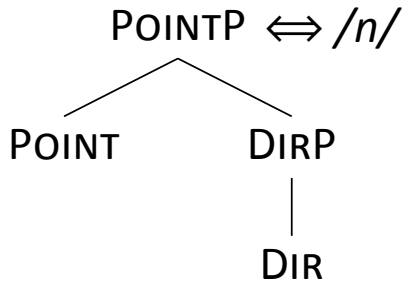

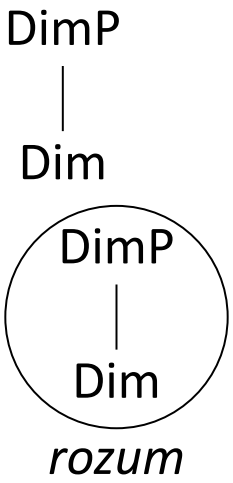

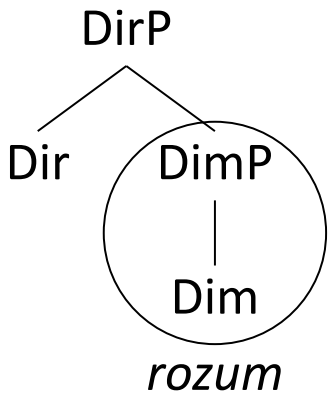

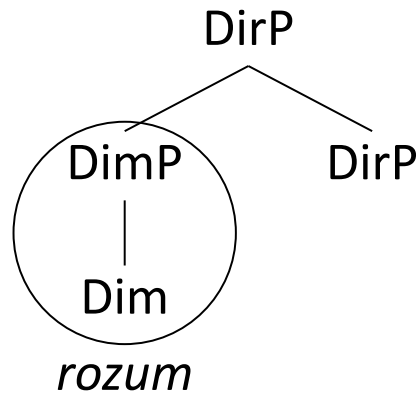

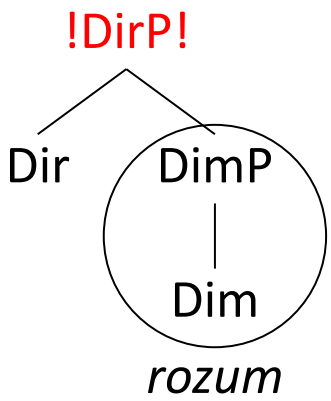

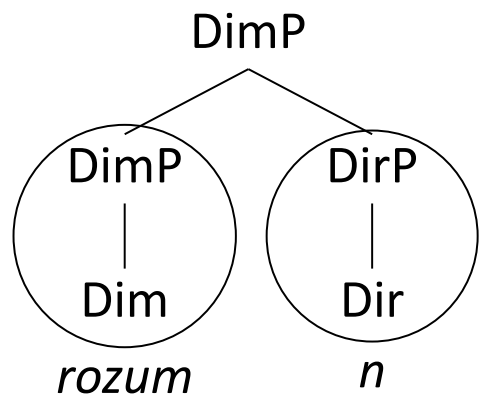

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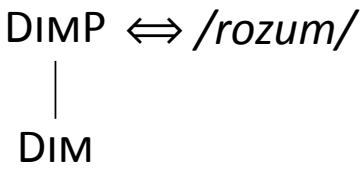

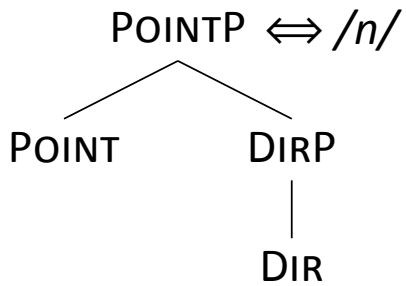

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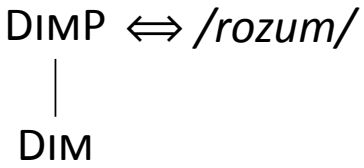

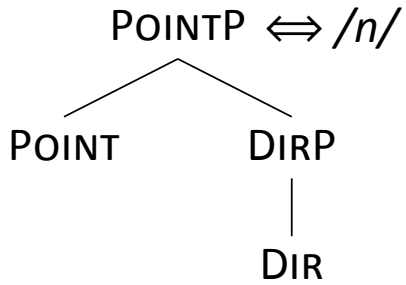

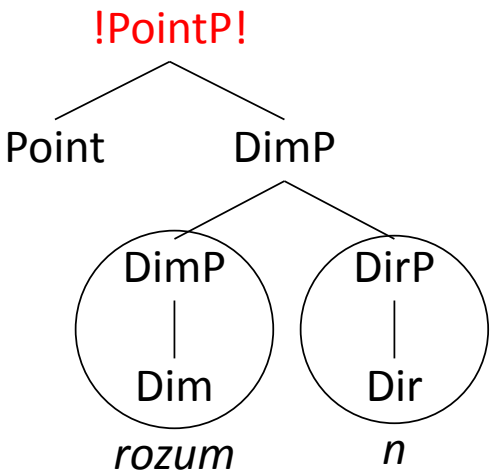

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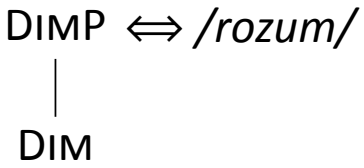

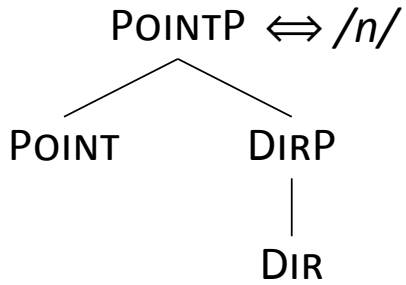

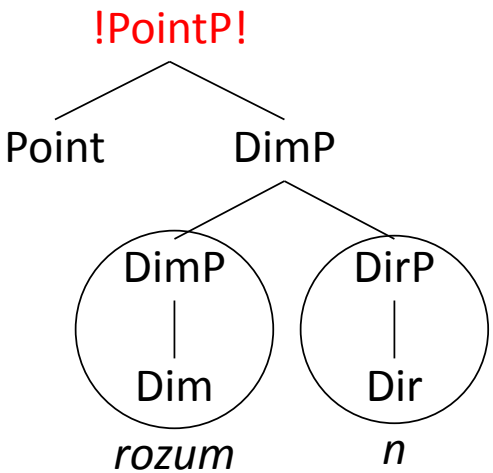

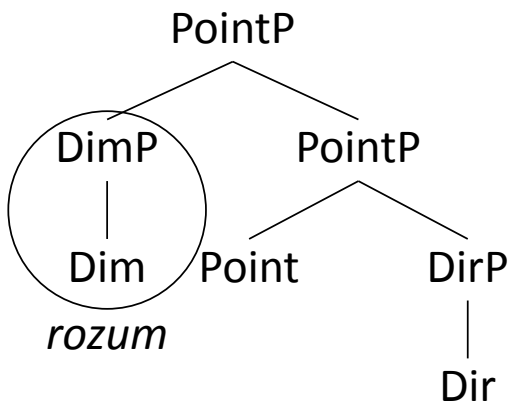

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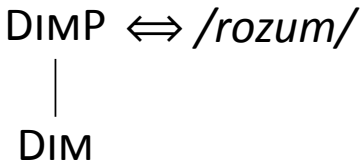
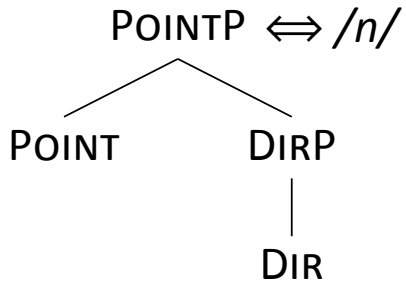
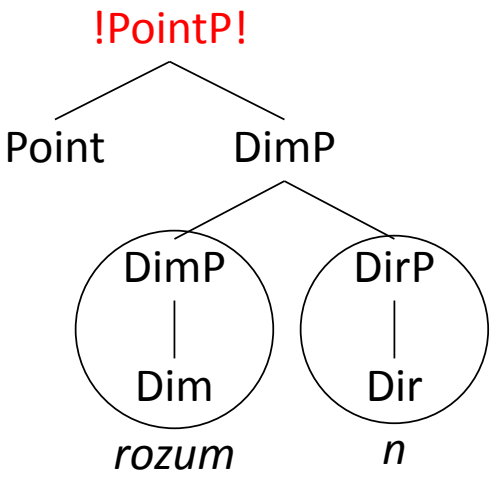
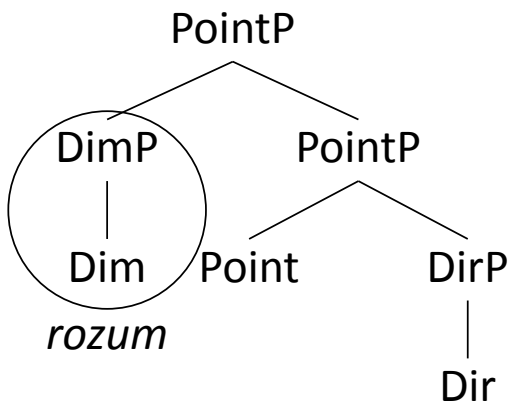
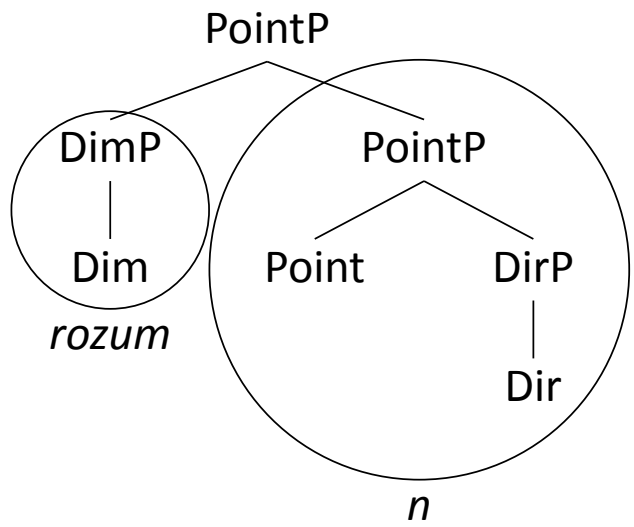


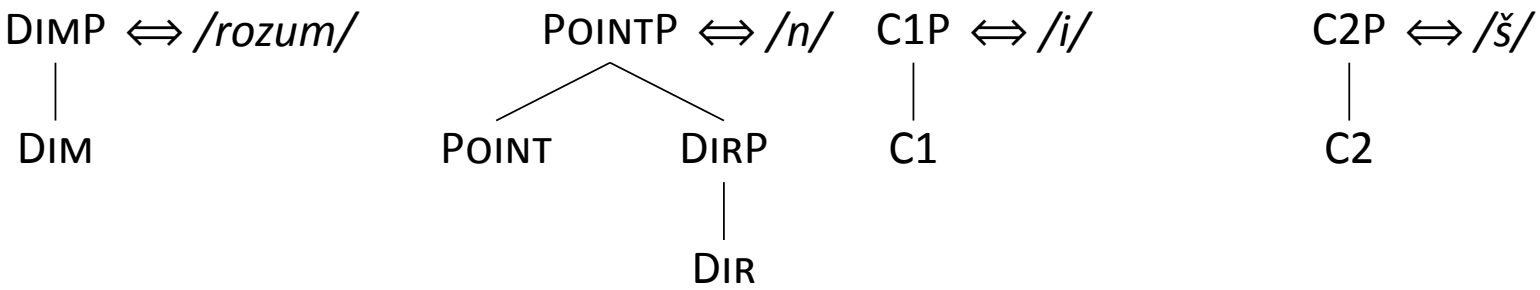




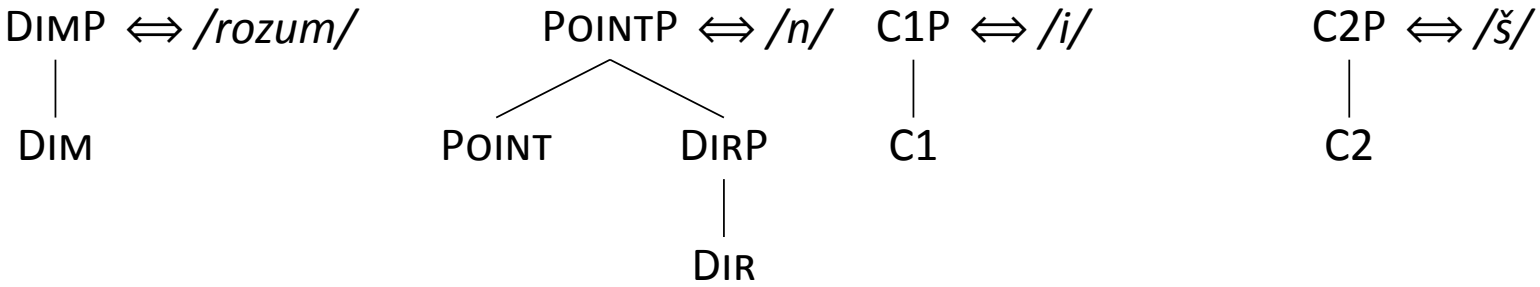


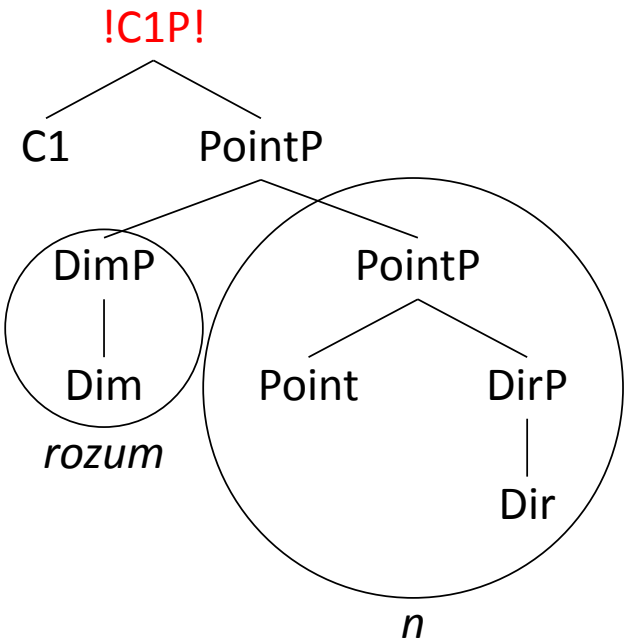


XS-root: comparative



XS-root: comparative





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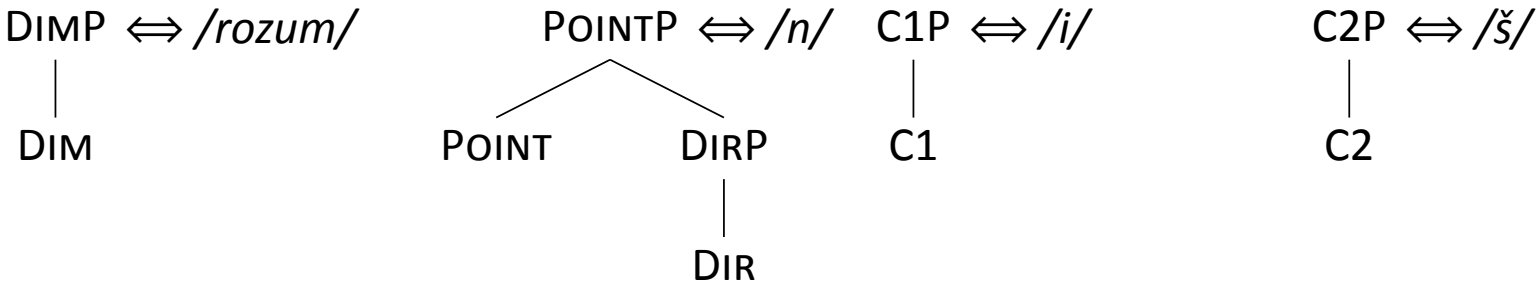

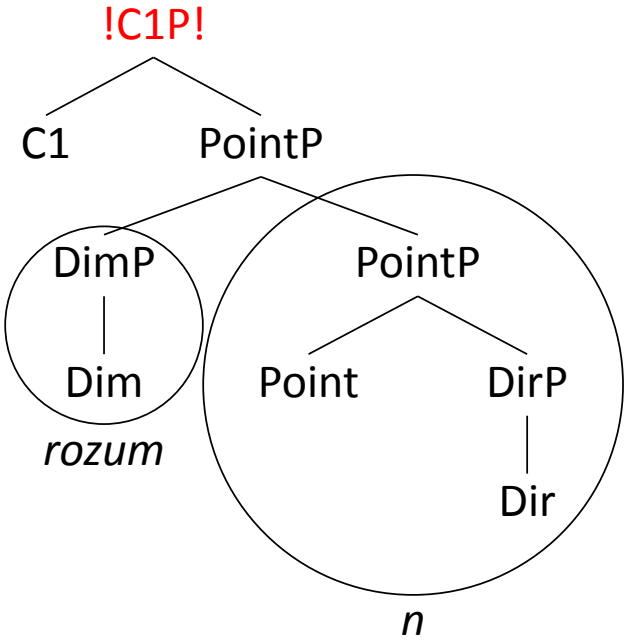

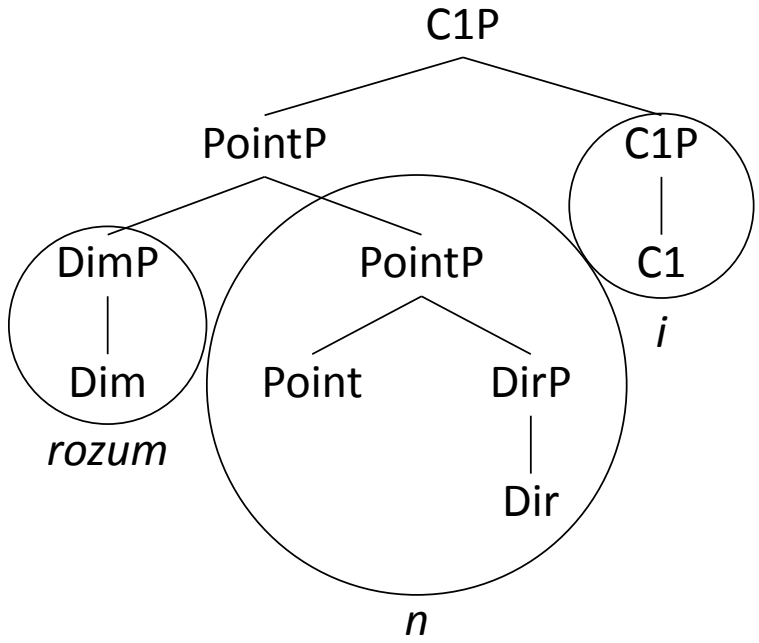

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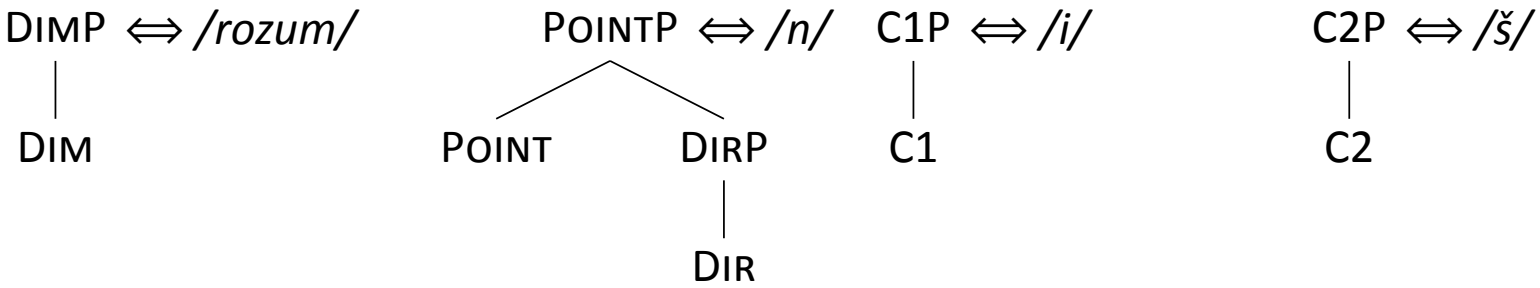

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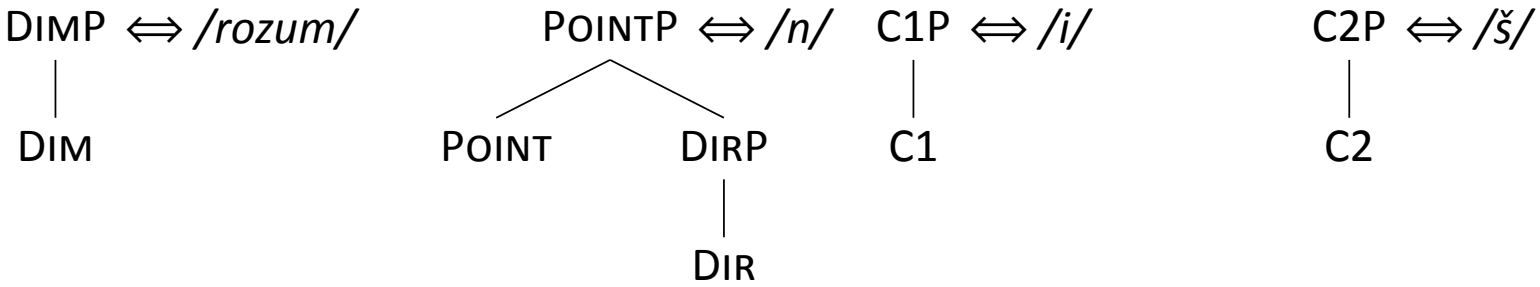

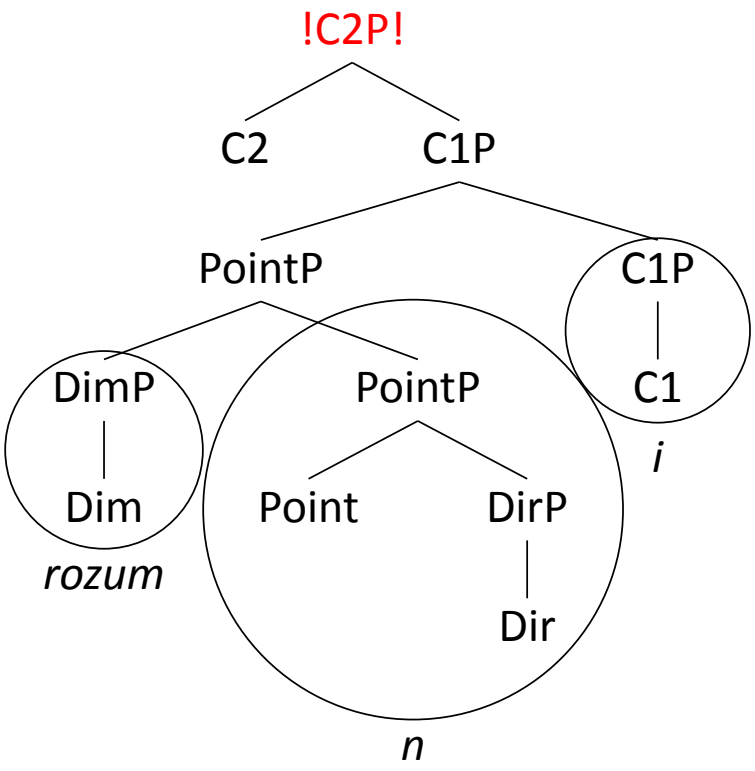

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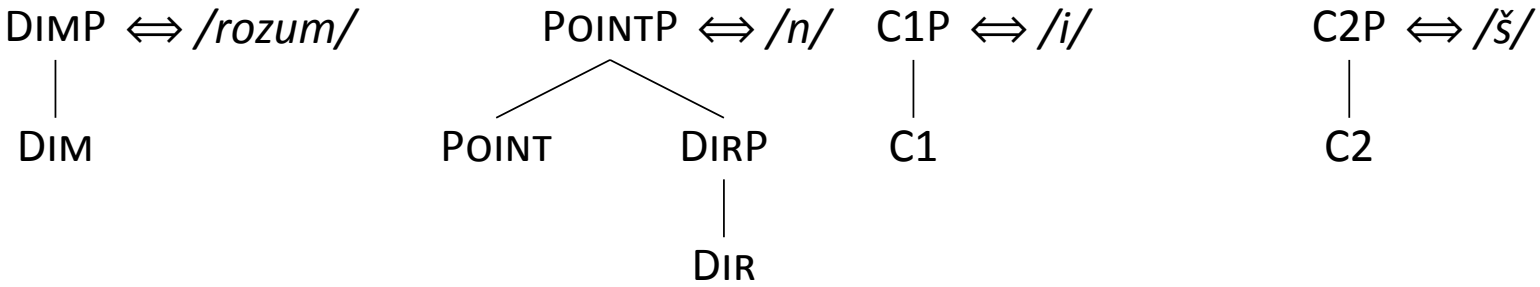
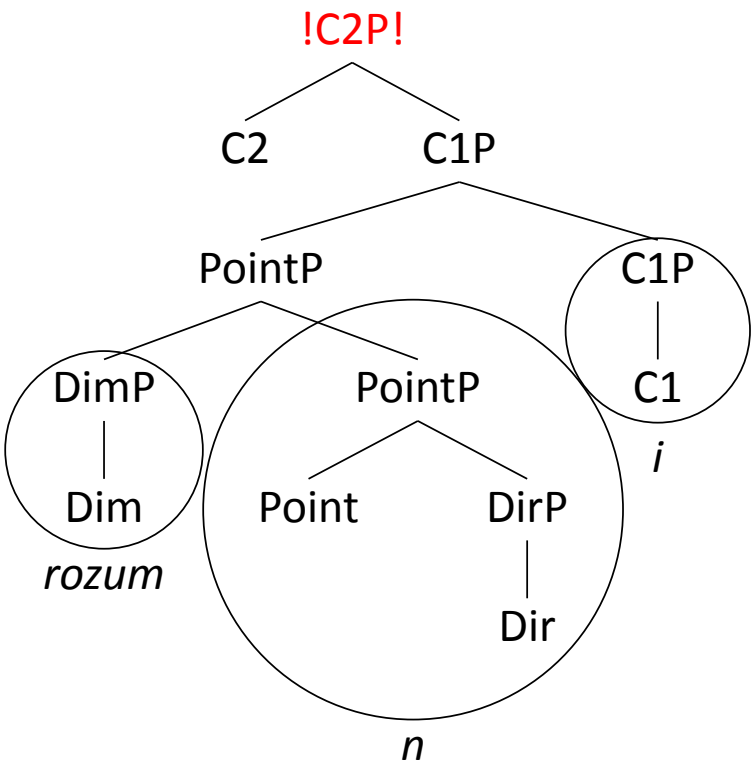
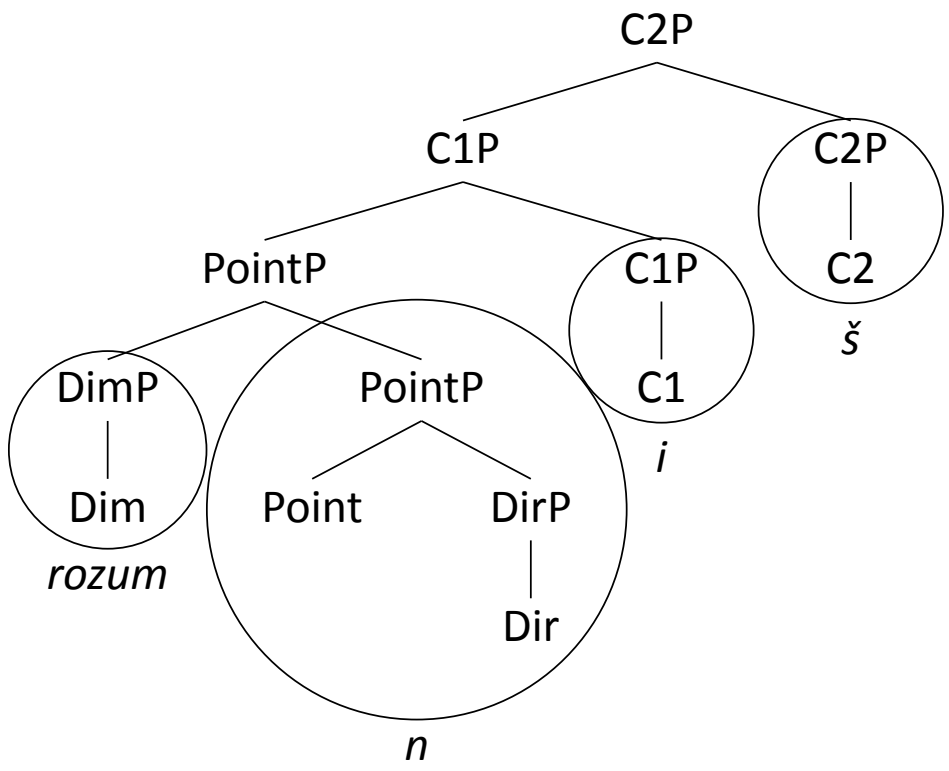
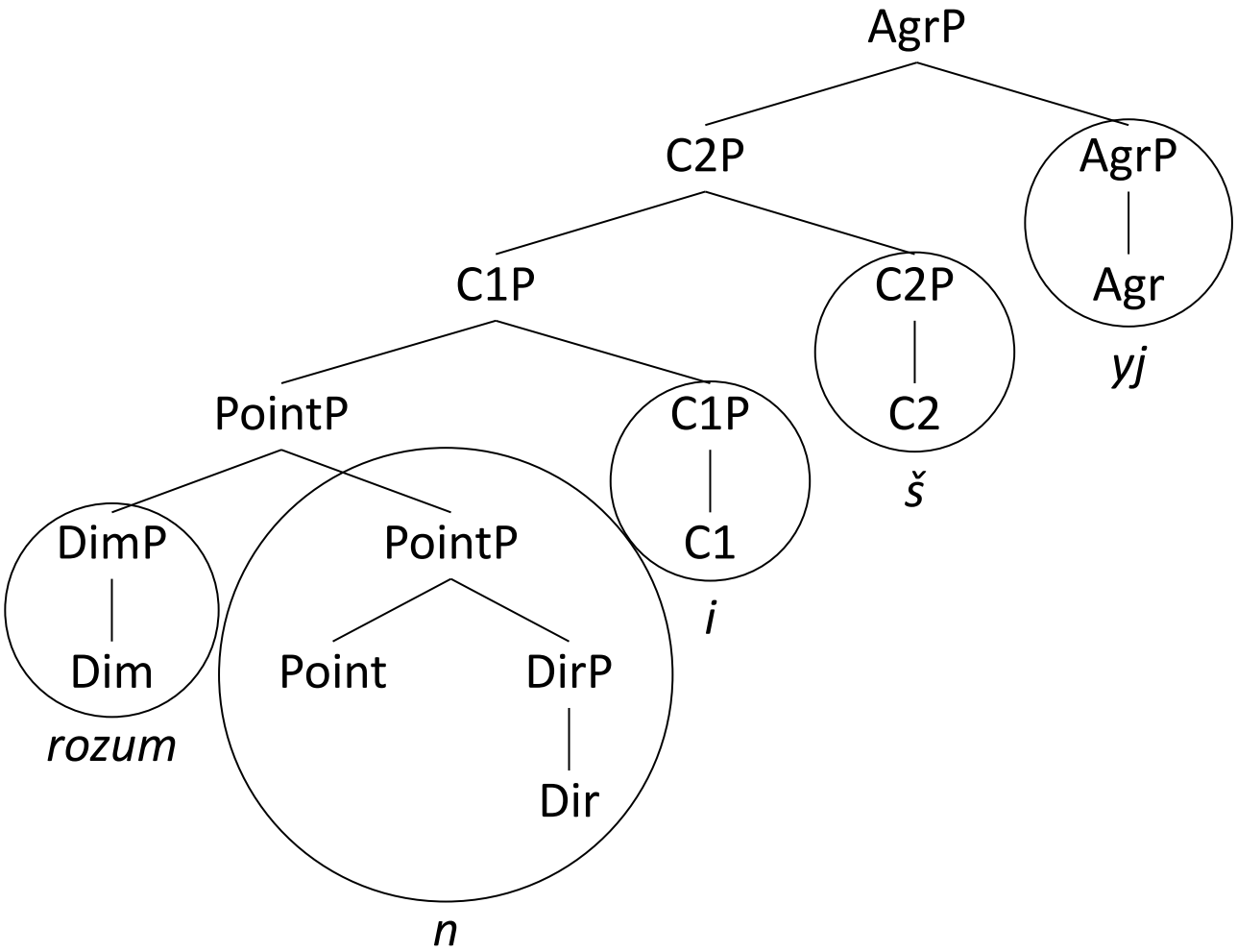


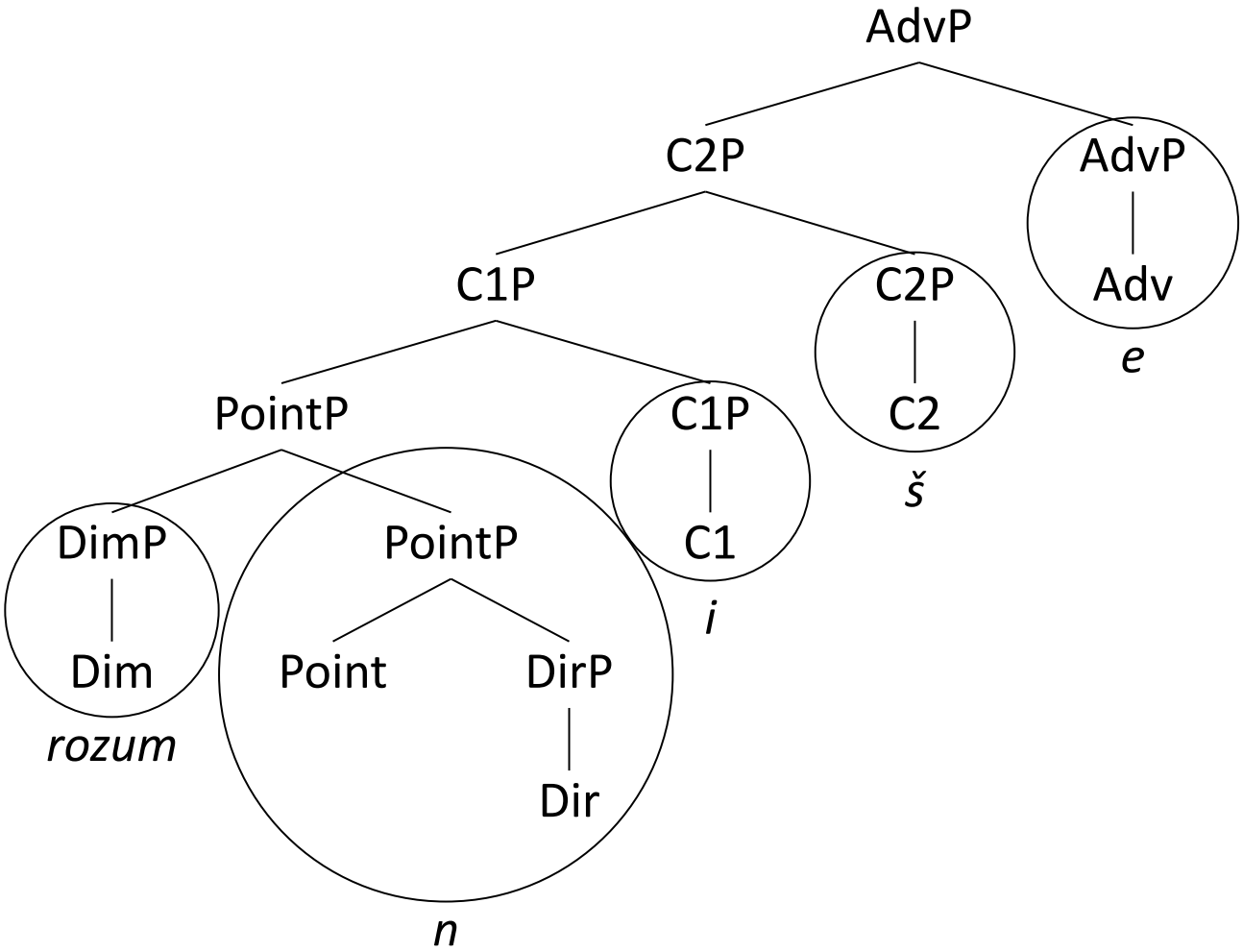




XS-root: comparative adjective



XS-root: comparative adverb

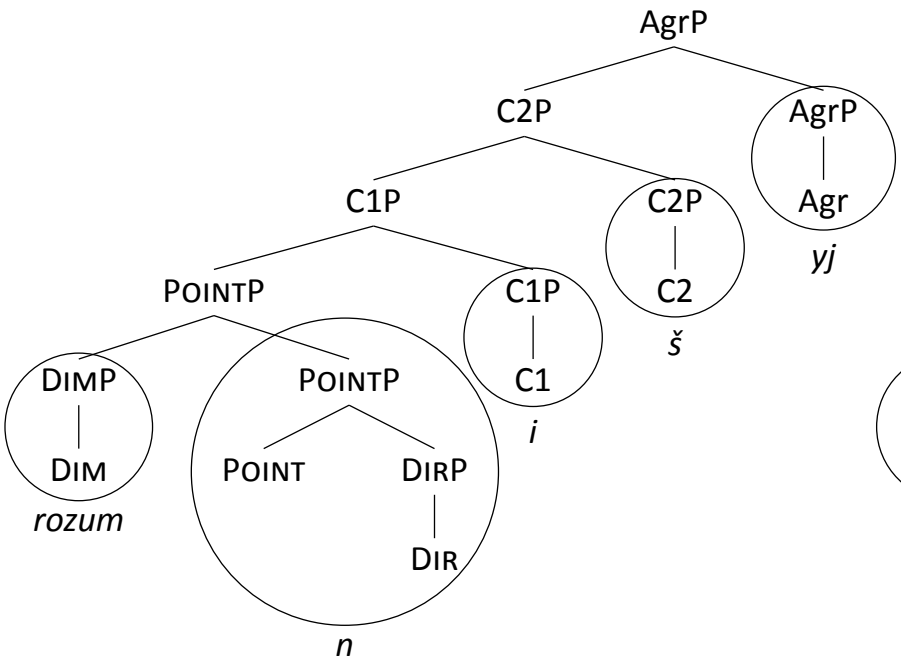


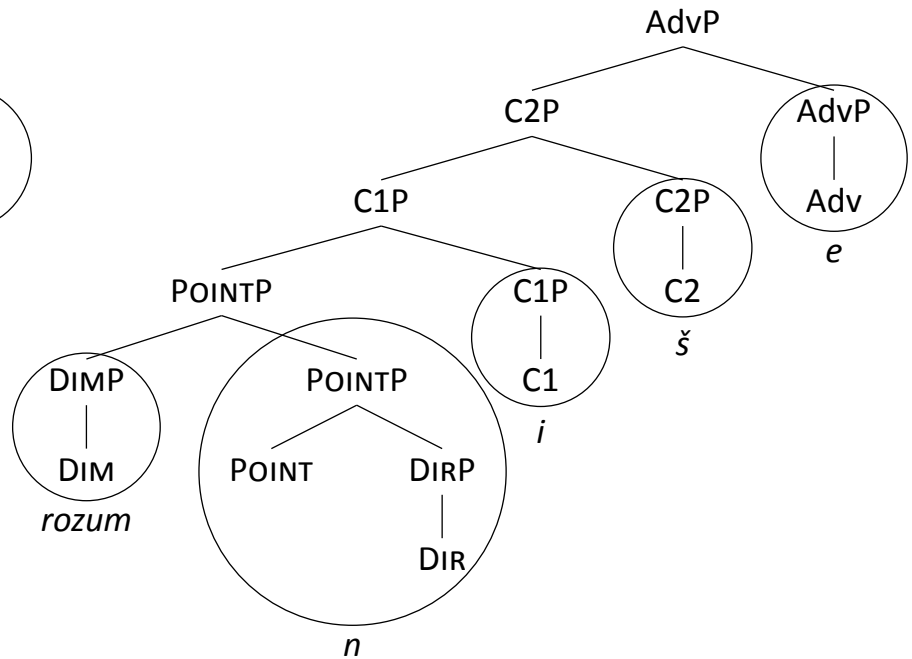
XS-root: comparative adjective and adverb

POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
rozum-n-yj	rozum-n-i-š-yj	‘smart’	rozum-n-o	rozum-n-i-š-e	‘smartly’

XS-root: comparative adjective and adverb

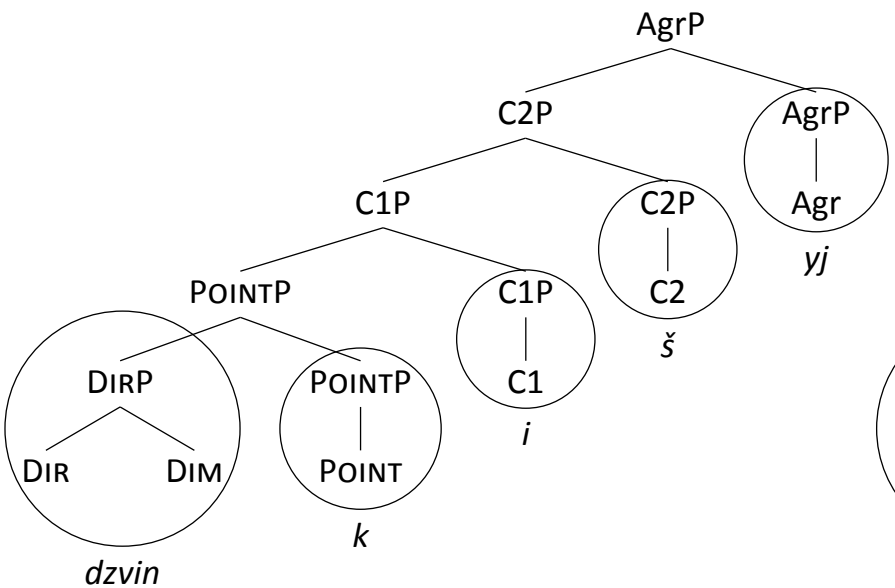
POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
rozum-n-yj	rozum-n-i-š-yj	‘smart’	rozum-n-o	rozum-n-i-š-e	‘smartly’

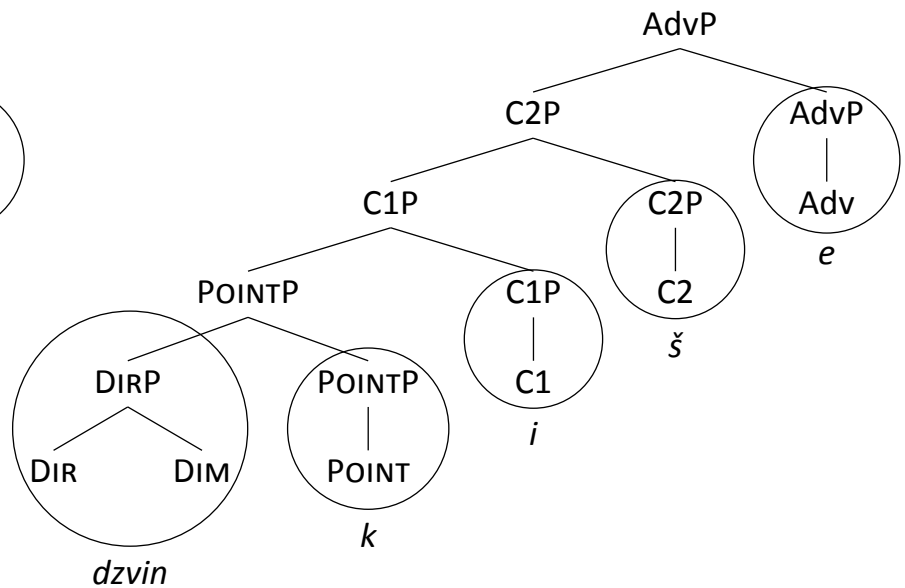




S-root

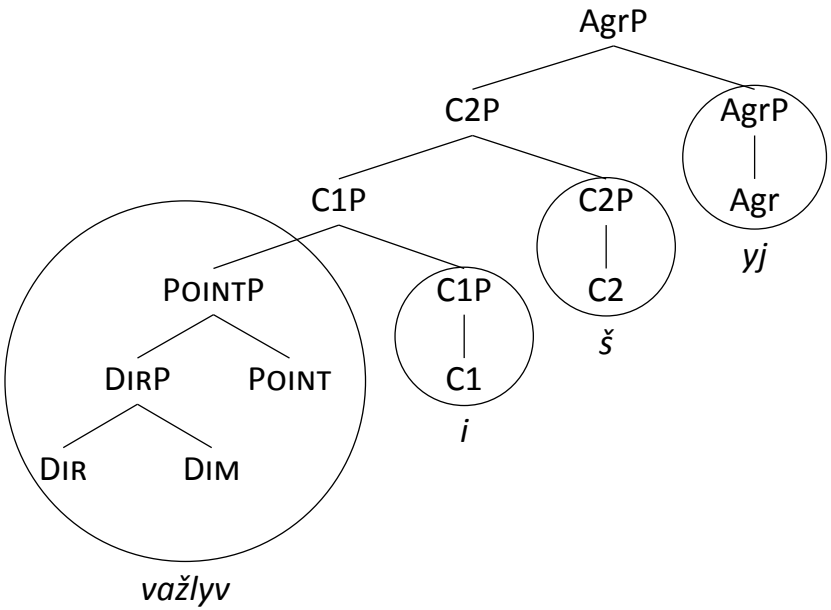
POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
dzvin-k-yj	dzvin-k-i-š-yj	‘resonant’	dzvin-k-o	dzvin-k-i-š-e	‘resonantly’

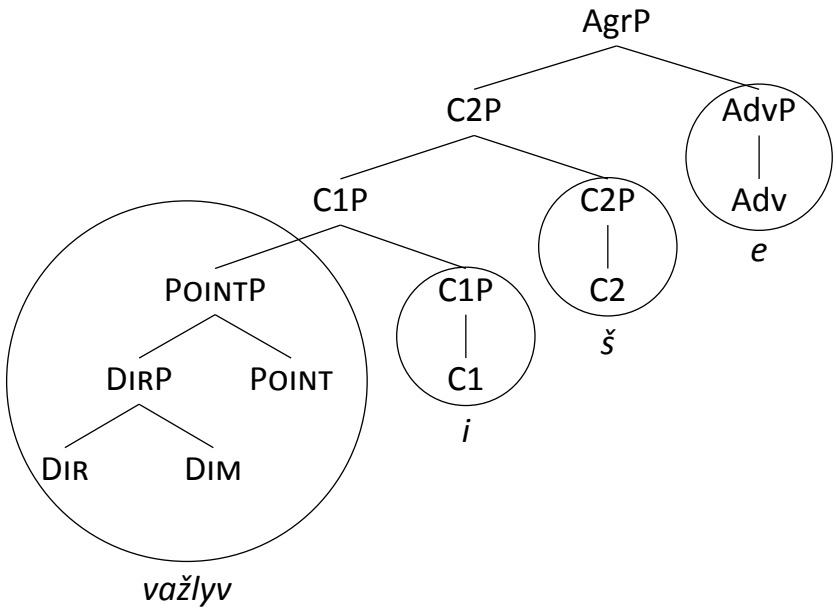




M-root

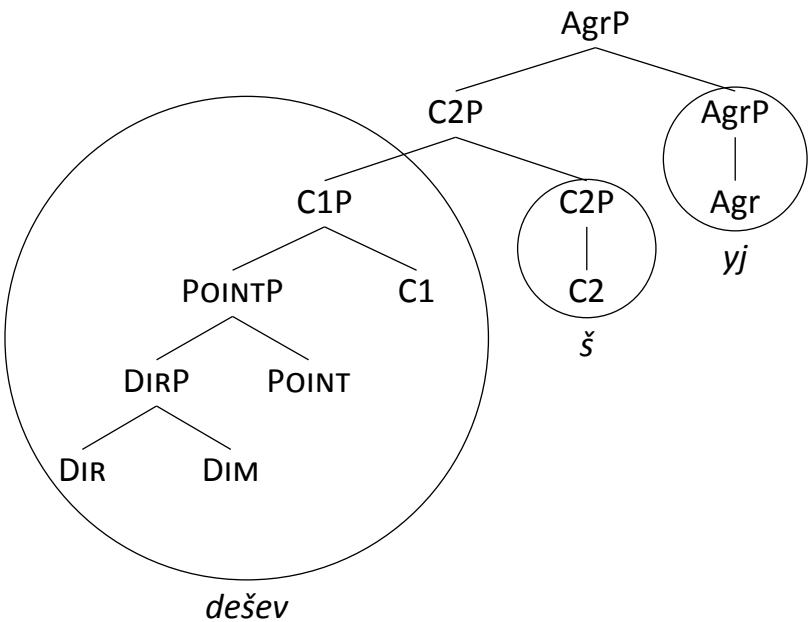
POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
važlyv-yj	važlyv-i-š-yj	‘important’	važlyv-o	važlyv-i-š-e	‘importantly’

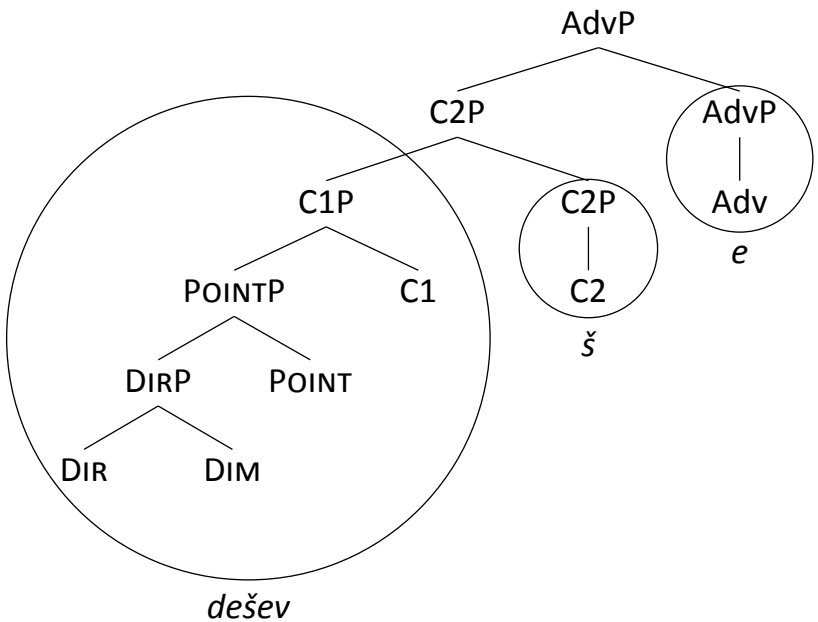




L-root

POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
dešev-yj	dešev-š-yj	‘cheap’	dešev-o	dešev-š-e	‘cheaply’





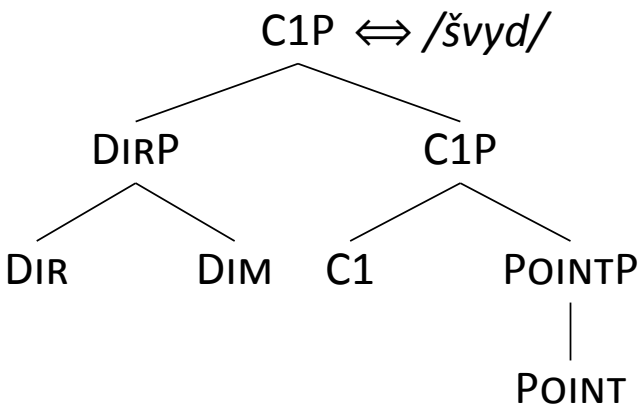
L′-root

POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
švyd-k-yj	švyd-š-yj	‘quick’	švyd-k-o	švyd-š-e	‘fast’

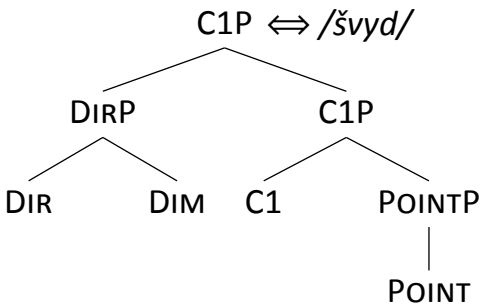
L′-root

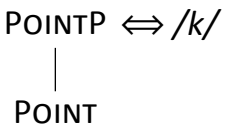
POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
švyd-k-yj	švyd-š-yj	‘quick’	švyd-k-o	švyd-š-e	‘fast’

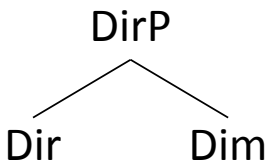
Complex Left Branch (Blix 2022)



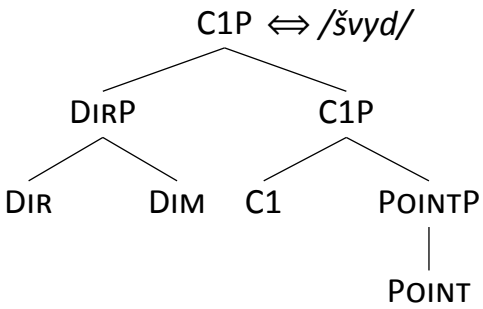
L′ roots: positive

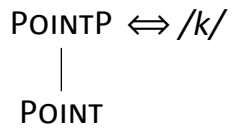


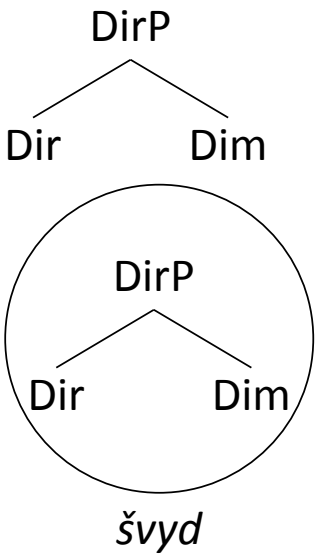




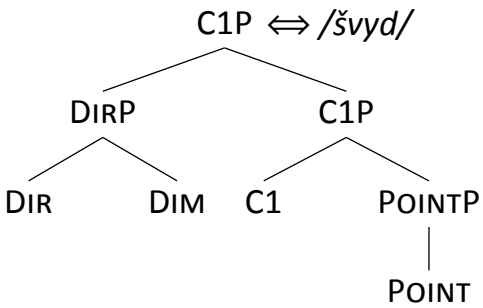
L′ roots: positive

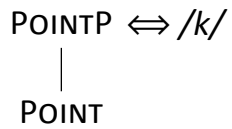


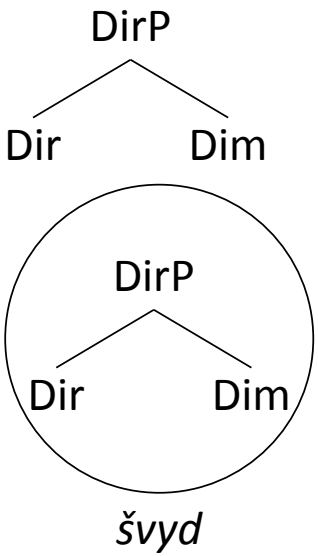


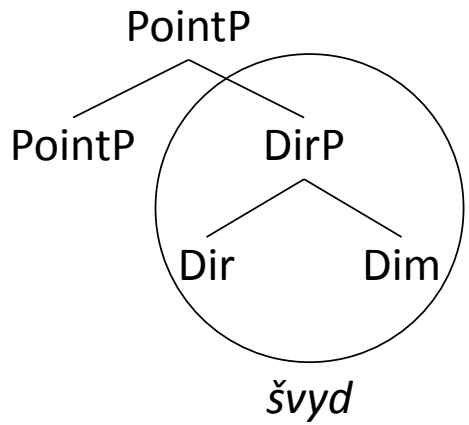


L′ roots: positive

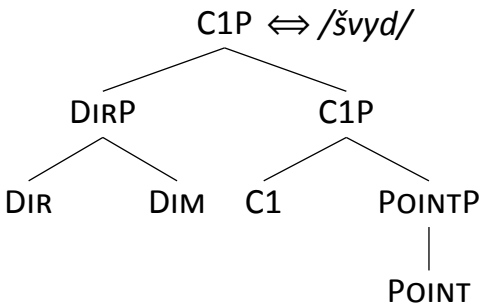


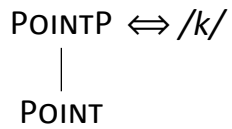


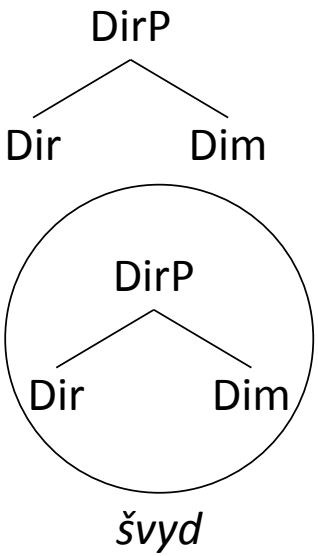


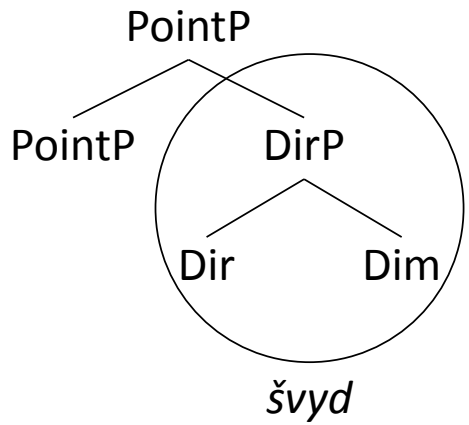


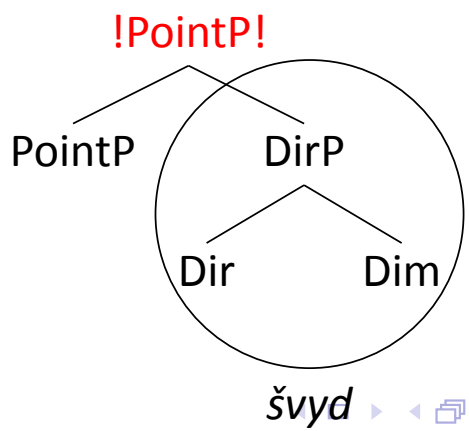
L′ roots: positive



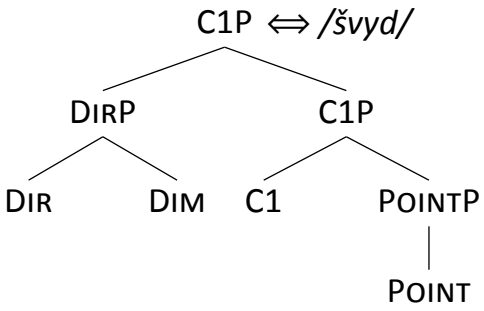


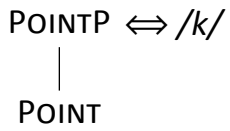


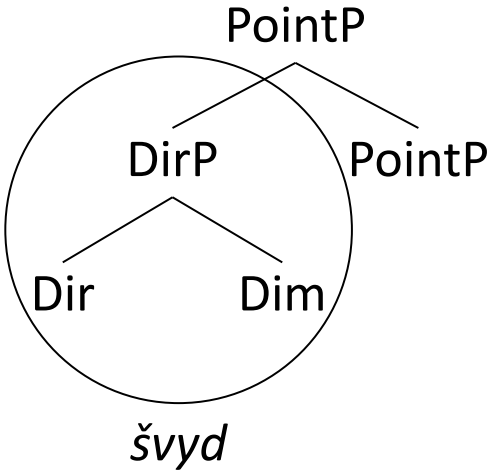




L′ roots: positive







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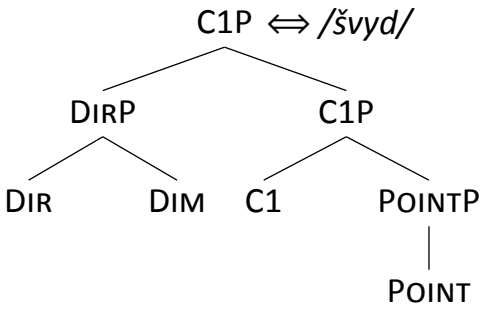
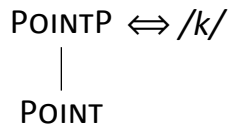
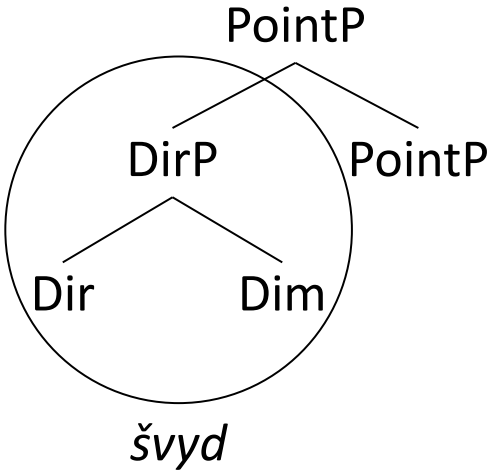
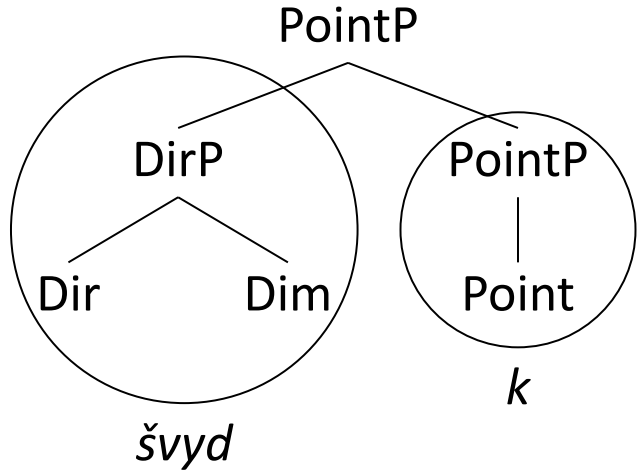
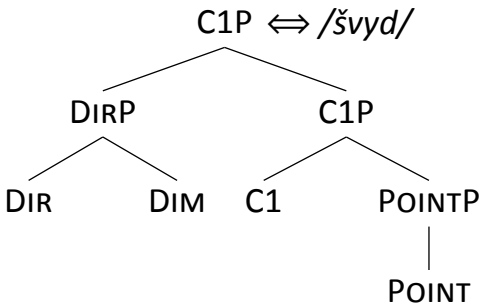


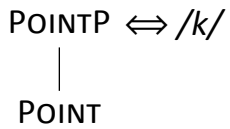


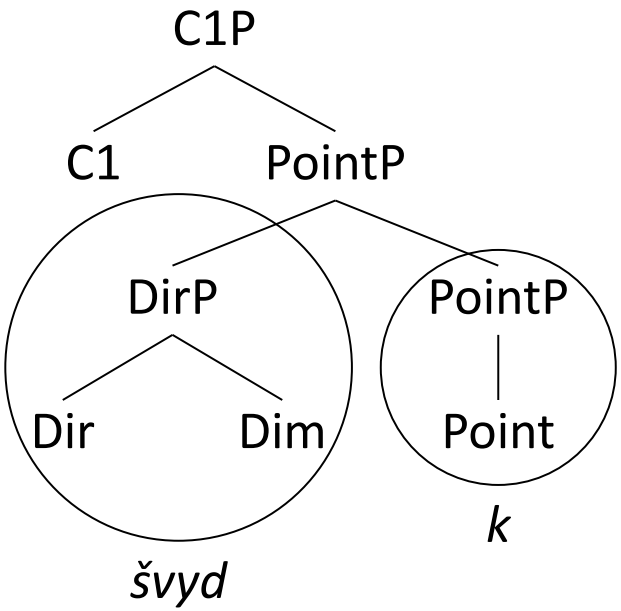




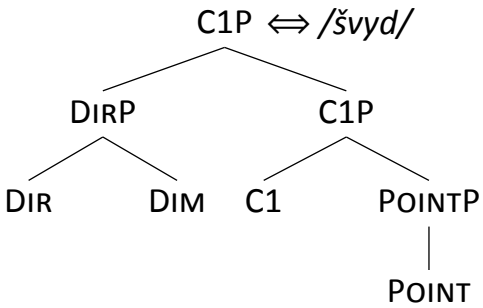
L′ roots: comparative

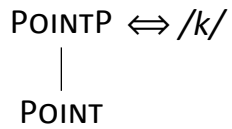


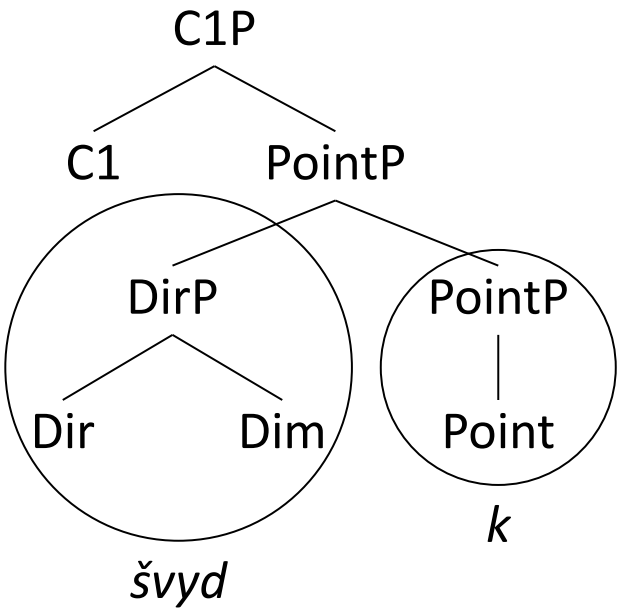


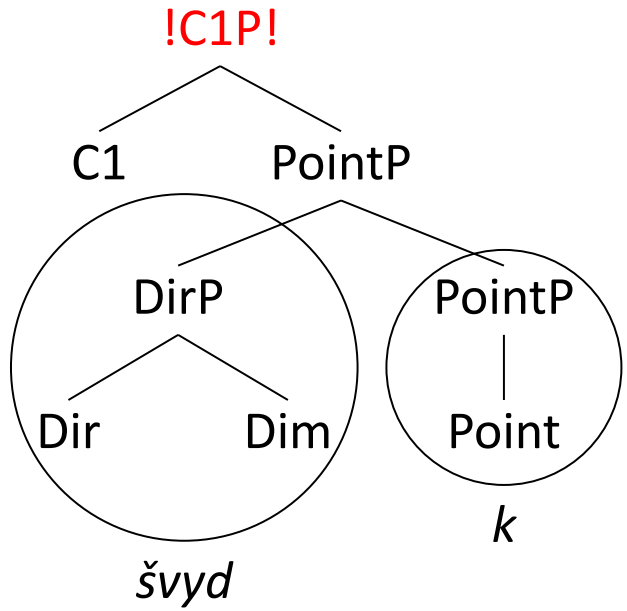


L′ roots: comparative

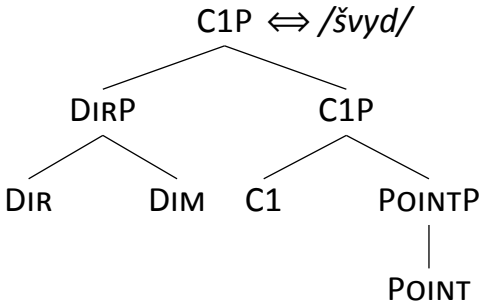


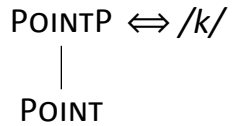


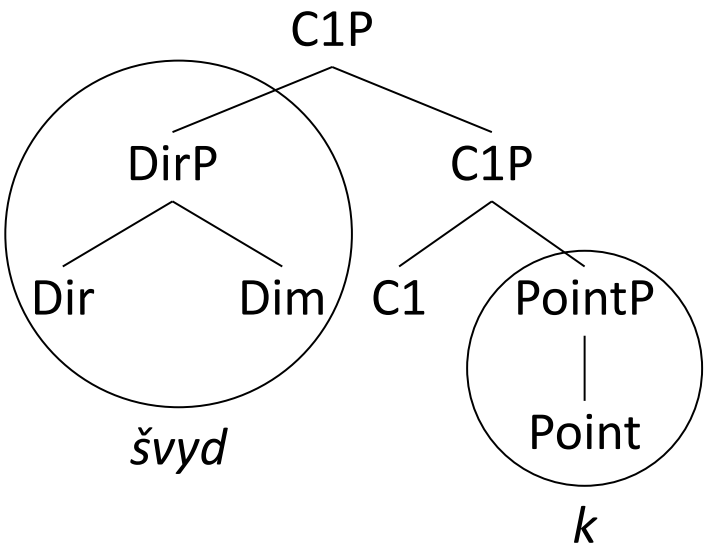




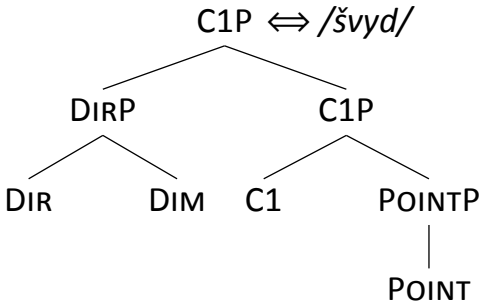
L′ roots: comparative

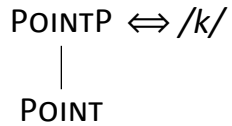


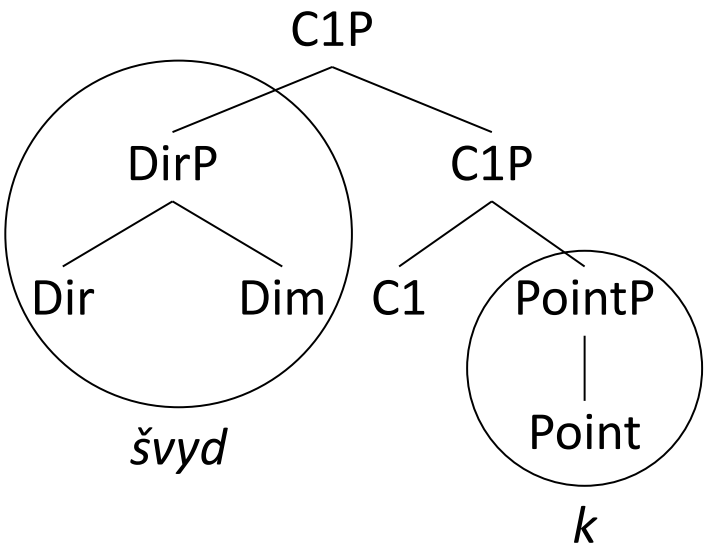


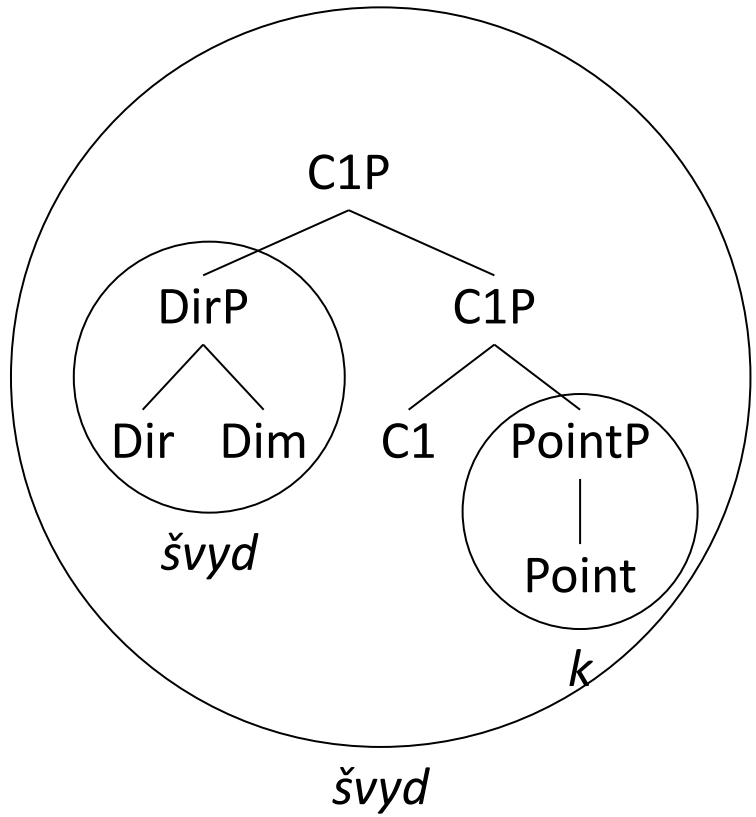


L′ roots: comparative

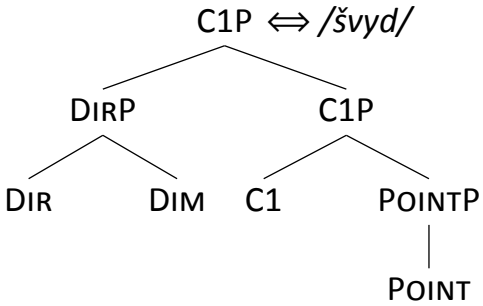


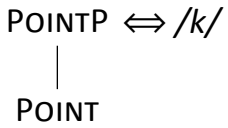


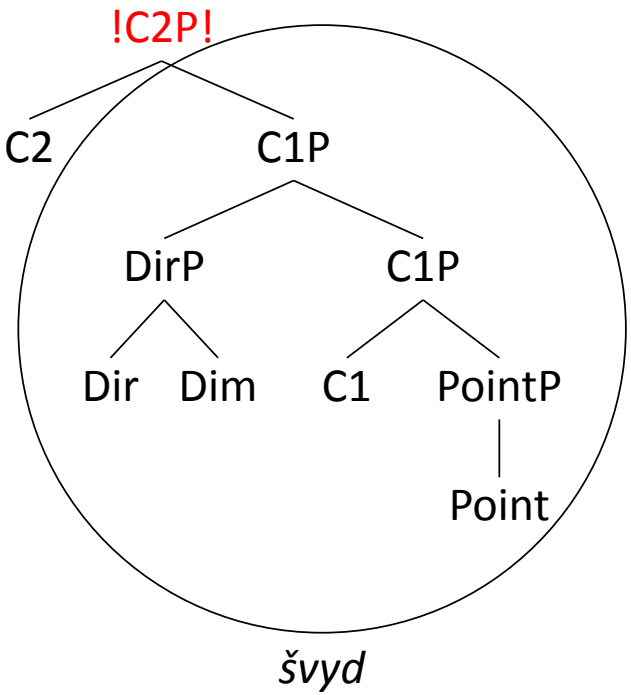




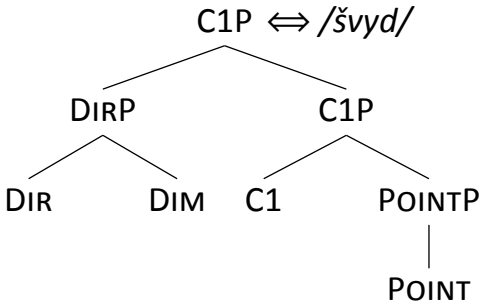
L′ roots: comparative

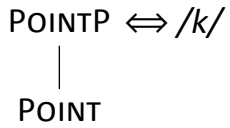


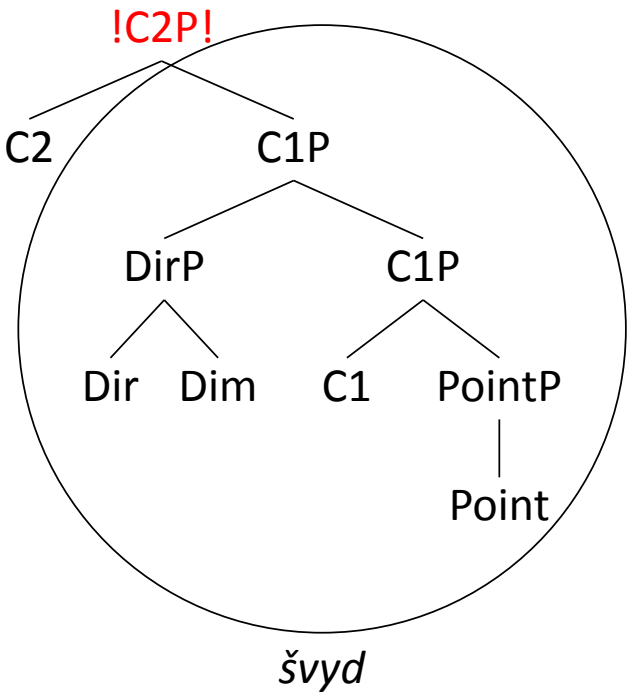


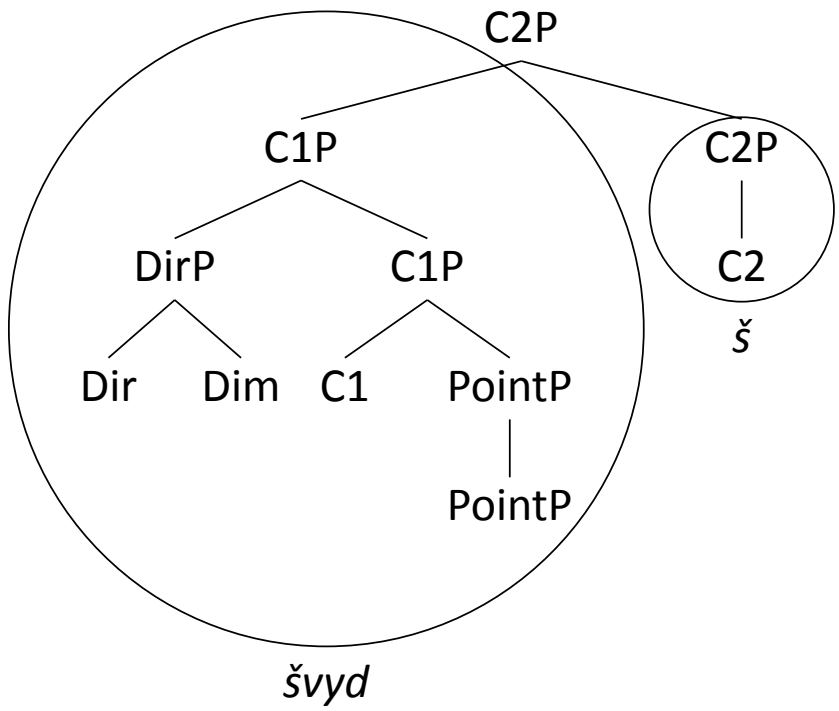


L′ roots: comparative

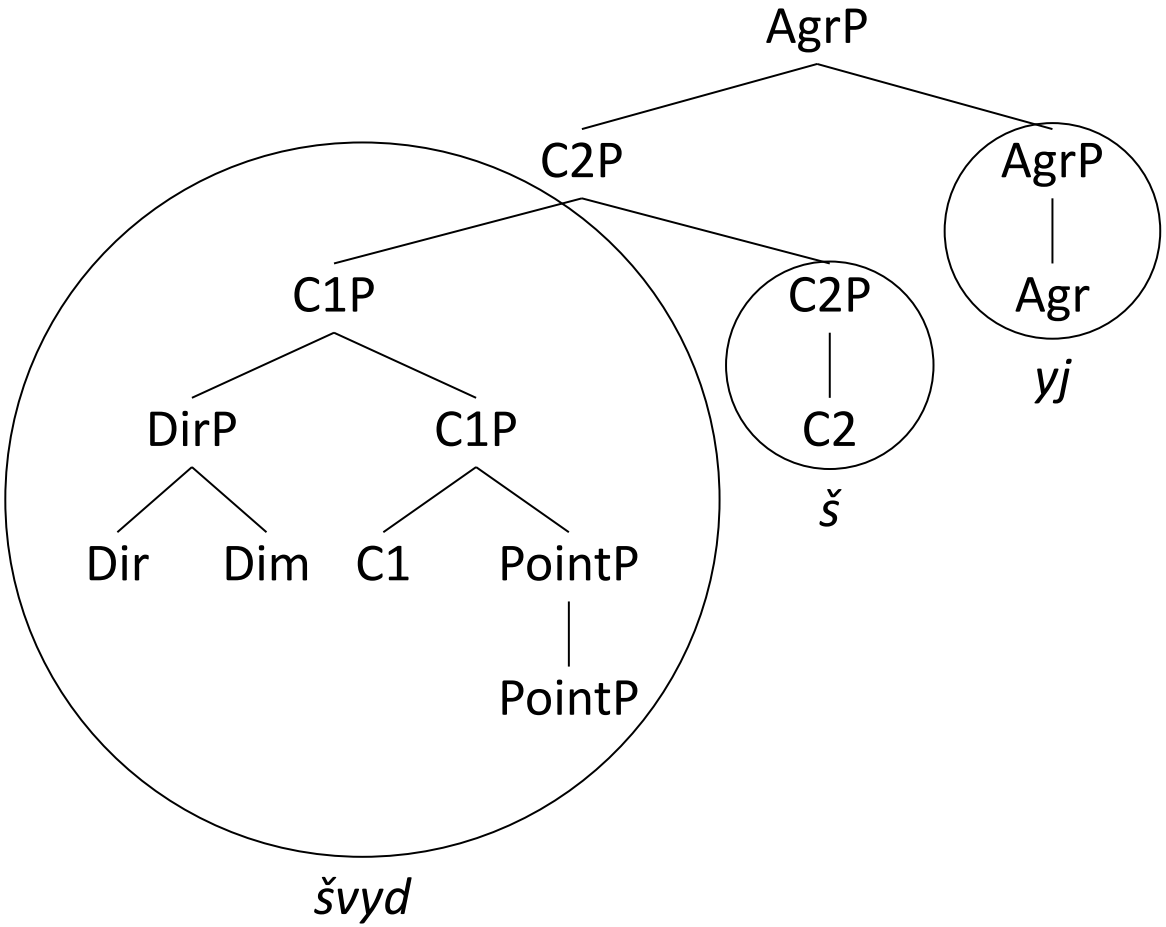




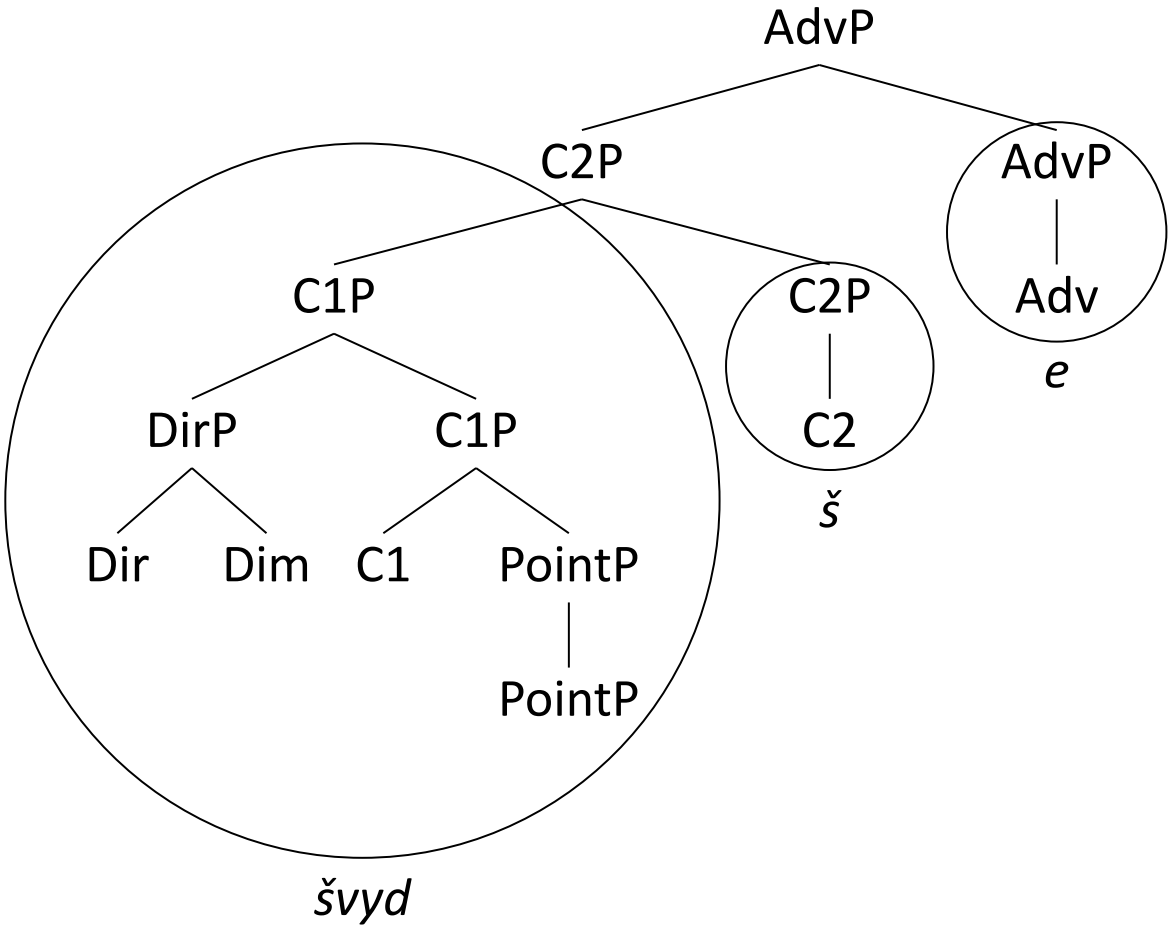




L′ roots: comparative adjective



L′ roots: comparative adverb

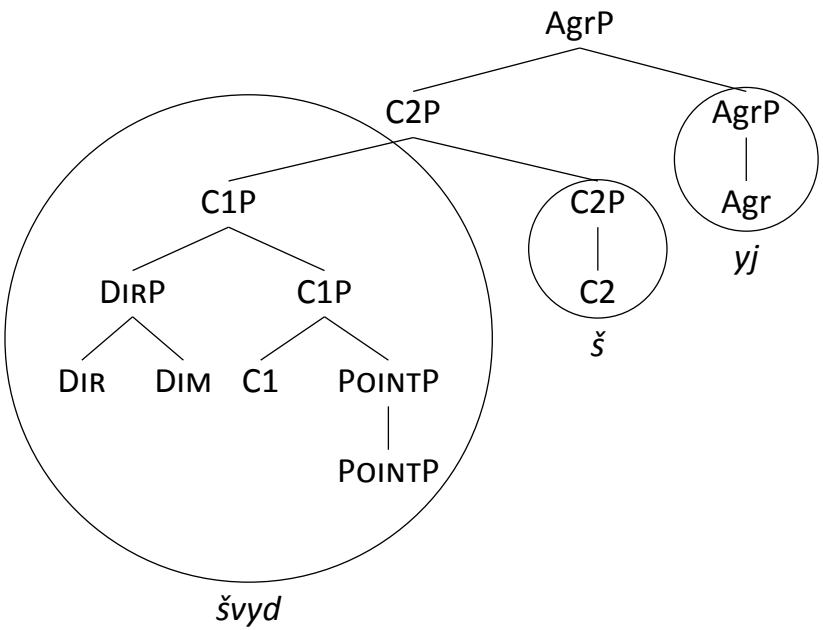


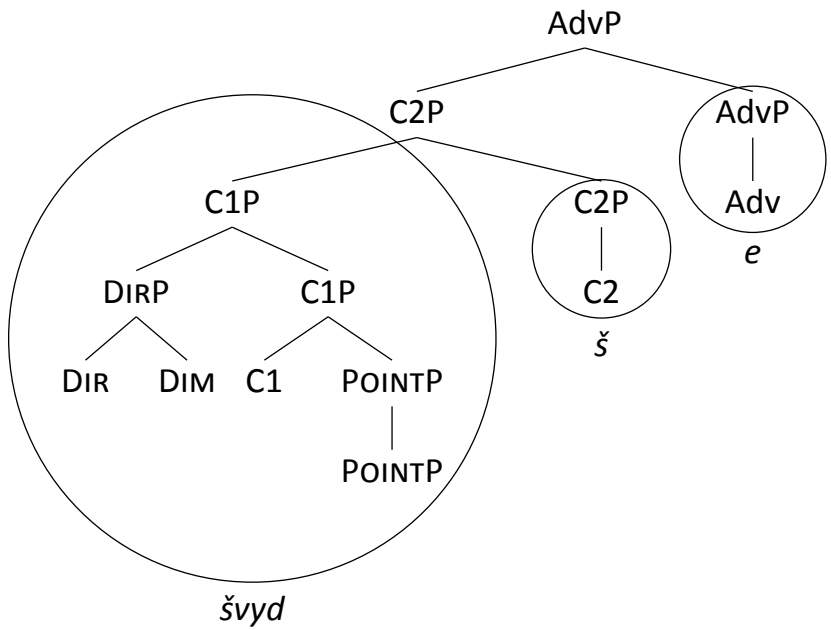
L′-root: comparative adjective and adverb

POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
švyd-k-yj	švyd-š-yj	‘quick’	švyd-k-o	švyd-š-e	‘fast’

L′-root: comparative adjective and adverb

POS ADJ	CMPR ADJ	translation	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
švyd-k-yj	švyd-š-yj	‘quick’	švyd-k-o	švyd-š-e	‘fast’





Ukrainian adjectives: lexicalisation table

root	adjective	Dim	Dir	Point	C1	C2	Agr
XS	smart, POS	rozum		n			yj
	smart, CMPR	rozum		n	-i	-š	yj
S	resonant, POS	dzvin		k			yj
	resonant, CMPR	dzvin		k	-i	-š	yj
M	important, POS	važlyv					yj
	important, CMPR	važlyv			-i	-š	yj
L	cheap, POS	dešev					yj
	cheap, CMPR	dešev				-š	yj
L′	quick, POS	švyd		k			yj
	quick, CMPR	švyd		*		-š	yj

Ukrainian adverbs: lexicalisation table

root	adverb	Dim	Dir	Point	C1	C2	Adv
XS	smartly, POS	rozum		n			o
	smartly, CMPR	rozum		n	-i	-š	e
S	resonantly, POS	dzvin		k			o
	resonantly, CMPR	dzvin		k	-i	-š	e
M	importantly, POS		važlyv				o
	importantly, CMPR		važlyv		-i	-š	e
L	cheaply, POS		dešev				o
	cheaply, CMPR		dešev			-š	e
L′	fast, POS	švyd		k			o
	fast, CMPR	švyd		*		-š	e

Outline

Introduction

Comparative suffixes

The data: adjectives and adverbs

Ingredients for the analysis

Analysis

Conclusions

Conclusions

- I presented different adjectival and adverbial patterns

POS	CMPR
-AGR	-š-AGR
-AGR	-iš-AGR
-n-AGR	-n-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-k-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-š-AGR

POS	CMPR
-ADV	-š-ADV
-ADV	-iš-ADV
-n-ADV	-n-iš-ADV
-k-ADV	-k-iš-ADV
-k-ADV	-š-ADV

Conclusions

- I presented different adjectival and adverbial patterns

POS	CMPR
-AGR	-š-AGR
-AGR	-iš-AGR
-n-AGR	-n-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-k-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-š-AGR

POS	CMPR
-ADV	-š-ADV
-ADV	-iš-ADV
-n-ADV	-n-iš-ADV
-k-ADV	-k-iš-ADV
-k-ADV	-š-ADV

- I accounted for these different patterns using Nanosyntax

Conclusions

- I presented different adjectival and adverbial patterns

POS	CMPR
-AGR	-š-AGR
-AGR	-iš-AGR
-n-AGR	-n-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-k-iš-AGR
-k-AGR	-š-AGR

POS	CMPR
-ADV	-š-ADV
-ADV	-iš-ADV
-n-ADV	-n-iš-ADV
-k-ADV	-k-iš-ADV
-k-ADV	-š-ADV

- I accounted for these different patterns using Nanosyntax
- I suggested that Ukrainian adjectives have rich internal structure
- and Ukrainian adverbs share their internal structure with adjectives

Дякую за увагу!
Dyakuju za uvahu!

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Appendix 1: adverbs with *-e*

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	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
a.	dobr-e	dobr-iš-e	‘well’
b.	pevn-e	pevn-iš-e	‘definitely’
c.	vorož-e	vorož-iš-e	‘hostile’

Appendix 1: adverbs with *-e*

	POS ADV	CMPR ADV	translation
a.	dobr-e	dobr-iš-e	‘well’
b.	pevn-e	pevn-iš-e	‘definitely’
c.	vorož-e	vorož-iš-e	‘hostile’
d.	zl-e	hir-š-e	‘badly’
e.	duž-e	duž-č-e	‘a lot’
f.	xoroš-e	kraš-č-e	‘well’

Appendix 1: adverbs with *-e*

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d.	zl-e	hir-š-e	‘badly’
e.	duž-e	duž-č-e	‘a lot’
f.	xoroš-e	kraš-č-e	‘well’

- adverbs with *-e* are far less frequent
- almost all of them end in a palatalised consonant (Bevzenko 1960: 381)

Appendix 2a: it's not about phonology

(8) certain adjectives can take both *-š* and *-iš*

	POS	CMPR *-š*	CMPR *-iš*	translation
a.	bahat-yj	bahat-š-yj	bahat-iš-yj	rich
b.	hrub-yj	hrub-š-yj	hrub-iš-yj	rude
c.	zdorov-yj	zdorov-š-yj	zdorov-iš-yj	healthy

Appendix 2b: it's not about phonology

(9) different roots in similar phonological environment

	POS	CMPR *-š*	CMPR *-iš*	translation
a.	dešev-yj	dešev-š-yj	*dešev-iš-yj	cheap
	važlyv-yj	*važlyv-š-yj	važlyv-iš-yj	important
b.	duž-yj	duž-č-yj	*duž-iš-yj	strong
	sviž-yj	*sviž-č-yj	sviž-iš-yj	fresh