Diminutive adjectives in Czech as evidence for a rich internal structure of gradable adjectives

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Outline

Three classes of adjectives

- Positive-degree adjectives in Czech often correspond to a root directly followed by agreement

mlad-	ý
young	AGR
‘young’	

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snad- n- ý
eas- AUG AGR
'easy'

- And a relatively smaller class requires the 'augment' *k*

slad- k- ý
sweet AUG AGR
'sweet'

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‘young’		

mlad-	š-	í
young	CMPR	AGR
‘younger’		

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eas-	AUG	AGR
‘easy’		

snaz-	š-	í
eas-	CMPR	AGR
‘easier’		

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sweet	AUG	AGR
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- And a relatively smaller class requires the ‘augment’ *k*

slad-	k-	ý
sweet	AUG	AGR
‘sweet’		

slad-	š-	í
sweet-	CMPR	AGR
‘sweeter’		

Three kinds of positive

POS	GLOSS	POS	GLOSS	POS	GLOSS
blb- ý	‘stupid’	čer-n-ý	‘black’	blíz-k-ý	‘close’
čir- ý	‘pure’	drs-n-ý	‘rough’	břit-k-ý	‘sharp’
čist- ý	‘clean’	hluč-n-ý	‘noisy’	heb-k-ý	‘smooth’
dlouh- ý	‘long’	hod-n-ý	‘kind’	hlad-k-ý	‘smooth’
dobr- ý	‘good’	jas-n-ý	‘clear’	hoř-k-ý	‘bitter’
drah- ý	‘expensive’	jem-n-ý	‘smooth’	krát-k-ý	‘short’
drz- ý	‘cheeky’	krás-n-ý	‘beautiful’	krot-k-ý	‘tame’
hloup- ý	‘stupid’	lev-n-ý	‘cheap’	křeh-k-ý	‘fragile’
hust- ý	‘dense’	mast-n-ý	‘fatty’	leh-k-ý	‘easy’
chud- ý	‘poor’	mír-n-ý	‘peaceful’	měk-k-ý	‘soft’
jist- ý	‘secure’	něž-n-ý	‘tender’	měl-k-ý	‘shallow’
krut- ý	‘cruel’	pěk-n-ý	‘pretty’	mrz-k-ý	‘meager’
mal- ý	‘small’	pev-n-ý	‘firm’	níz-k-ý	‘low’
mil- ý	‘lovely’	pl-n-ý	‘full’	prud-k-ý	‘steep’
mlad- ý	‘young’	prázd-n-ý	‘empty’	plyt-k-ý	‘shallow’
nah- ý	‘naked’	rov-n-ý	‘straight’	řid-k-ý	‘thin’
plach- ý	‘timid’	sil-n-ý	‘strong’	slad-k-ý	‘sweet’
ploch- ý	‘flat’	sla-n-ý	‘salty’	sliz-k-ý	‘slimy’
slab- ý	‘weak’	slav-n-ý	‘famous’	ten-k-ý	‘thin’
slep- ý	‘blind’	sluš-n-ý	‘kind’	těž-k-ý	‘heavy’
star- ý	‘old’	skrom-n-ý	‘modest’	trp-k-ý	‘sour-bitter’
such- ý	‘dry’	smut-n-ý	‘sad’	úz-k-ý	‘narrow’
tich- ý	‘quiet’	snad-n-ý	‘easy’	vel-k-ý	‘big’
tup- ý	‘blunt’	šťast-n-ý	‘happy’	vlh-k-ý	‘wet’
tvrd- ý	‘hard’	tuč-n-ý	‘fat’	vrat-k-ý	‘unstable’
zl- ý	‘evil’	vol-n-ý	‘free’	brz-k-ý	‘early’

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- We investigate the distribution of the augments in the positive (we argue that it is governed by the arbitrary class of the root)
- We propose an account based on two ingredients
  - the decomposition of adjectival meaning into smaller ingredients
  - the idea that roots realise different sets of these ingredients
- We investigate augments in comparatives

Outline

The distribution of n ∼ ø is not governed by phonology

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- There are homonymous roots, which in one meaning take n, in another meaning they don't

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(1) **lev**- á noha
left AGR leg
'(the) left leg'

(2) **lev**- n- á noha
cheap AUG AGR leg
'(the) cheap leg'

The distribution of n ∼ ø is not governed by semantics

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- There are synonymous roots, where one root takes n, the other doesn't

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(3) hrub- á pokožka
rough AGR skin
'a rough skin'

(4) drs- n- á pokožka
rough AUG AGR skin
'a rough skin'

The distribution of n ∼ ø is not governed by the morphological category of the base (I)

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- Some *n* adjectives appear to be derived from nouns, but not all of them are

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(5) a. čest- n- ý
honest AUG AGR
'honest'

b. čest
honour

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- Some *n* adjectives appear to be derived from nouns, but not all of them are

(5) a. čest- n- ý
honest AUG AGR
'honest'
b. čest
honour

(6) a. skrom- n- ý
modest AUG AGR
'modest'
b. *skrom
Int: 'modesty'

The distribution of n ∼ ø is not governed by the morphological category of the base (II)

- Nouns can become adjectives with or without n

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(7) a. stříbr- o
silver NOM.NEUT.SG
'silver (metal)'

b. stříbr- n- ý
silver AUG AGR
'silver (color/material)'

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b. stříbr- n- ý
silver AUG AGR
'silver (color/material)'

(8) a. zlat- o
gold NOM.NEUT.SG
'gold (metal)'

b. zlat- ý
gold AGR
'golden (color/material)'

Interim conclusion

- The presence/absence of the augment n is an arbitrary property of the root

The distribution of n ∼ k ∼ ø is not governed by phonology

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- There are nearly identical roots, where one root takes k, one takes n, and yet another one ø

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- There are nearly identical roots, where one root takes k, one takes n, and yet another one ø

(9) **mlad**- ý
young AGR
'young'

(10) **slad**- k- ý
smooth AUG AGR
'sweet'

(11) **klad**- n- ý
positive AUG AGR
'positive'

The distribution of n ∼ k is not governed by semantics (I)

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- There are synonymous roots, where one root takes k, the other n

(12) **hez**- k- á hudba
nice AUG AGR music
'nice music'

(13) **pěk**- n- á hudba
nice AUG AGR music
'nice music'

The distribution of n ∼ k ∼ ø is not governed by semantics (II)

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- There are near synonymous roots, where one root takes k, the other n (and yet another one ø)

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(14) **snad**- n- á úloha
easy AGR task
'an easy task'

(15) **leh**- k- á úloha
light AUG AGR task
'an easy task'

The distribution of n ∼ k ∼ ø is not governed by semantics (II)

- There are near synonymous roots, where one root takes k, the other n (and yet another one ø)

(14) **snad**- n- á úloha
easy AGR task
'an easy task'

(15) **leh**- k- á úloha
light AUG AGR task
'an easy task'

(16) **jednoduch**- á úloha
simple AGR tas
'a simple task'

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(17) a. **sliz**- k- ý
slime AUG AGR
'slimy'

b. **sliz**
slime

The distribution of k is not governed by the morphological category of the base

- Some *k* adjectives appear to be derived from nouns, but not all of them are

(17) a. **sliz**- k- ý
slime AUG AGR
'slimy'
b. **sliz**
slime

(18) a. **heb**- k- ý
smooth AUG AGR
'smooth'
b. ***heb**

Scale type?

POS	GLOSS	NEG	GLOSS	DMV
sil-n-ý	‘strong’	slab- ý	‘weak’	OPEN
drah- ý	‘expensive’	lev-n-ý	‘cheap’	OPEN
šťast-n-ý	‘happy’	smut-n-ý	‘sad’	OPEN
jas-n-ý	‘clear’	ne-jas-n-ý	‘un-clear’	PARTIALLY CLOSED
pl-n-ý	‘full’	prázd-n-ý	‘empty’	CLOSED
vel-k-ý	‘big’	mal- ý	‘small’	OPEN
tvrd- ý	‘hard’	měk-k-ý	‘soft’	OPEN
těž-k-ý	‘heavy’	leh-k-ý	‘light’	OPEN
such- ý	‘dry’	vlh-k-ý	‘wet’	PARTIALLY CLOSED
hlad-k-ý	‘smooth’	drs-n-ý	‘rough’	PARTIALLY CLOSED
star- ý	‘old’	mlad- ý	‘young’	OPEN
tlust- ý	‘thick’	ten-k-ý	‘thin’	OPEN
dlouh- ý	‘long’	krát-k-ý	‘short’	OPEN
dobr- ý	‘good’	špat-n-ý	‘bad’	OPEN
hluč-n-ý	‘noisy’	tich- ý	‘silent’	PARTIALLY CLOSED

Interim conclusion

- The presence/absence of the augment n or k is an arbitrary property of the root

Outline

Three kinds of positive

POS	GLOSS	POS	GLOSS	POS	GLOSS
slab- ý	‘weak’	lev-n-ý	‘cheap’	heb-k-ý	‘smooth’
tup- ý	‘blunt’	hod-n-ý	‘kind’	sliz-k-ý	‘slimy’
slep- ý	‘blind’	šťast-n-ý	‘happy’	křeh-k-ý	‘fragile’
mal- ý	‘small’	jem-n-ý	‘smooth’	vlh-k-ý	‘wet’
dobr- ý	‘good’	skrom-n-ý	‘modest’	leh-k-ý	‘easy’
čist- ý	‘clean’	něž-n-ý	‘tender’	měk-k-ý	‘soft’
drz- ý	‘cheeky’	sluš-n-ý	‘kind’	ten-k-ý	‘thin’
hloup- ý	‘stupid’	pěk-n-ý	‘pretty’	slad-k-ý	‘sweet’
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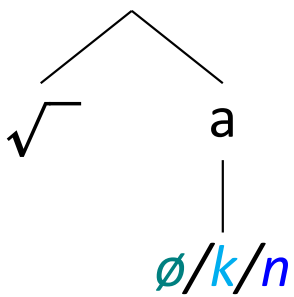

(19) Arbitrary root classes

a. a → Ø

b. a → n / __ Class-n

c. a → k / __ Class-k

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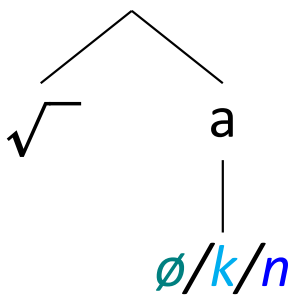

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a. a → Ø

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- This account does not work: diminutive morphology shows that *n* and *k* must occupy different structural positions

k follows DMV, it is structurally higher

POS	DMV	GLOSS
heb-k-ý	heb-ouč-k-ý	‘smooth’
sliz-k-ý	sliz-ouč-k-ý	‘slimy’
křeh-k-ý	křeh-ouč-k-ý	‘fragile’
vlh-k-ý	vlh-ouč-k-ý	‘wet’
leh-k-ý	leh-ouč-k-ý	‘easy’
měk-k-ý	měk-ouč-k-ý	‘soft’
ten-k-ý	ten-ouč-k-ý	‘thin’
slad-k-ý	slaď-ouč-k-ý	‘sweet’
hlad-k-ý	hlaď-ouč-k-ý	‘smooth’
níz-k-ý	niz-ouč-k-ý	‘low’
blíz-k-ý	bliz-ouč-k-ý	‘near’
úz-k-ý	uz-ouč-k-ý	‘narrow’
krát-k-ý	krať-ouč-k-ý	‘short’

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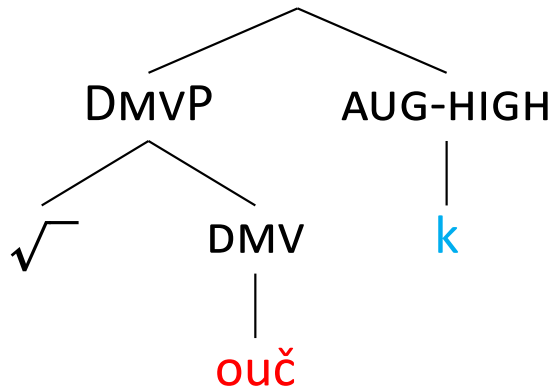

n precedes DMV, it is structurally lower

POS	DMV	GLOSS
lev-n-ý	lev-ň-ouč-k-ý	‘cheap’
hod-n-ý	hod-ň-ouč-k-ý	‘kind’
šťast-n-ý	šťast-ň-ouč-k-ý	‘happy’
jem-n-ý	jem-ň-ouč-k-ý	‘smooth’
skrom-n-ý	skrom-ň-ouč-k-ý	‘modest’
něž-n-ý	něž-ň-ouč-k-ý	‘gentle’
sluš-n-ý	sluš-ň-ouč-k-ý	‘kind’
pěk-n-ý	pěk-ň-ouč-k-ý	‘pretty’
mír-n-ý	mír-ň-ouč-k-ý	‘peaceful’

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skrom-n-ý	skrom-ň-ouč-k-ý	‘modest’
něž-n-ý	něž-ň-ouč-k-ý	‘gentle’
sluš-n-ý	sluš-ň-ouč-k-ý	‘kind’
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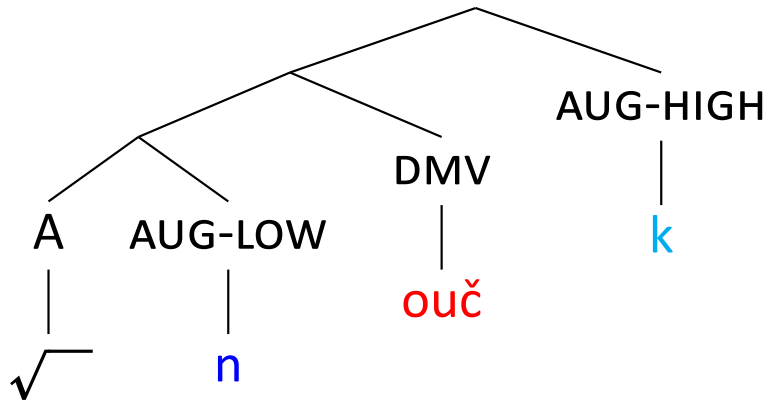

The zero class

POS		DMV		GLOSS
slab-	ý	slab-	ouč-k-ý	‘weak’
tup-	ý	tup-	ouč-k-ý	‘blunt’
slep-	ý	slep-	ouč-k-ý	‘blind’
mal-	ý	mal-	ouč-k-ý	‘small’
dobr-	ý	dobr-	ouč-k-ý	‘good’
čist-	ý	čisť-	ouč-k-ý	‘clean’
hloup-	ý	hloup-	ouč-k-ý	‘stupid’
such-	ý	such-	ouč-k-ý	‘dry’

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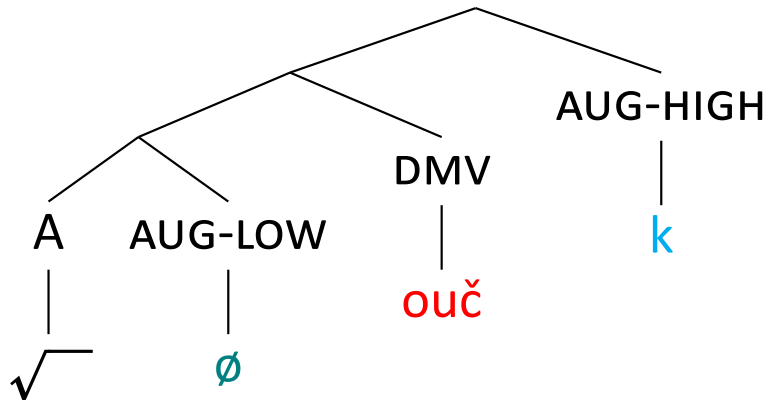
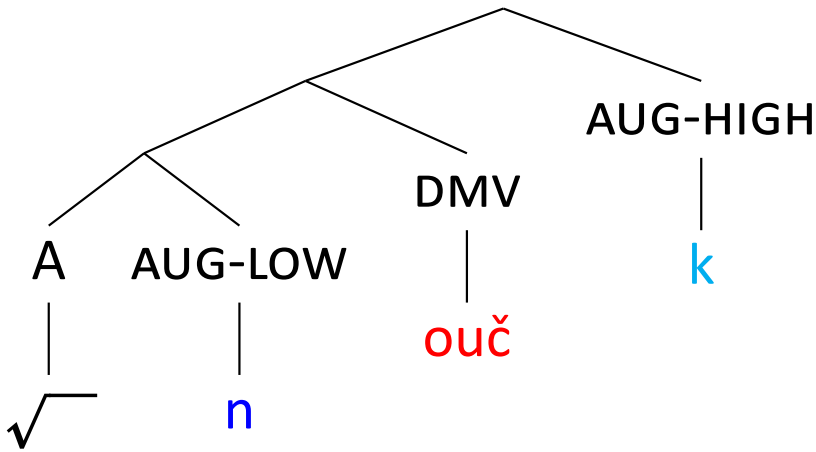
dobr-	ý	dobr-	ouč-k-ý	‘good’
čist-	ý	čisť-	ouč-k-ý	‘clean’
hloup-	ý	hloup-	ouč-k-ý	‘stupid’
such-	ý	such-	ouč-k-ý	‘dry’



Taking stock

- In the diminutive of some roots, we see both augments
- Each of them occupies a different position



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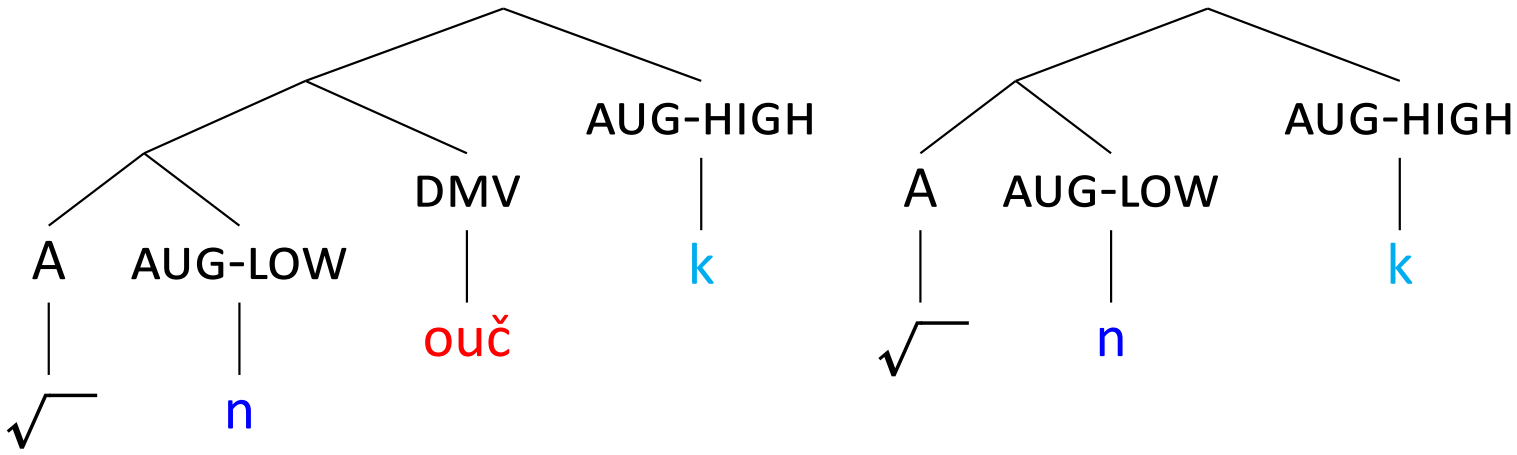

- Why do the augments not combine when there is no DMV?

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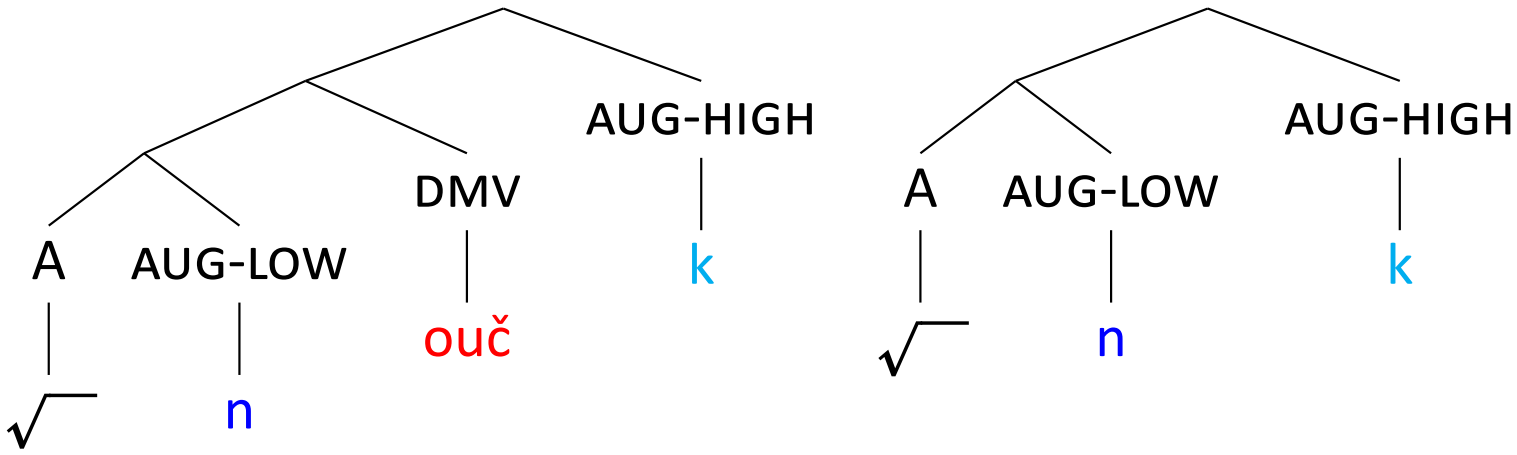

- Why do the augments not combine when there is no DMV?
  - What are the realization rules for AUG-LOW and AUG-HIGH?

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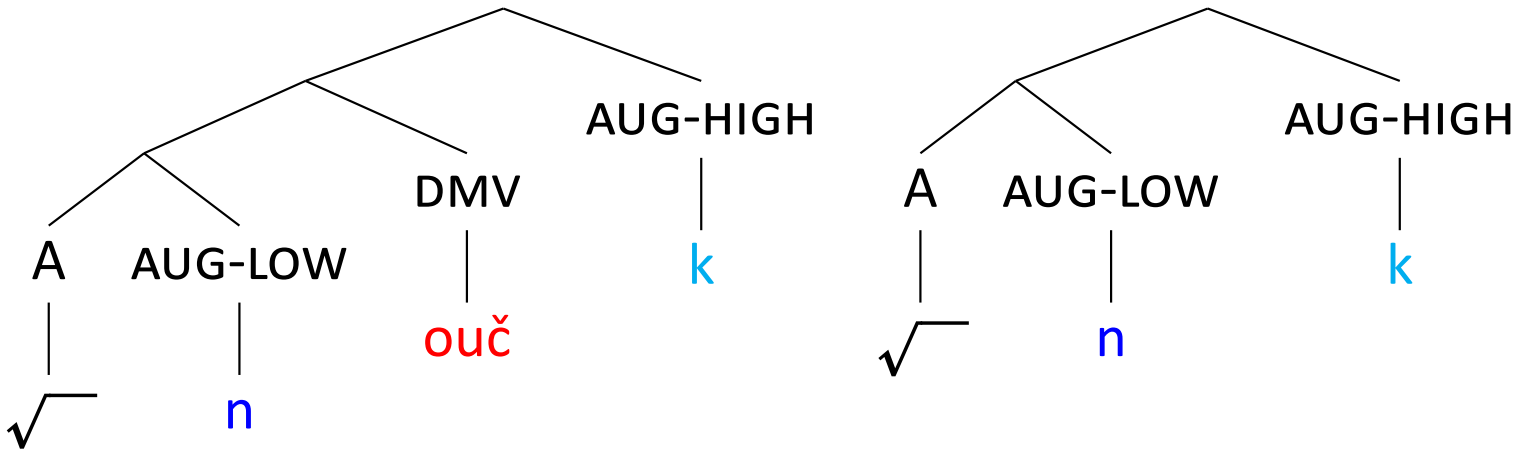
- Each of them occupies a different position



- Why do the augments not combine when there is no DMV?
  - What are the realization rules for AUG-LOW and AUG-HIGH?
  - What features are realized by AUG-LOW and AUG-HIGH?

Sidenote: against -*oučk*

- Proposing that k is higher than DMV presupposes decomposition: *oučk* = ouč-k. What is the evidence?

Sidenote: against *-oučk*

- Proposing that k is higher than DMV presupposes decomposition: *oučk* = ouč-k. What is the evidence?
- There exists also a diminutive in *-oun*, and it has the same effect in forcing k:

POS	DMV	DMV	GLOSS
tich- ý	tich-ouč-k-ý	tich-oun-k-ý	'silent'

Sidenote: against *-oučk*

- Proposing that k is higher than DMV presupposes decomposition: *oučk* = ouč-k. What is the evidence?
- There exists also a diminutive in *-oun*, and it has the same effect in forcing k:

POS	DMV	DMV	GLOSS
tich- ý	tich-ouč-k-ý	tich-oun-k-ý	'silent'
úz-k-ý	uz-ouč-k-ý	uz-oun-k-ý	'narrow'

Sidenote: against *-oučk*

- Proposing that k is higher than DMV presupposes decomposition: *oučk* = ouč-k. What is the evidence?
- There exists also a diminutive in *-oun*, and it has the same effect in forcing k:

POS	DMV	DMV	GLOSS
tich- ý	tich-ouč-k-ý	tich-oun-k-ý	'silent'
úz-k-ý	uz-ouč-k-ý	uz-oun-k-ý	'narrow'
jem-n-ý	jem-ň-ouč-k-ý	jem-ň-oun-k-ý	'soft'

Sidenote: against *-oučk*

- Proposing that k is higher than DMV presupposes decomposition: *oučk* = ouč-k. What is the evidence?
- There exists also a diminutive in *-oun*, and it has the same effect in forcing k:

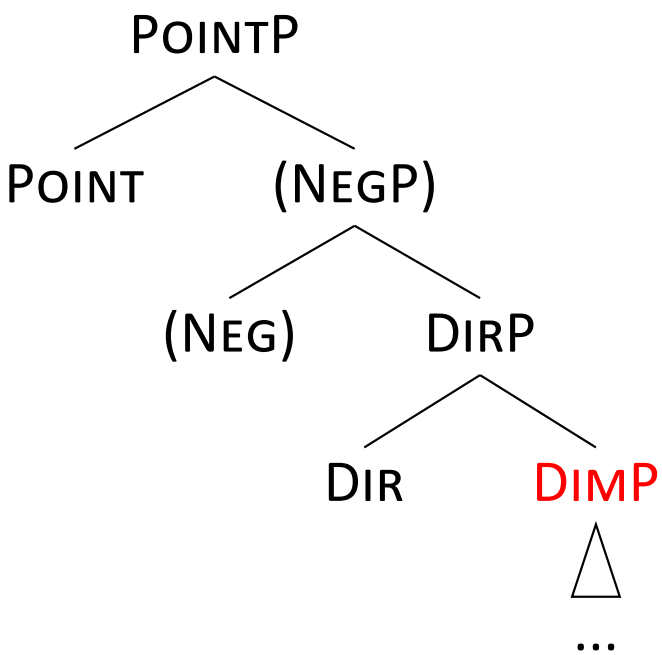
POS	DMV	DMV	GLOSS
tich- ý	tich-ouč-k-ý	tich-oun-k-ý	'silent'
úz-k-ý	uz-ouč-k-ý	uz-oun-k-ý	'narrow'
jem-n-ý	jem-ň-ouč-k-ý	jem-ň-oun-k-ý	'soft'

- If *-oučk* was a single morpheme, the parallel effect with *-ounk* would be lost

Outline

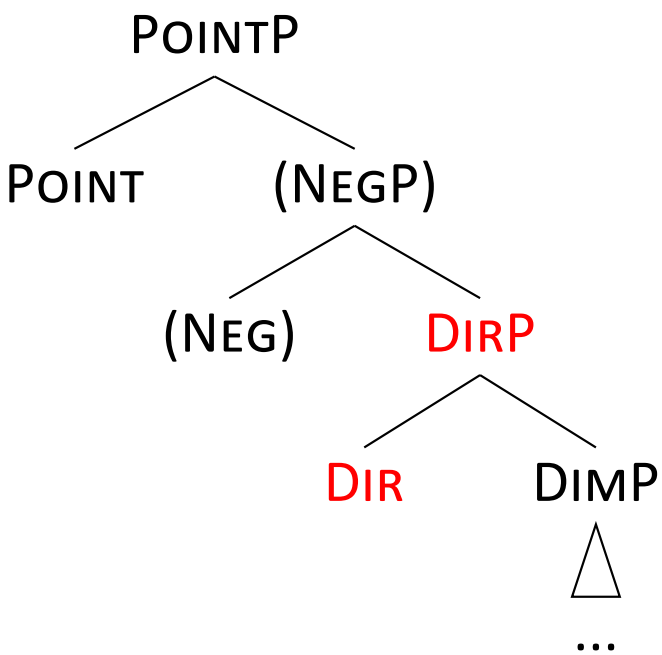
Decomposing adjectives

1. Adjectives contain a DIMENSION (DIM);



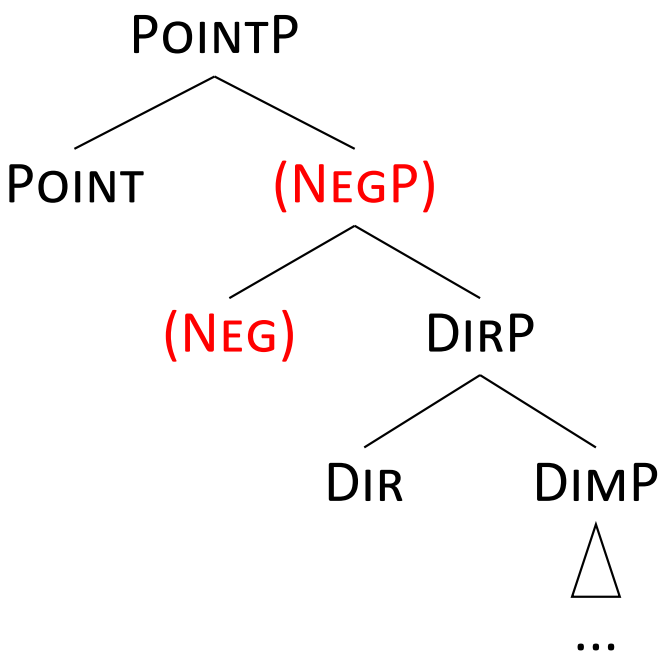
Decomposing adjectives

1. Adjectives contain a DIMENSION (DIM);
2. an ordering (DIR) of values along some dimension, providing a scale (defines gradable adjectives);



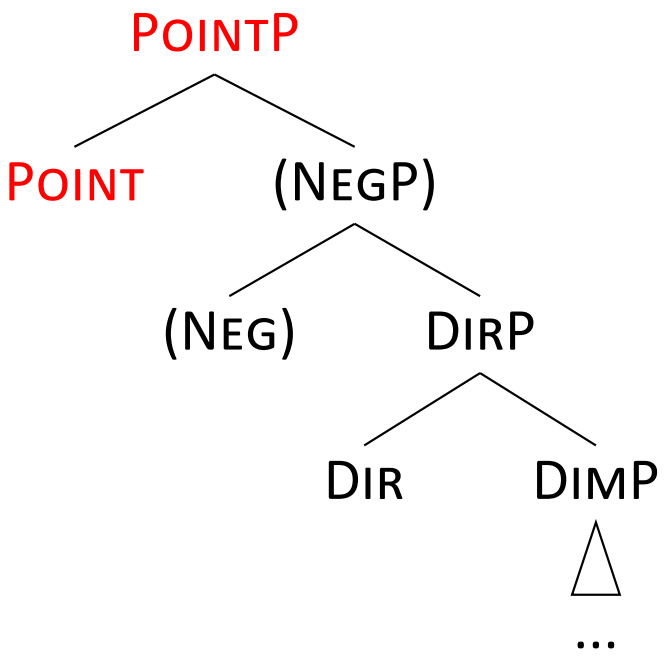
Decomposing adjectives

1. Adjectives contain a DIMENSION (DIM);
2. an ordering (DIR) of values along some dimension, providing a scale (defines gradable adjectives);
3. an optional scale reverser NEG: the same scale can be positive (*tall*) vs. negative (*short*); negative adjectives have NEG;



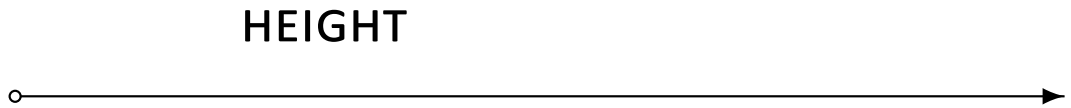
Decomposing adjectives

1. Adjectives contain a DIMENSION (DIM);
2. an ordering (DIR) of values along some dimension, providing a scale (defines gradable adjectives);
3. an optional scale reverser NEG: the same scale can be positive (*tall*) vs. negative (*short*); negative adjectives have NEG;
4. a POINT on the scale, representing the standard.



tall = taller than STD

a.

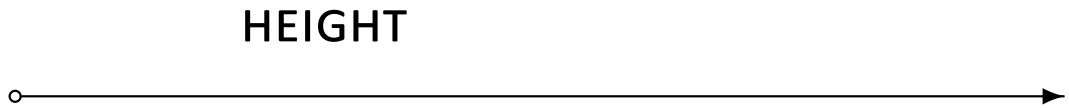


b.

c.

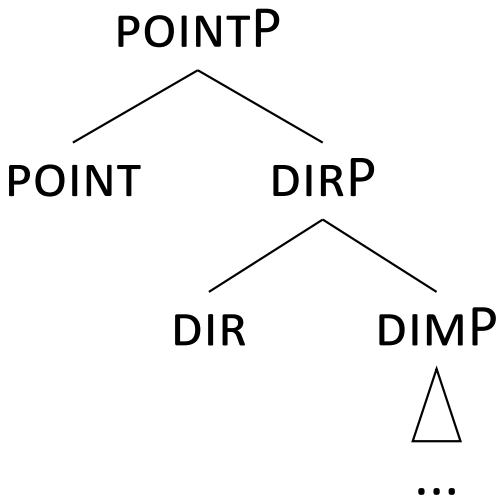
tall = taller than STD

a.



b.

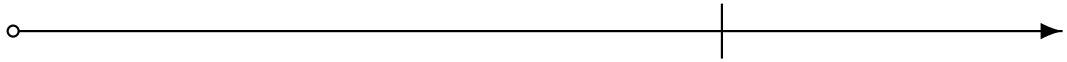
c.



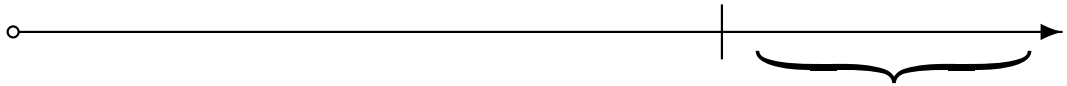
tall = taller than STD

a. HEIGHT

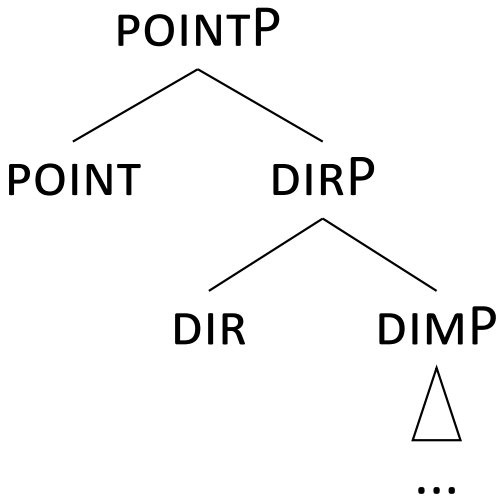
b. HEIGHT STD

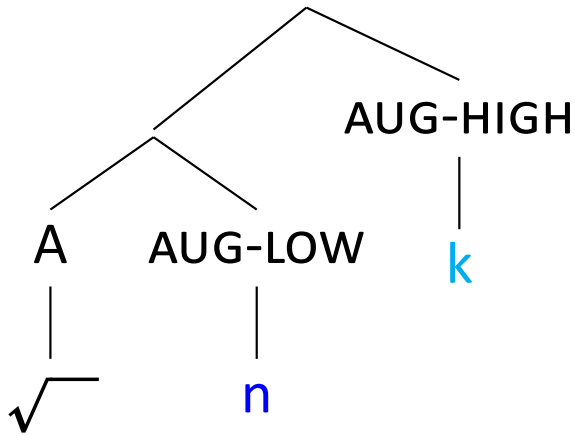


c. HEIGHT STD



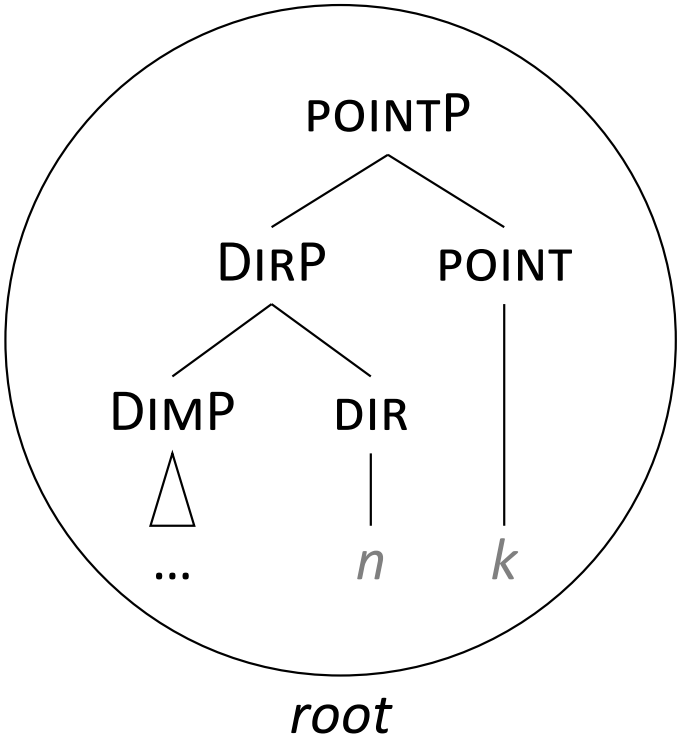
UP



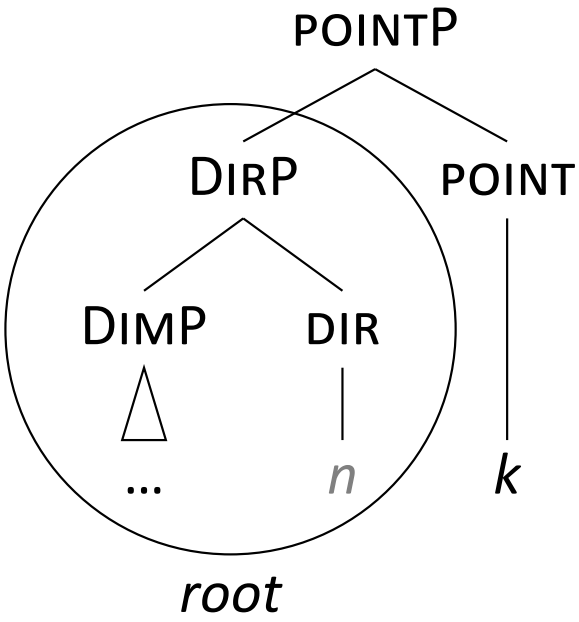


Outline

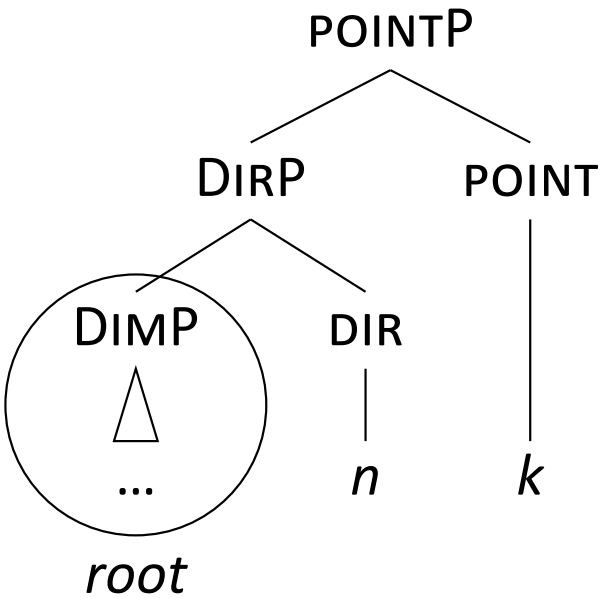
AUG=Ø



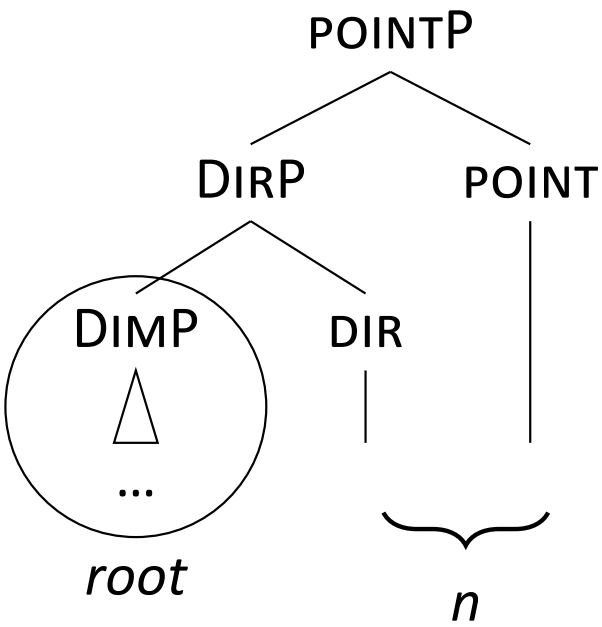
AUG=K



AUG=N



AUG=N



	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý		tich		‘silent’

	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich			‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		k	‘light’

	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý		tich		‘silent’
leh-k-ý		leh	k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem		n	‘smooth’

	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich			‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n		‘smooth’

	DIM	DIR	**DMV**	POINT	GLOSS

	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich			‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n		‘smooth’

	DIM	DIR	**DMV**	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich		ouč	k	‘silent’

	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich			‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n		‘smooth’

	DIM	DIR	**DMV**	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich		ouč	k	‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		ouč	k	‘light’

	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich			‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n		‘smooth’

	DIM	DIR	**DMV**	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich		ouč	k	‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		ouč	k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n	ouč	k	‘smooth’

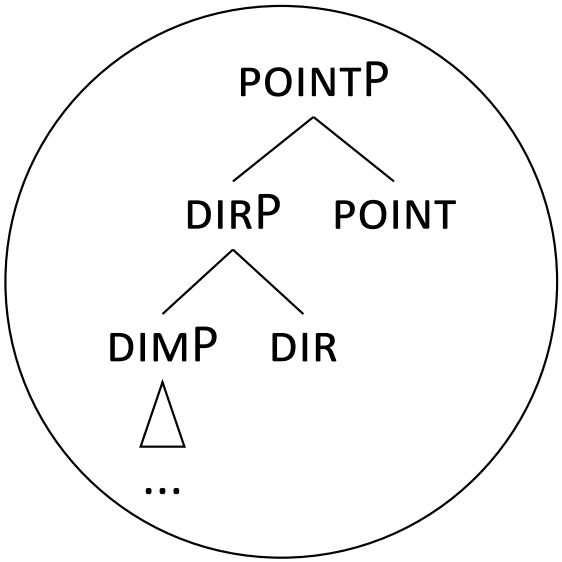
Outline

Class PointP

(20) tich-ý ∼ tich -**ouč**-**k**-ý
silent-AGR silent-DIM-AUG-AGR

Class PointP

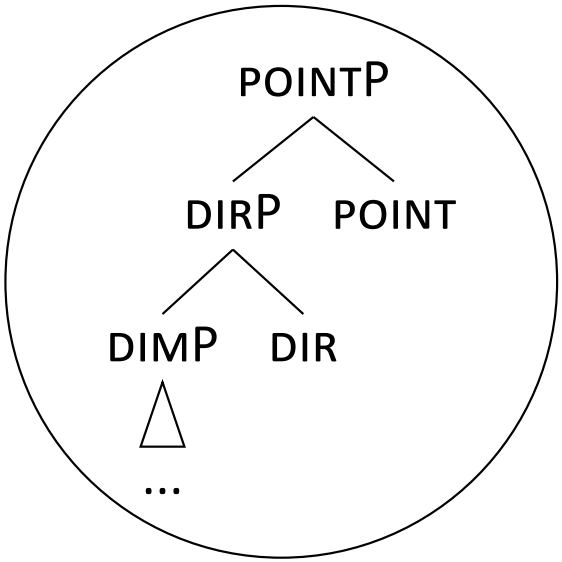
(20) tich-ý ∼ tich **-ouč**-**k**-ý
silent-AGR silent-DIM-AUG-AGR



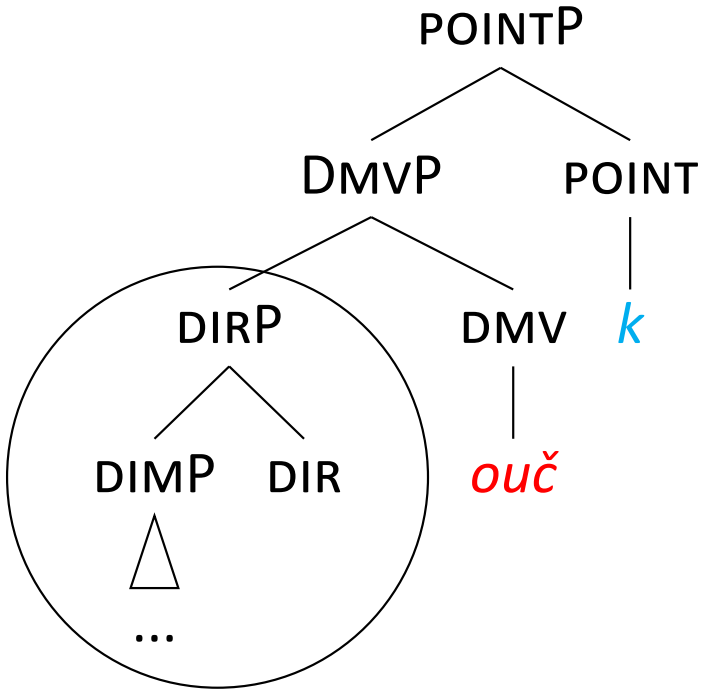
tich
'silent'

Class PointP

(20) tich-ý ~ tich -**ouč**-**k**-ý
silent-AGR silent-DIM-AUG-AGR



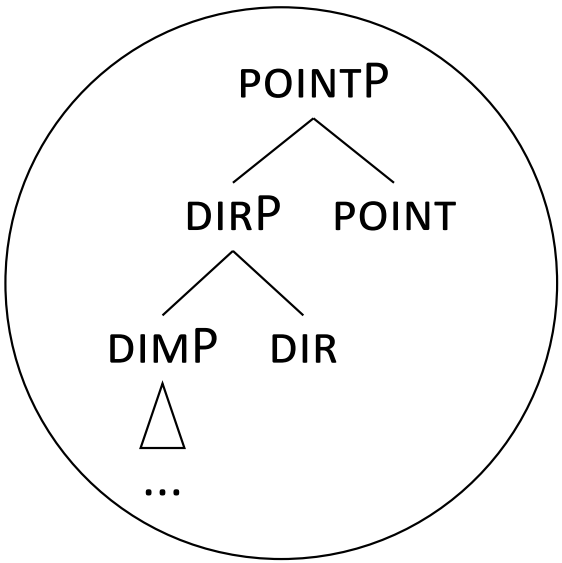
tich
'silent'



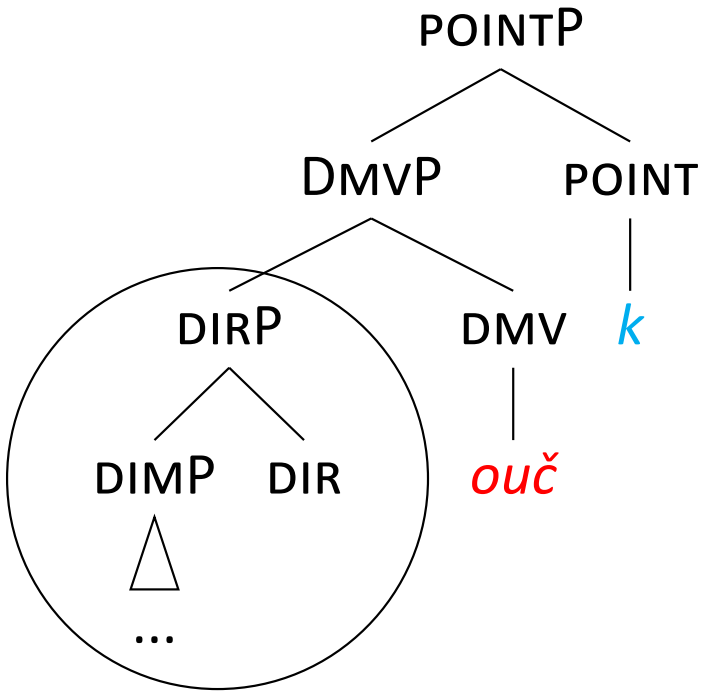
tich
'silent'

Class PointP

(20) tich-ý ~ tich -**ouč**-**k**-ý
silent-AGR silent-DIM-AUG-AGR



tich
'silent'



tich
'silent'

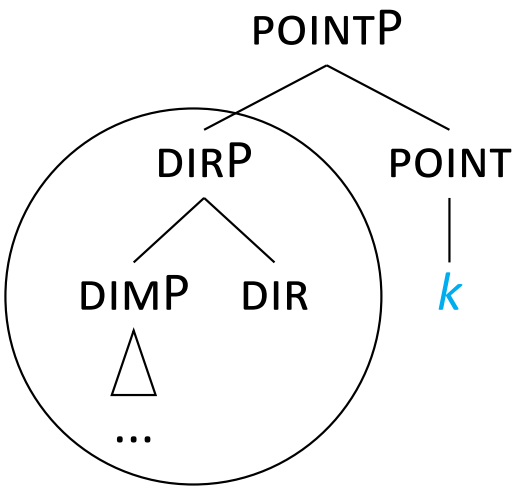
(21) *The Superset Principle*
L can spell out subsets of its specification.

Class DirP

(22) leh-**k**-ý ∼ leh -**ouč**-**k**-ý
easy-AUG-AGR easy-DIM-AUG-AGR

Class DirP

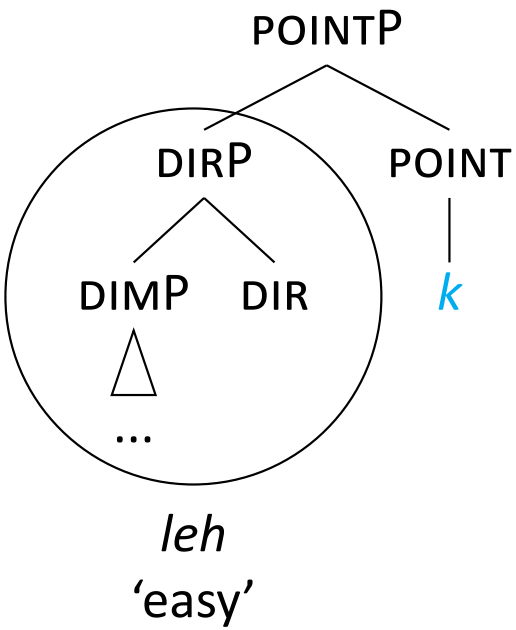
(22) leh-**k**-ý ~ leh -**ouč**-**k**-ý
easy-AUG-AGR easy-DIM-AUG-AGR

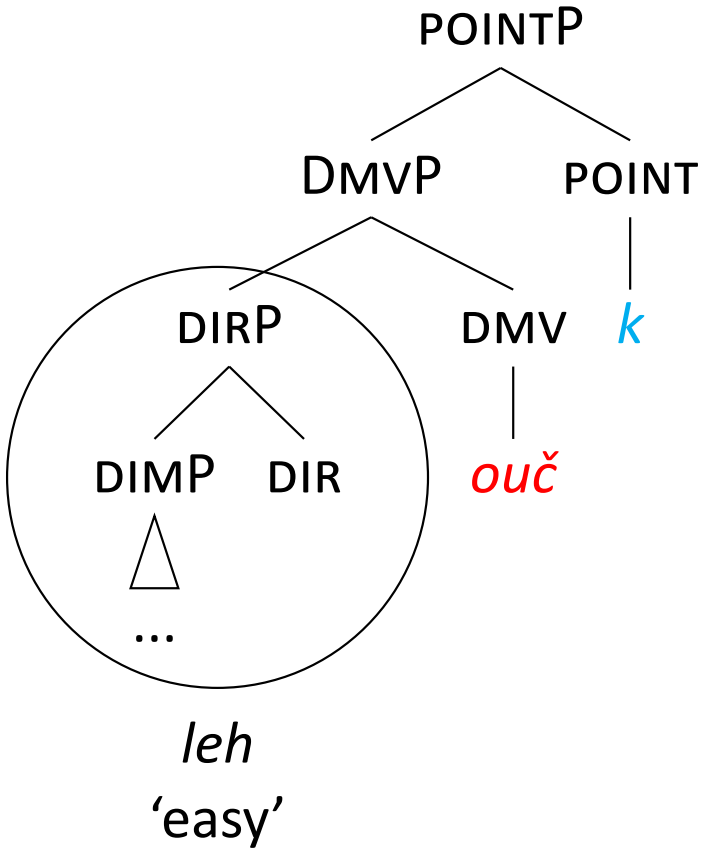


leh
'easy'

Class DirP

(22) leh-**k**-ý ~ leh -**ouč**-**k**-ý
easy-AUG-AGR easy-DIM-AUG-AGR



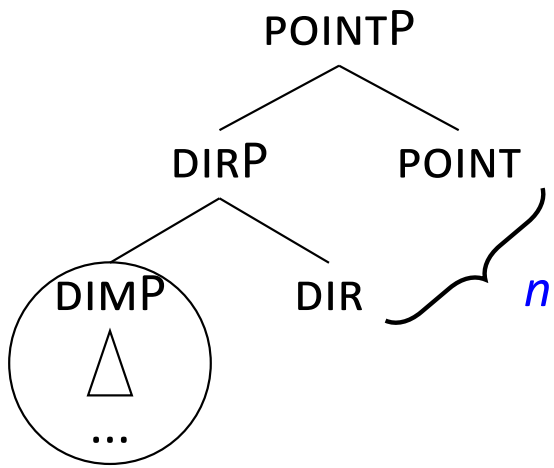


Class DimP

(23) jem-n-ý ~ jemň-ouč-k-ý
smooth-AUG-AGR smooth-AUG-DIM-AUG-AGR

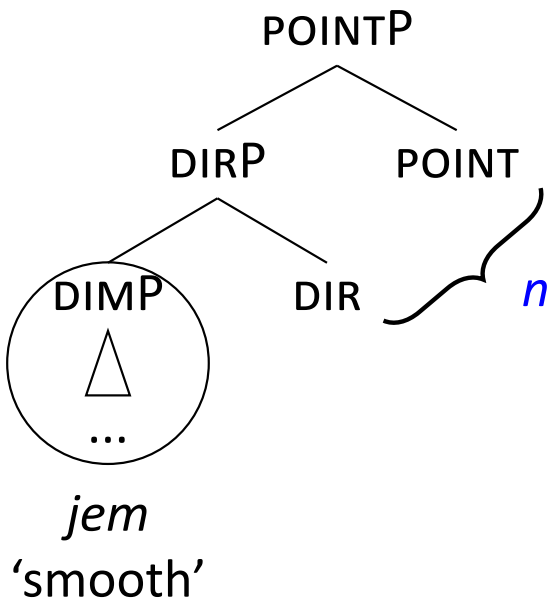
Class DimP

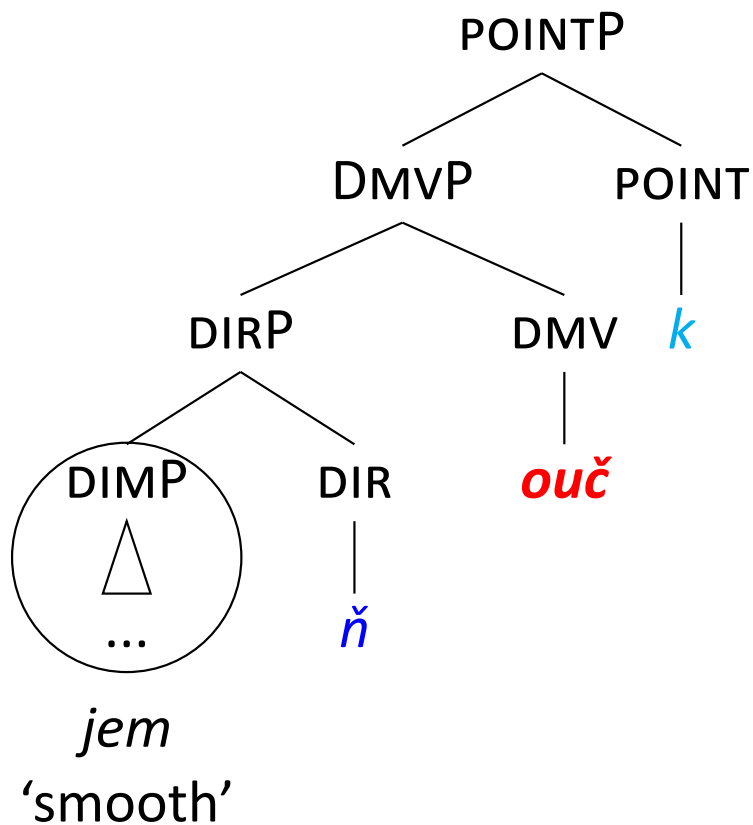
(23) jem-n-ý ~ jemň-ouč-k-ý
smooth-AUG-AGR smooth-AUG-DIM-AUG-AGR



Class DimP

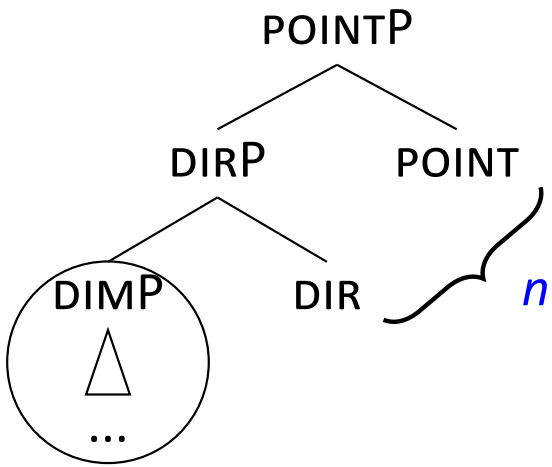
(23) jem-n-ý ~ jemň-ouč-k-ý
smooth-AUG-AGR smooth-AUG-DIM-AUG-AGR

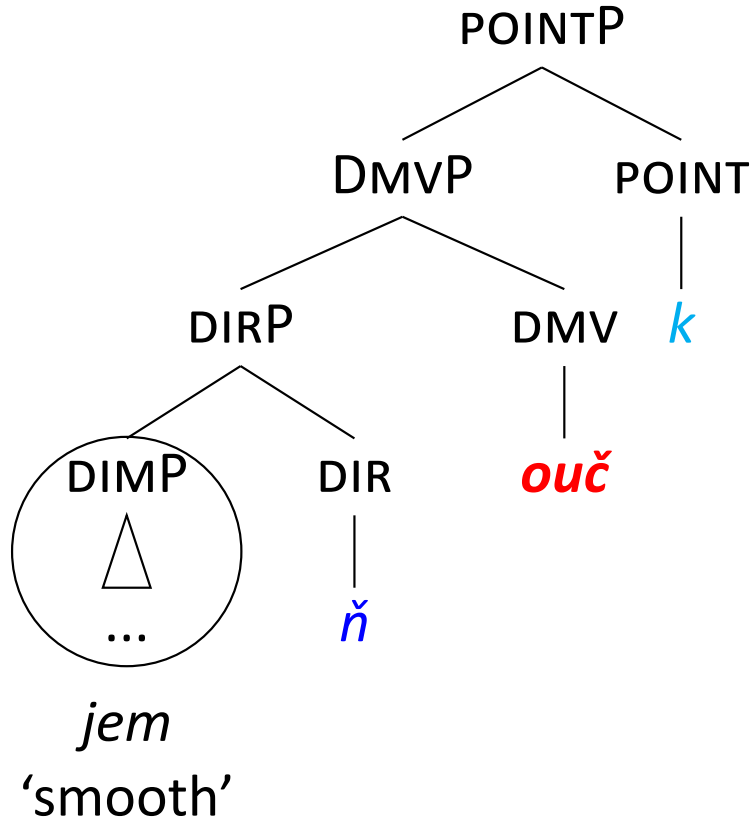




Class DimP

(23) jem-n-ý ~ jemň-ouč-k-ý
smooth-AUG-AGR smooth-AUG-DIM-AUG-AGR





(24) *The Superset Principle*
L can spell out subsets of its specification.

	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý		tich		‘silent’
leh-k-ý		leh	k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem		n	‘smooth’

	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich			‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n		‘smooth’

	DIM	DIR	**DMV**	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich		ouč	k	‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		ouč	k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n	ouč	k	‘smooth’

	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich			‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n		‘smooth’

	DIM	DIR	**DMV**	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich		ouč	k	‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		ouč	k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n	ouč	k	‘smooth’

- gradable adjectives have a rich internal structure

	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich			‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n		‘smooth’

	DIM	DIR	**DMV**	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich		ouč	k	‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		ouč	k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n	ouč	k	‘smooth’

- gradable adjectives have a rich internal structure
- roots have different sizes

	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich			‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n		‘smooth’

	DIM	DIR	**DMV**	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich		ouč	k	‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		ouč	k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n	ouč	k	‘smooth’

- gradable adjectives have a rich internal structure
- roots have different sizes
- the augments n/k differ in feature specification:
  - n = DIR+POINT
  - k = POINT

	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich			‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n		‘smooth’

	DIM	DIR	**DMV**	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich		ouč	k	‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		ouč	k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n	ouč	k	‘smooth’

- gradable adjectives have a rich internal structure
- roots have different sizes
- the augments n/k differ in feature specification:
  - n = DIR+POINT
  - k = POINT
- Selection is ‘arbitrary’ – but it has no need for arbitrary features of the sort ‘class-n’

	DIM	DIR	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich			‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n		‘smooth’

	DIM	DIR	**DMV**	POINT	GLOSS
tich-ý	tich		ouč	k	‘silent’
leh-k-ý	leh		ouč	k	‘light’
jem-n-ý	jem	n	ouč	k	‘smooth’

- gradable adjectives have a rich internal structure
- roots have different sizes
- the augments n/k differ in feature specification:
  - n = DIR+POINT
  - k = POINT
- Selection is ‘arbitrary’ – but it has no need for arbitrary features of the sort ‘class-n’
- when DMV intervenes we may see both augments

Outline

Class I	a.	čir-	ý	čiř-	**ej**-**š**-í	‘pure’

Class I	a.	čir-	ý	čiř-	**ej**-**š**-í	‘pure’
	b.	star-	ý	star-	**š**-í	‘old’

Class I	a.	čir-	ý	čiř-	**ej**-**š**-í	‘pure’
	b.	star-	ý	star-	**š**-í	‘old’
Class II		žádouc-	í	žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í		‘desirable’

Class I	a.	čir-	ý	čiř-	**ej**-**š**-í	‘pure’
	b.	star-	ý	star-	**š**-í	‘old’
Class II		žádouc-	í	žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í		‘desirable’
Class III		pěk-n-ý		pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í		‘prett-y’

Class I	a.	čir-	ý	čiř- **ej**-**š**-í	‘pure’
	b.	star-	ý	star- **š**-í	‘old’
Class II		žádouc-	í	žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í	‘desirable’
Class III		pěk-n-ý		pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í	‘prett-y’
Class IV	a.	pozd-n-í		pozd- -**ěj**-**š**-í	‘late’

Class I	a.	čir-	ý	čiř- **ej**-**š**-í	‘pure’
	b.	star-	ý	star- **š**-í	‘old’
Class II		žádouc-	í	žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í	‘desirable’
Class III		pěk-n-ý		pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í	‘prett-y’
Class IV	a.	pozd-n-í		pozd- -**ěj**-**š**-í	‘late’
	b.	snad-n-ý		snaz- **š**-í	‘easy’

Class I	a.	čir-	ý	čiř- **ej**-**š**-í	‘pure’
	b.	star-	ý	star- **š**-í	‘old’
Class II		žádouc-	í	žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í	‘desirable’
Class III		pěk-n-ý		pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í	‘prett-y’
Class IV	a.	pozd-n-í		pozd- -**ěj**-**š**-í	‘late’
	b.	snad-n-ý		snaz- **š**-í	‘easy’
Class V		hez-k-ý		hez-k -**š**-í	‘prett-y’

Class I	a.	čir-	ý	čiř- **ej**-**š**-í	‘pure’
	b.	star-	ý	star- **š**-í	‘old’
Class II		žádouc-	í	žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í	‘desirable’
Class III		pěk-n-ý		pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í	‘prett-y’
Class IV	a.	pozd-n-í		pozd- -**ěj**-**š**-í	‘late’
	b.	snad-n-ý		snaz- **š**-í	‘easy’
Class V		hez-k-ý		hez-k -**š**-í	‘prett-y’
Class VI		slad-k-ý		slad- **š**-í	‘sweet’

	POS	CMPR
I	ø	ø
II	ø	n
III	n	n
IV	n	ø
V	k	k
VI	k	ø

	POS	CMPR
I	ø	ø
II	ø	n
III	n	n
IV	n	ø
V	k	k
VI	k	ø

(25) Grano and Davis (2018)
Universally, the comparative form of a gradable adjective is derived from or identical to its positive form.

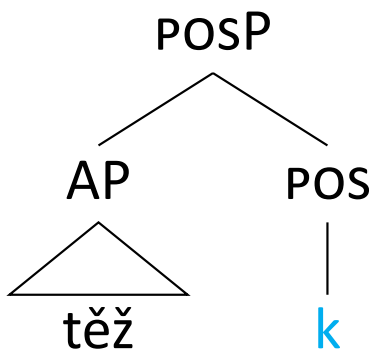
A non-containment account (Vanden Wyngaerd et al. 2020)

A non-containment account (Vanden Wyngaerd et al. 2020)

(26) těž-k-ý – těž-**š**-í
heavy-AUG-AGR heavy-CMPR-AGR

A non-containment account (Vanden Wyngaerd et al. 2020)

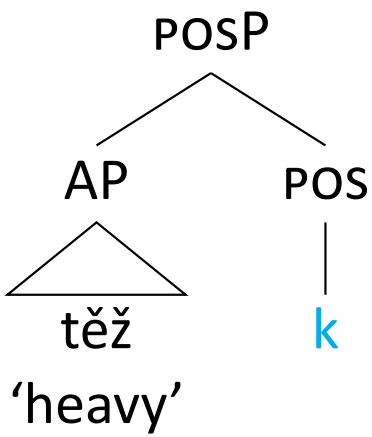
(26) těž-k-ý – těž-**š**-í
heavy-AUG-AGR heavy-CMPR-AGR

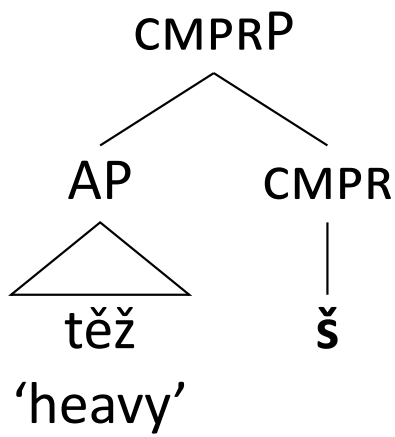


‘heavy’

A non-containment account (Vanden Wyngaerd et al. 2020)

(26) těž-k-ý – těž-**š**-í
heavy-AUG-AGR heavy-CMPR-AGR



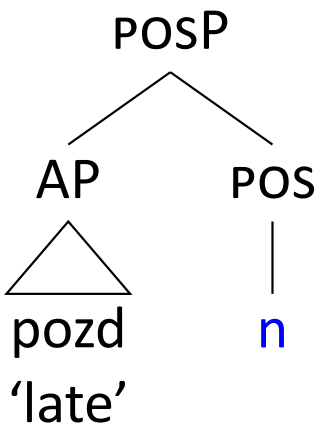


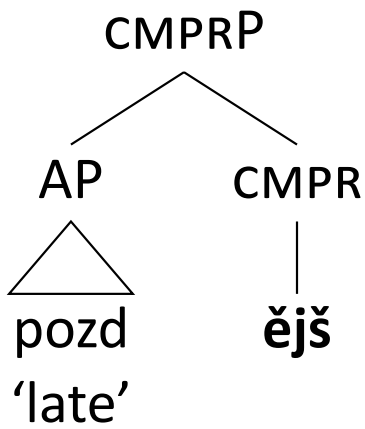
Two difficulties

(27) pozd-n-í – pozd- **ěj-š**-í
late-AUG-AGR late-CMPR-AGR

Two difficulties

(27) pozd-n-í – pozd- **ěj-š**-í
late-AUG-AGR late-CMPR-AGR





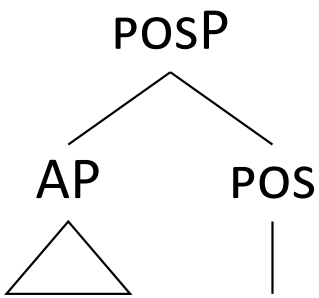
Two difficulties

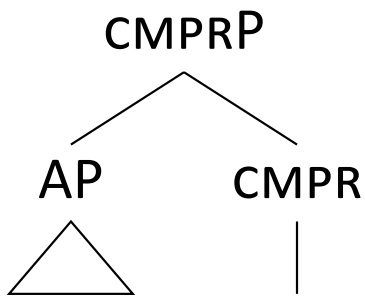
(27) pozd-n-í – pozd- **ěj-š**-í
late-AUG-AGR late-CMPR-AGR

(28) mast-n-ý – mast-n-**ěj-š**-í
fatty-AUG-AGR fatty-AUG-CMPR-AGR

Two difficulties

(27) pozd-n-í – pozd- **ěj-š**-í
late-AUG-AGR late-CMPR-AGR



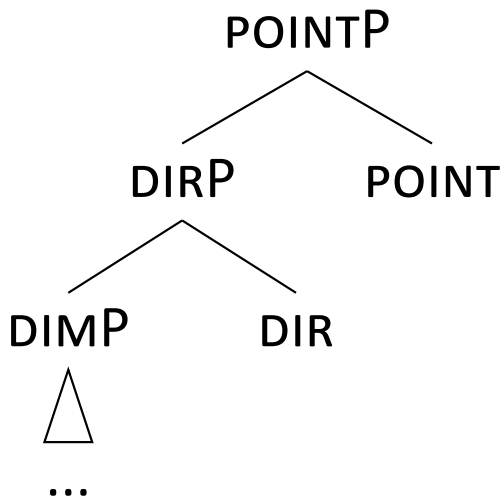


(28) mast-n-ý – mast-n-**ěj-š**-í
fatty-AUG-AGR fatty-AUG-CMPR-AGR

(29) a. těž-k-ý – těž-**š**-í
heavy-AUG-AGR heavy-CMPR-AGR
b. deset kilo těž-k-ý kufr
ten kilo heavy-AUG-AGR suitcase

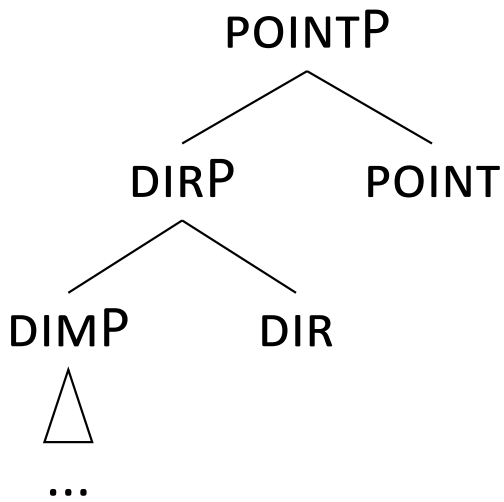
Towards a containment account

(30)



Towards a containment account

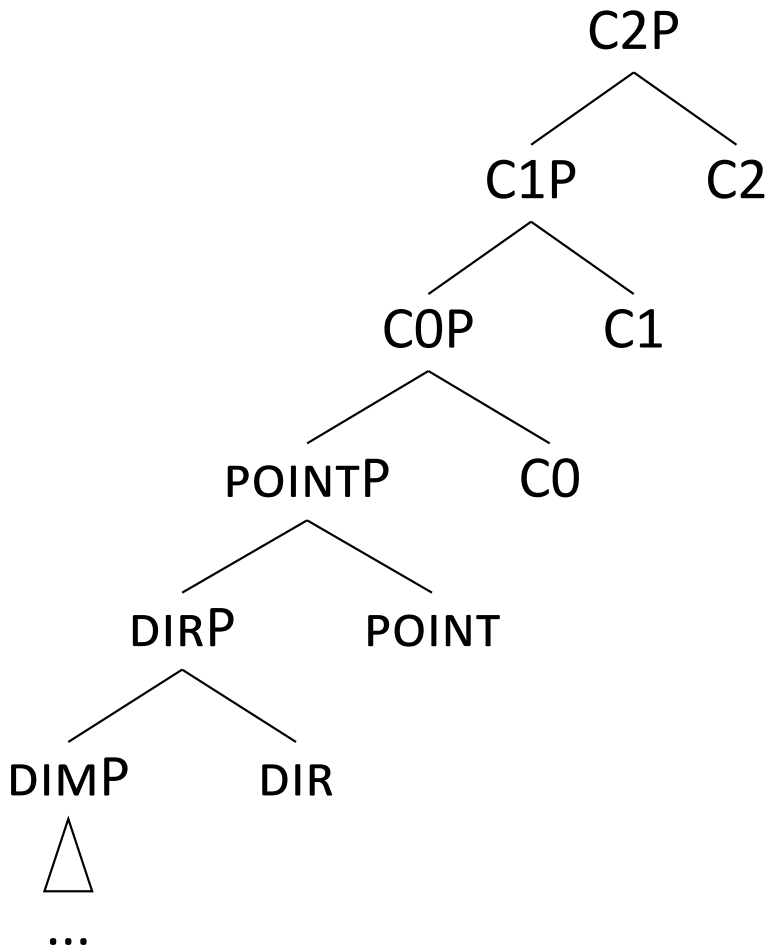
(30)



(31) žádouc-í ∼ žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
desirable-AGR desirable-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'desirable ∼ more desirable'

The structure of the comparative

(32)



Some augment distributions can be reduced to root size

	POS	CMPR
DimP	n	n-ěj-š
DirP	k	k -š
PointP	ø	n-ěj-š
C0P	ø	ø-ěj-š
C1P	ø	ø -š

Some augment distributions can be reduced to root size

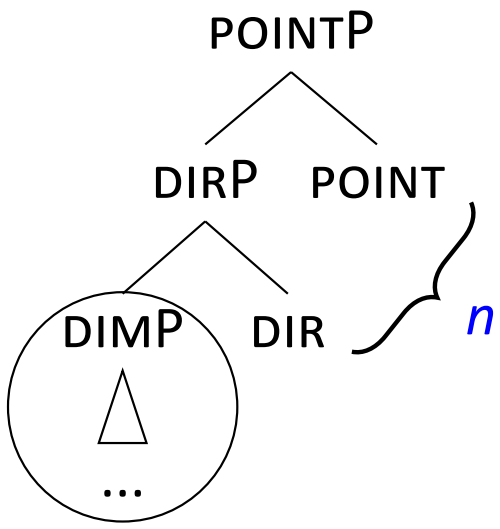
	POS	CMPR
DimP	n	n-ěj-š
DirP	k	k -š
PointP	ø	n-ěj-š
C0P	ø	ø-ěj-š
C1P	ø	ø -š
??	n	ø-ěj-š
??	n	ø -š
??	k	ø -š

Class DIMP

(33) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

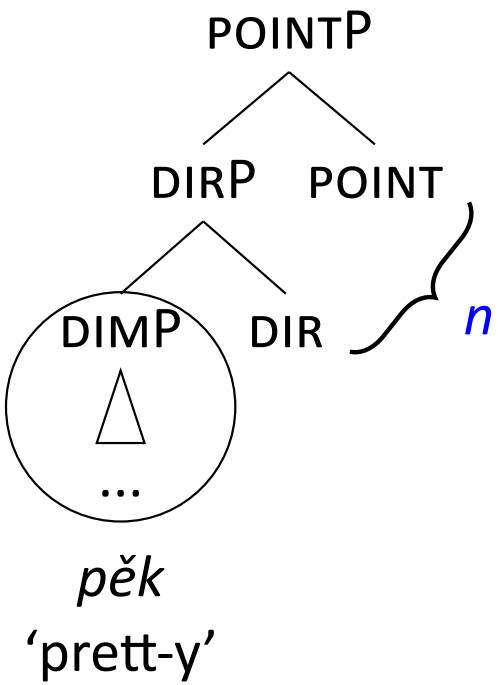
Class DIMP

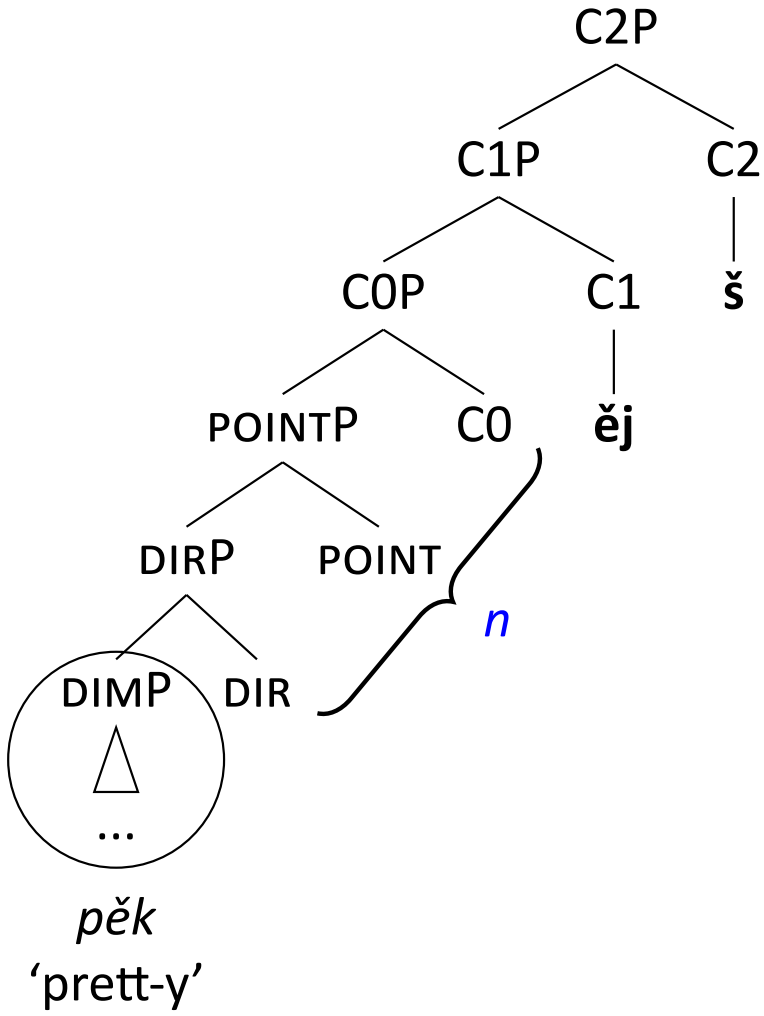
(33) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



Class DIMP

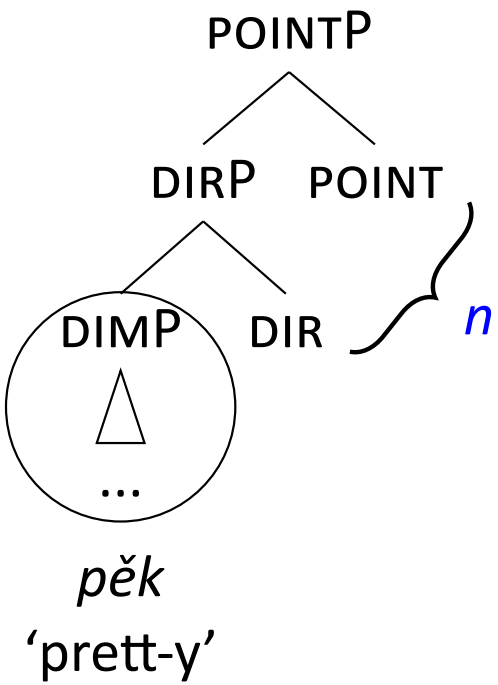
(33) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

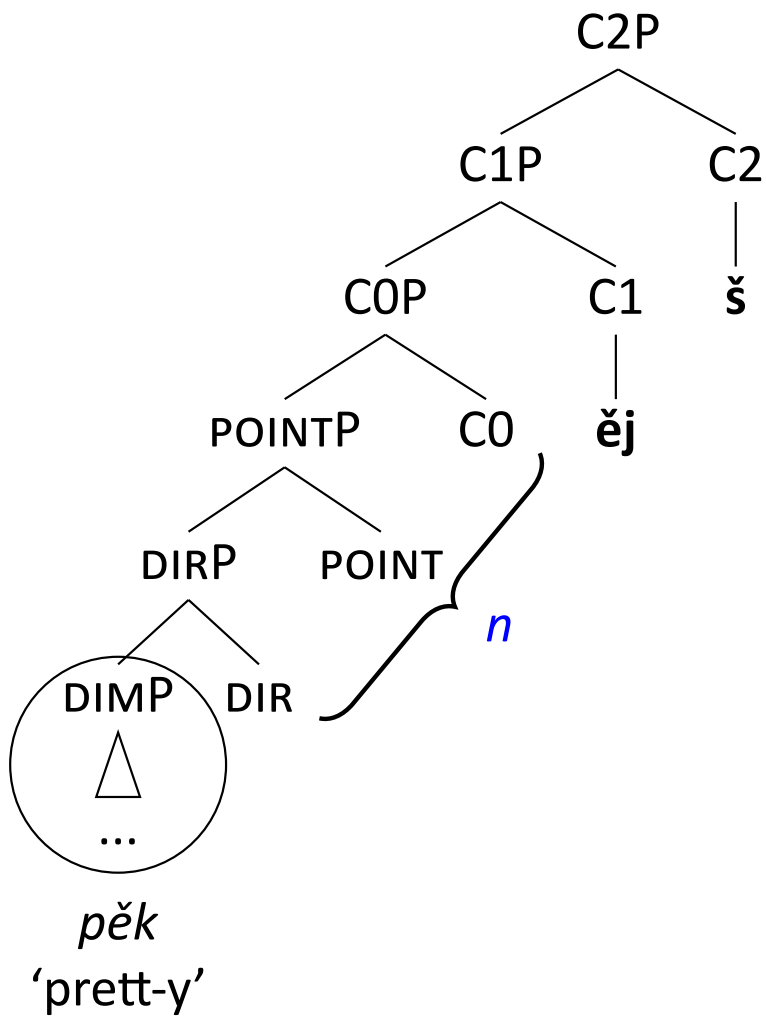




Class DIMP

(33) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR





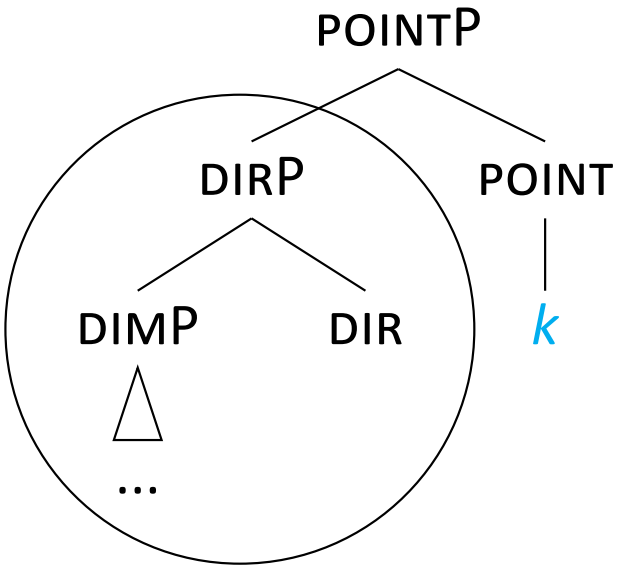
(34) *The Superset Principle*
L can spell out subsets of its specification.

Class DIRP

(35) hez-k-ý ~ hez-k-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-AGR

Class DIRP

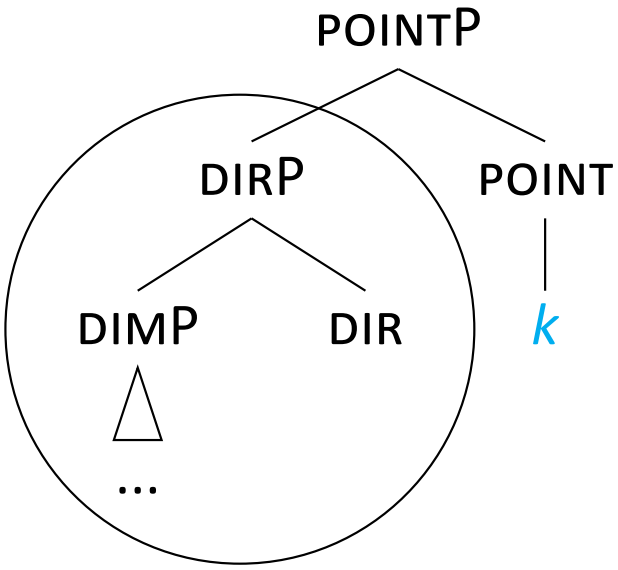
(35) hez-k-ý ~ hez-k-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-AGR



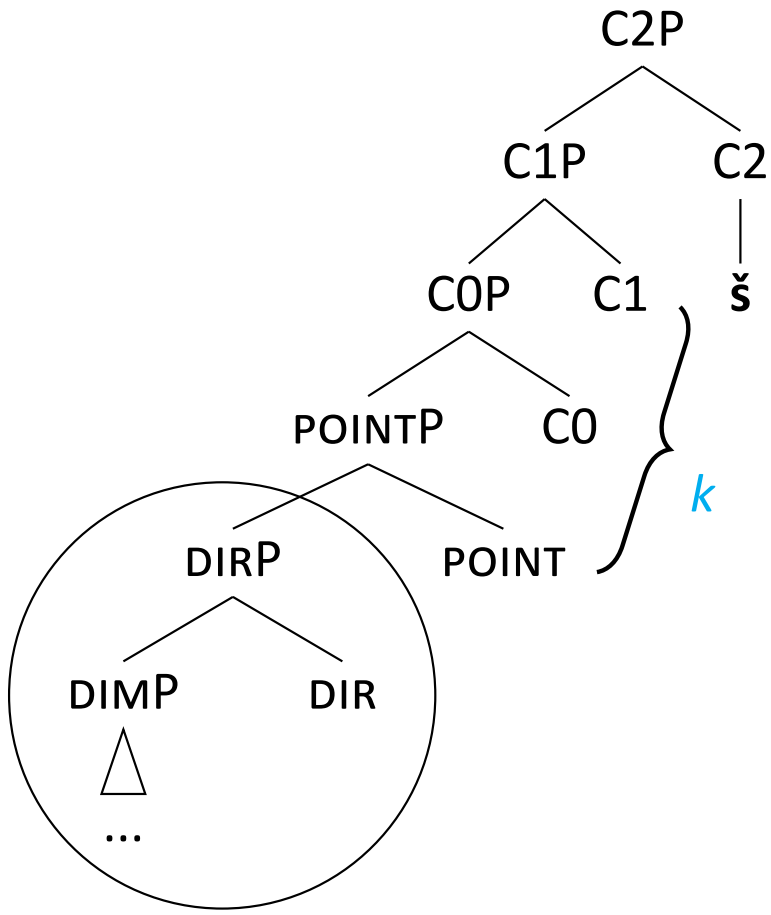
hez
'prett-y'

Class DIRP

(35) hez-k-ý ~ hez-k-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-AGR



hez
'prett-y'



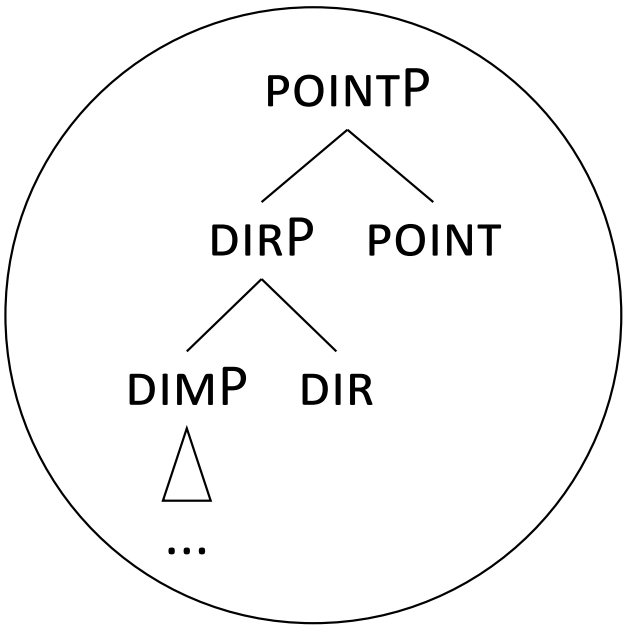
hez
'prett-y'

Class PointP

(36) žádouc-í ∼ žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
desirable-AGR desirable-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'desirable ∼ more desirable'

Class PointP

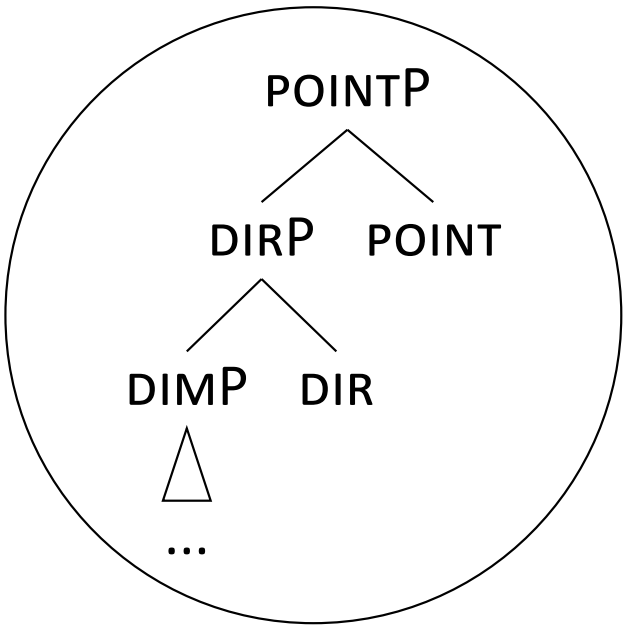
(36) žádouc-í ∼ žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
desirable-AGR desirable-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'desirable ∼ more desirable'



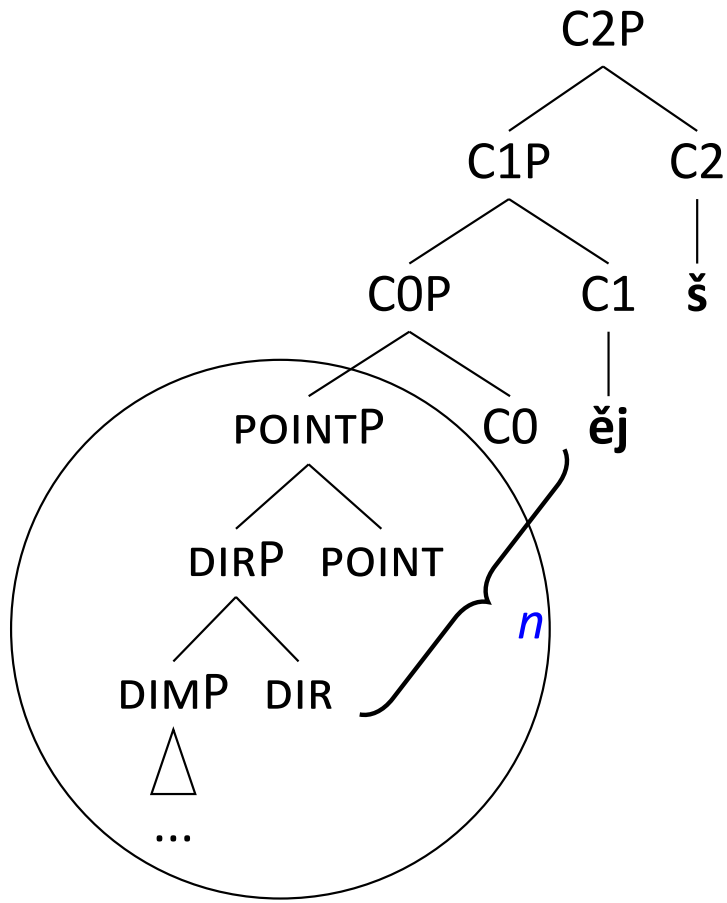
žádouc
'desirable'

Class POINTP

(36) žádouc-í ∼ žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
desirable-AGR desirable-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'desirable ∼ more desirable'



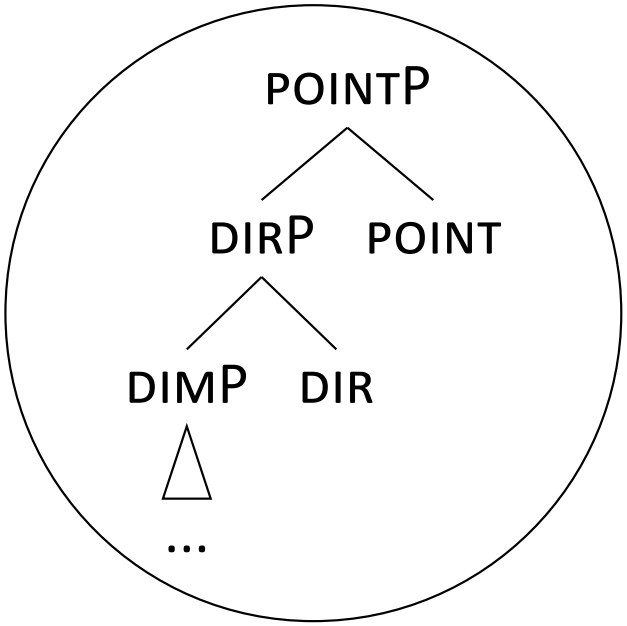
žádouc
'desirable'



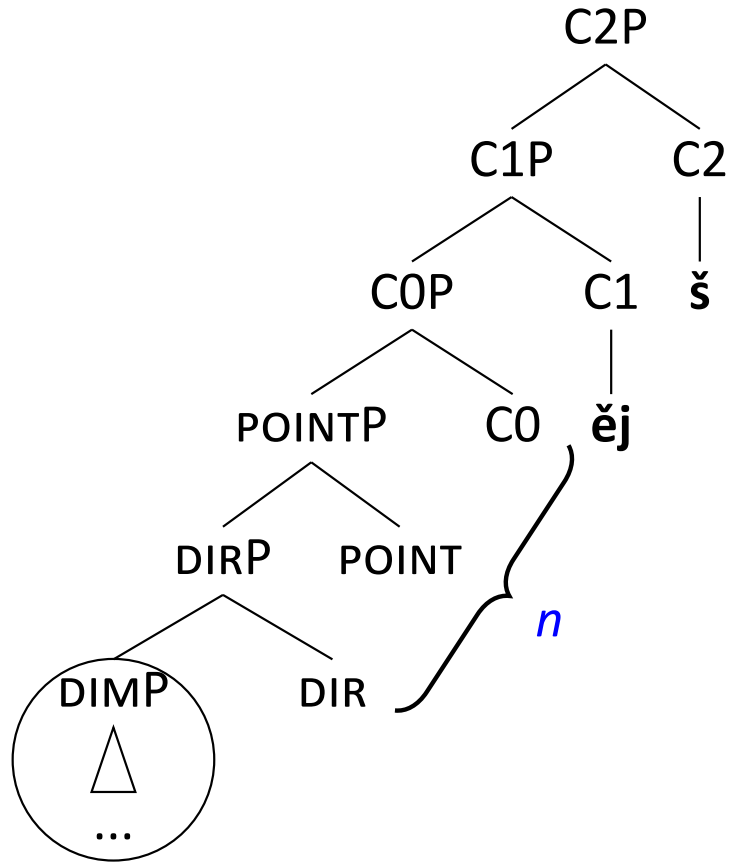
žádouc
'desirable'

Class POINTP

(26) žádouc-í ∼ žádouc-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
desirable-AGR desirable-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



žádouc
'desirable'



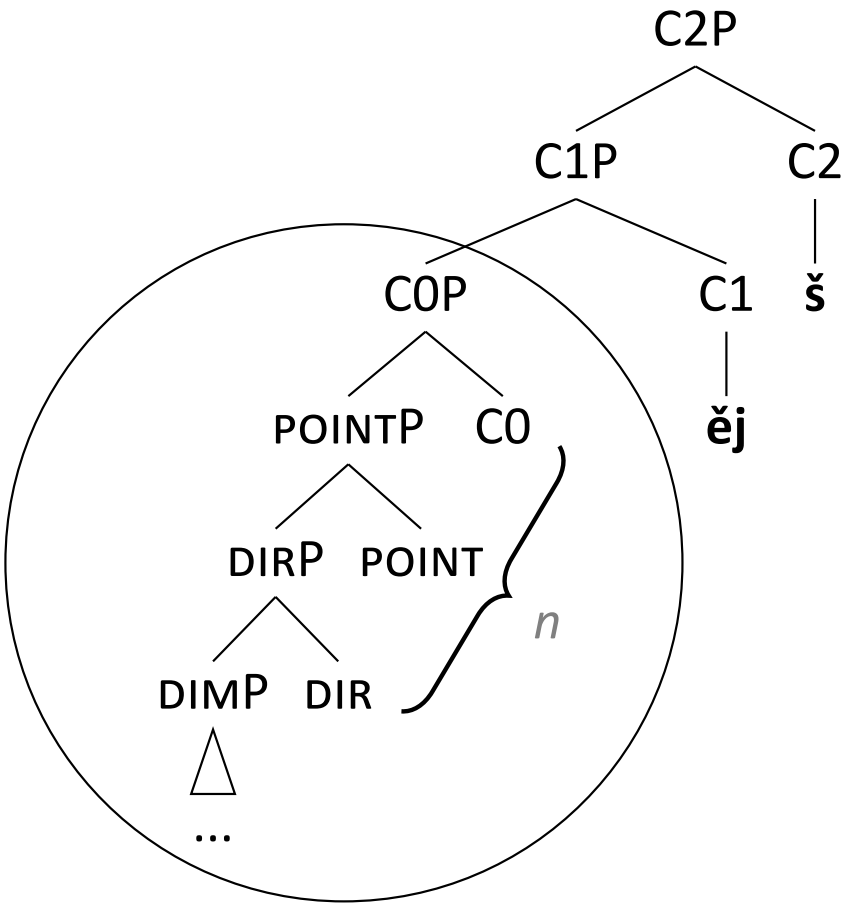
žádouc
'desirable'

Class C0P

(37) čir-ý ∼ čiř **-ěj-š**-í
pure-AGR pure-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

Class C0P

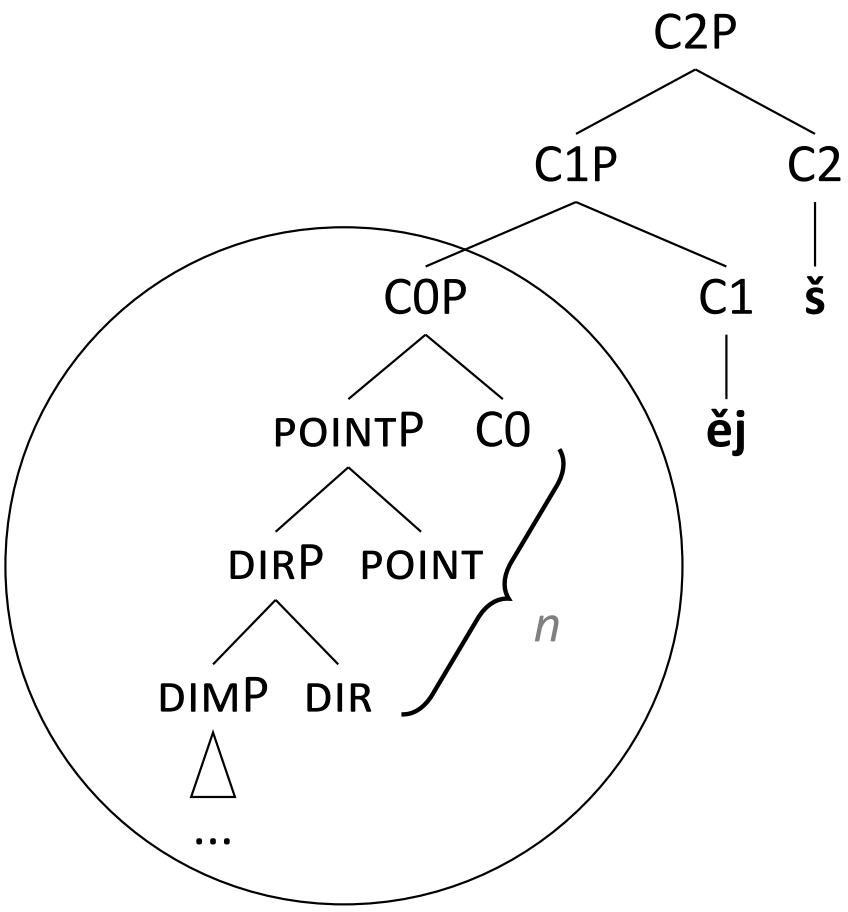
(37) čir-ý ∼ čiř **-ěj-š**-í
pure-AGR pure-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



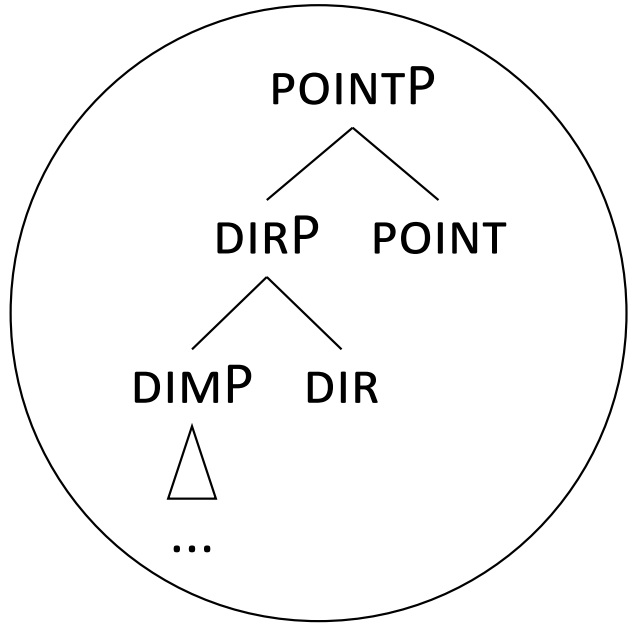
čir
'pure'

Class C0P

(37) čir-ý ∼ čiř **-ěj-š**-í
pure-AGR pure-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



čir
'pure'



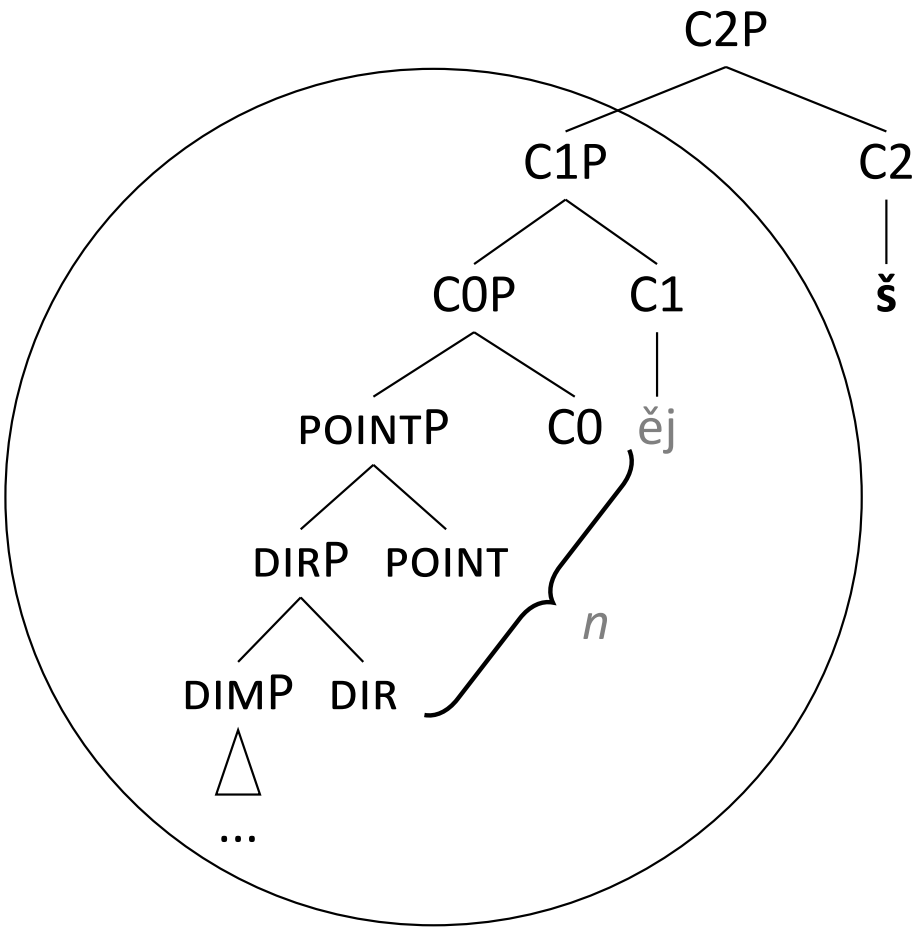
čir
'pure'

Class C1P

(38) star-ý ∼ star **-š-**í
old-AGR old-CMPR-AGR
‘old ∼ older’

Class C1P

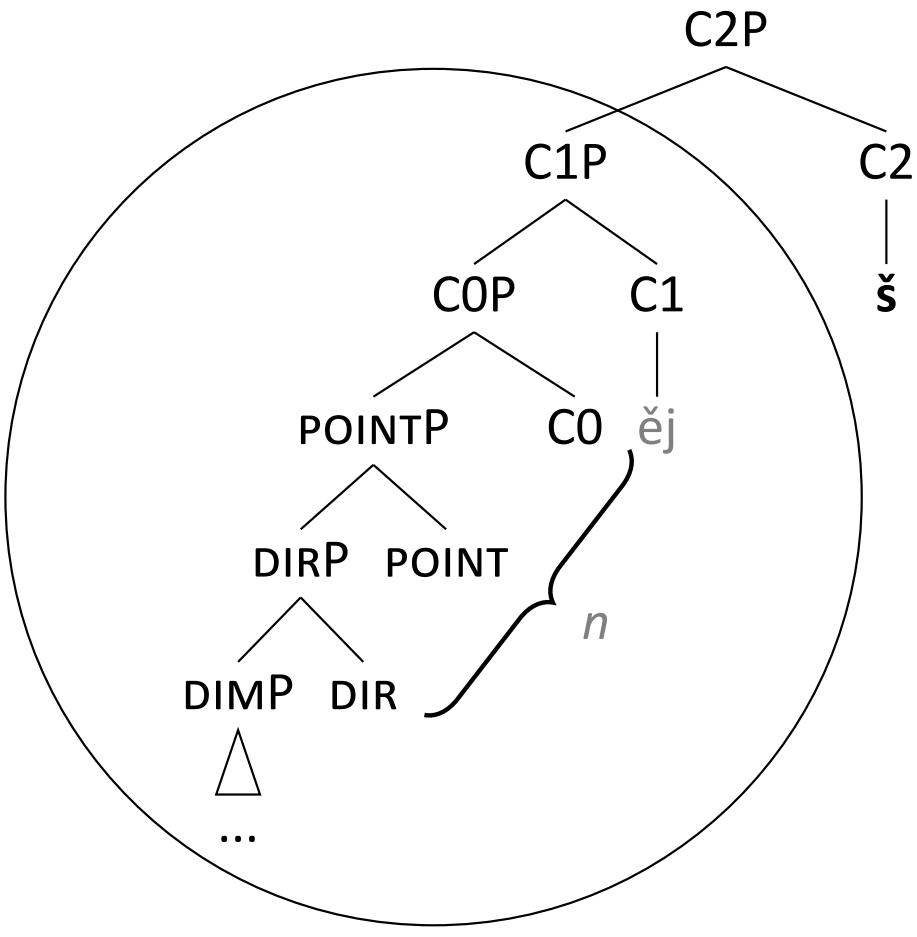
(38) star-ý ∼ star -**š**-í
old-AGR old-CMPR-AGR
'old ∼ older'



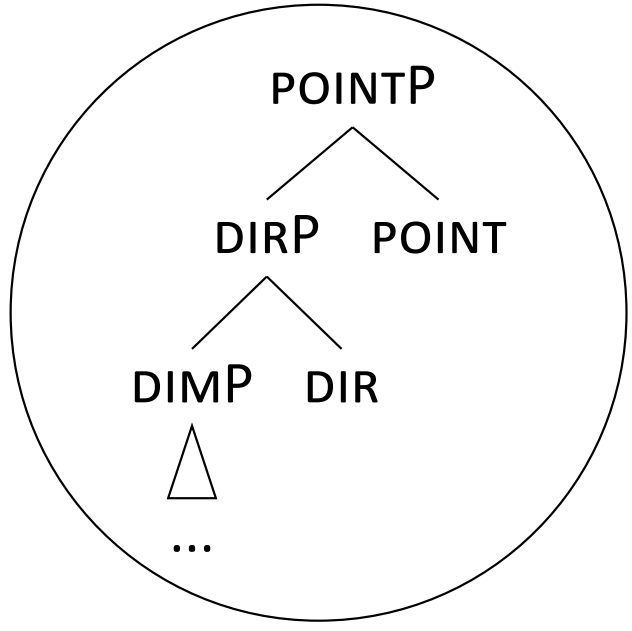
star
'old'

Class C1P

(38) star-ý ∼ star -**š**-í
old-AGR old-CMPR-AGR
‘old ∼ older’



star
‘old’



star
‘old’

Outline

Some augment distributions cannot be reduced to root size

	POS	CMPR
DimP	n	n-ěj-š
DirP	k	k -š
PointP	ø	n-ěj-š
C0P	ø	ø-ěj-š
C1P	ø	ø -š
X	n	ø-ěj-š
Y	n	ø -š
Z	k	ø -š

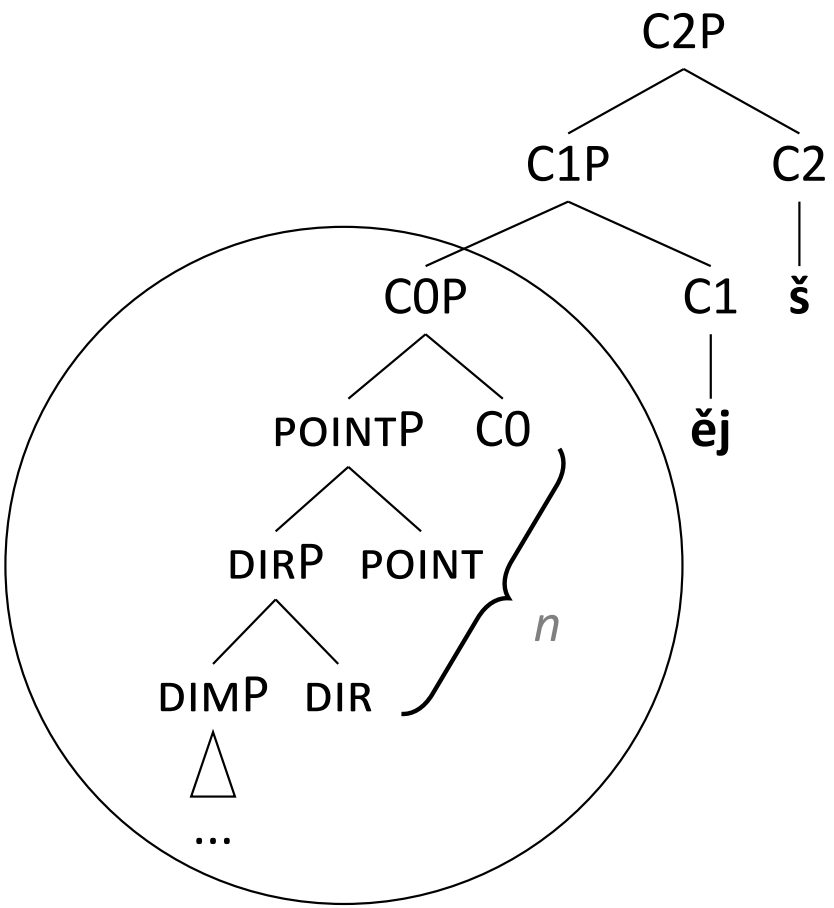
Class X

(39)

pozd-n-í	∼	pozd	**-ěj-š**-í
late-N-AGR		late-CMP-CMP-AGR	

Class X

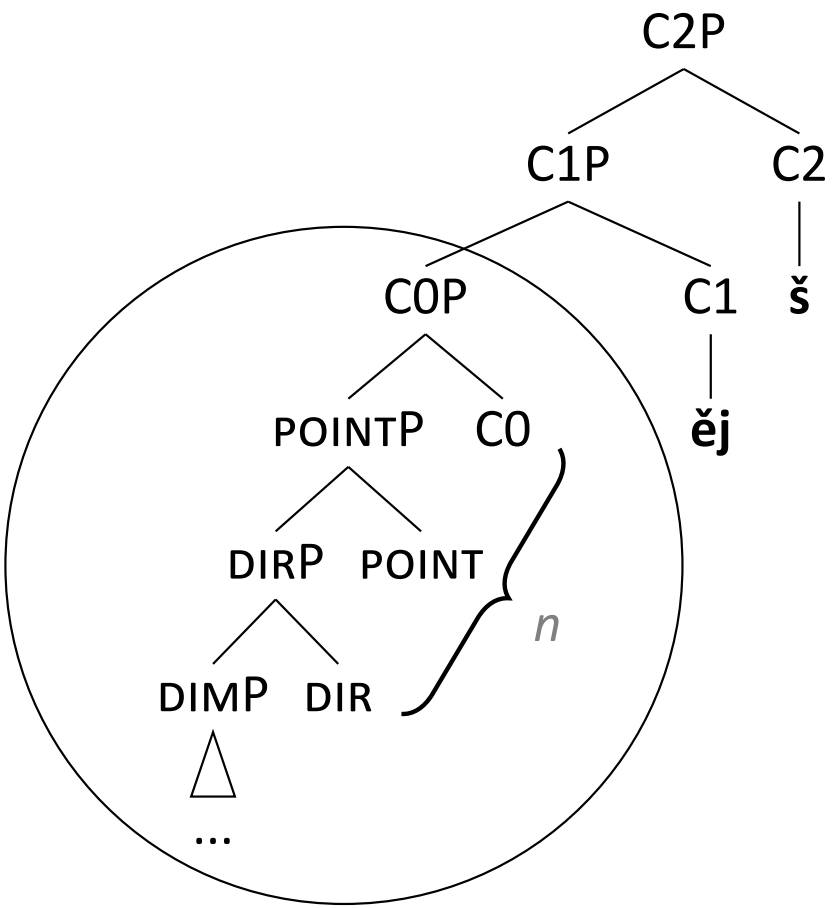
(39) pozd-n-í ~ pozd -**ěj**-**š**-í
late-N-AGR late-CMP-CMP-AGR



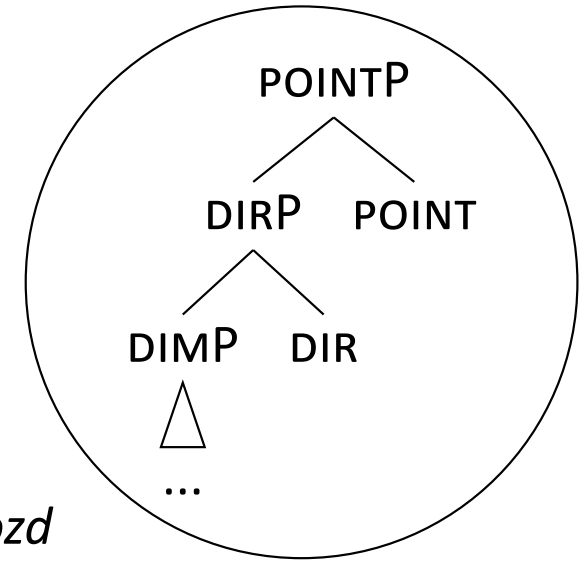
pozd
'late'

Class X

(39) pozd-n-í ~ pozd -**ěj**-**š**-í
late-N-AGR late-CMP-CMP-AGR



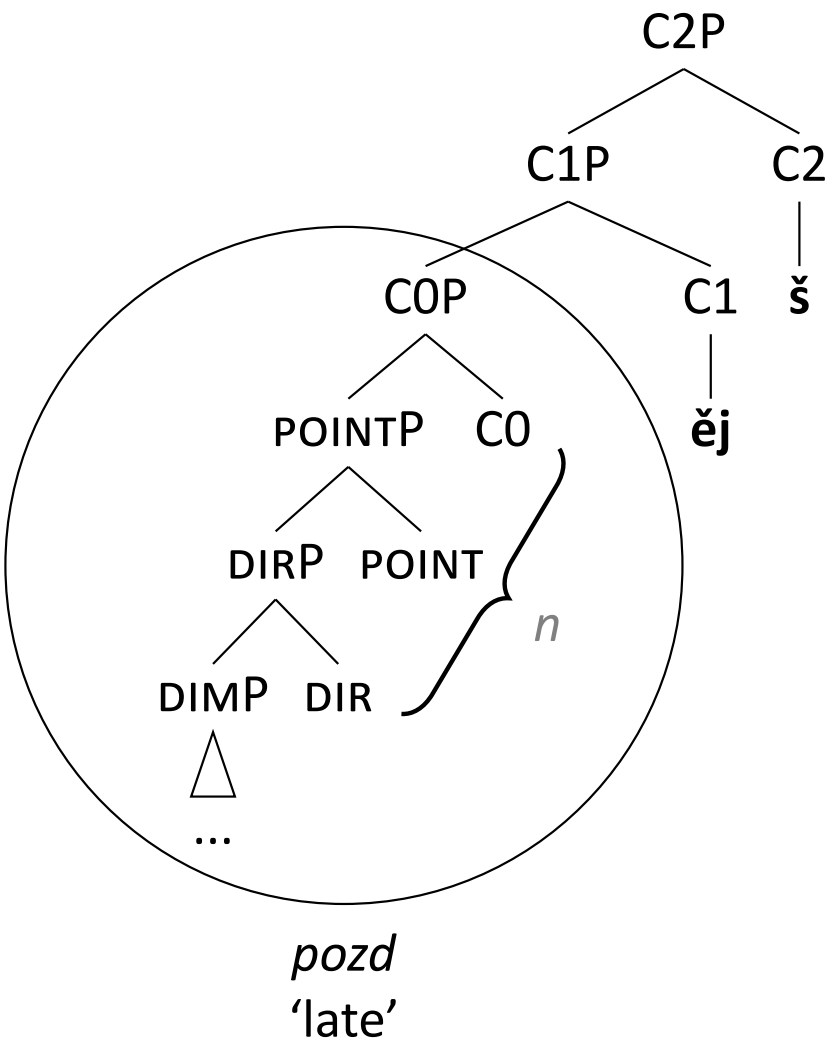
pozd
'late'



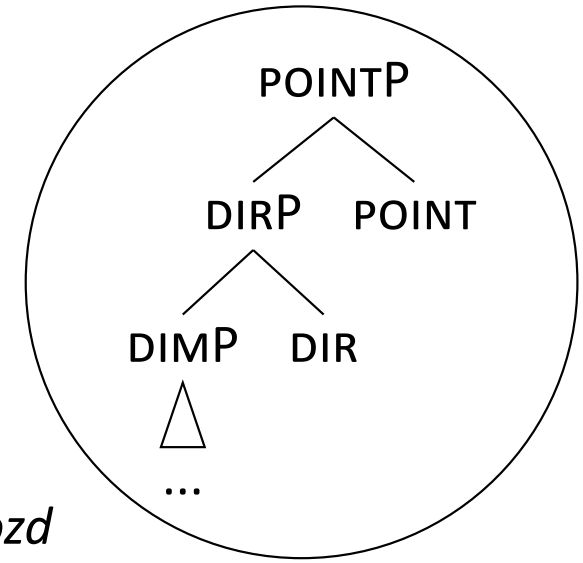
**pozd*
'late'

Class X

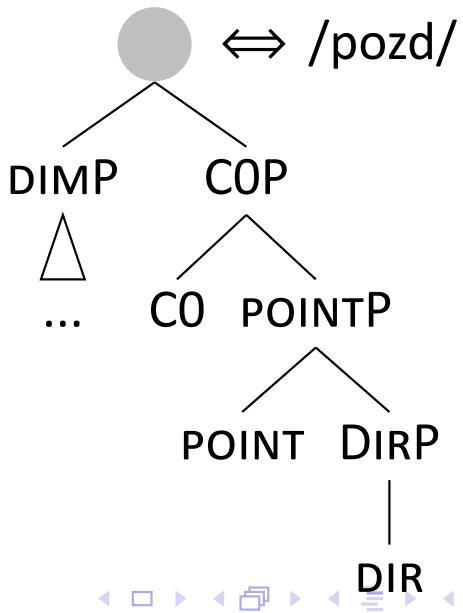
(39) pozd-n-í ~ pozd -**ěj**-**š**-í
late-N-AGR late-CMP-CMP-AGR



pozd
'late'

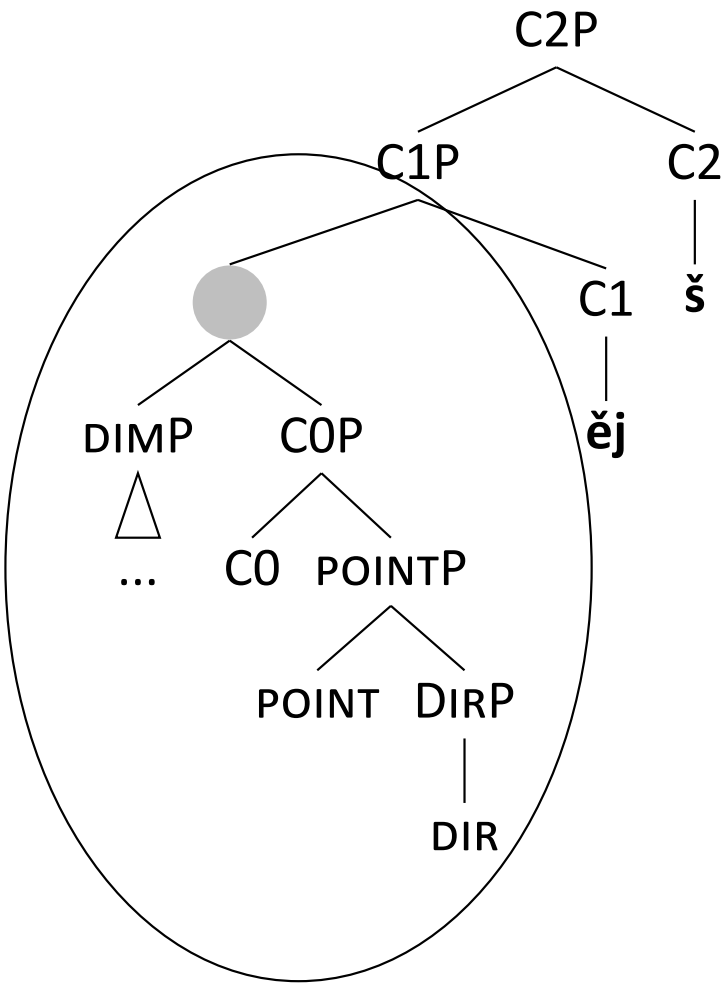


**pozd*
'late'

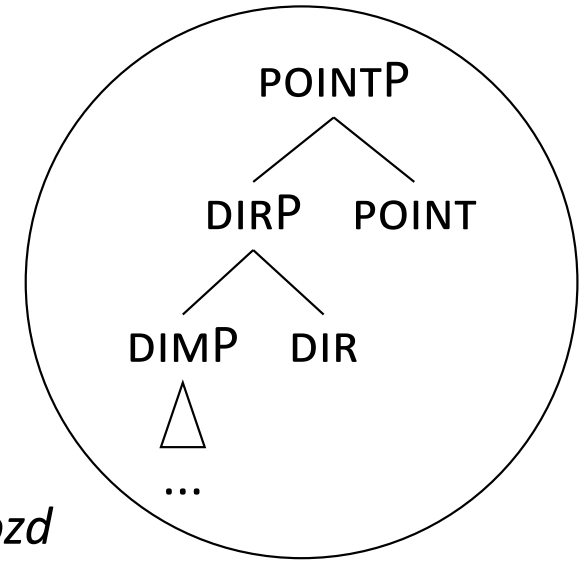


Class X

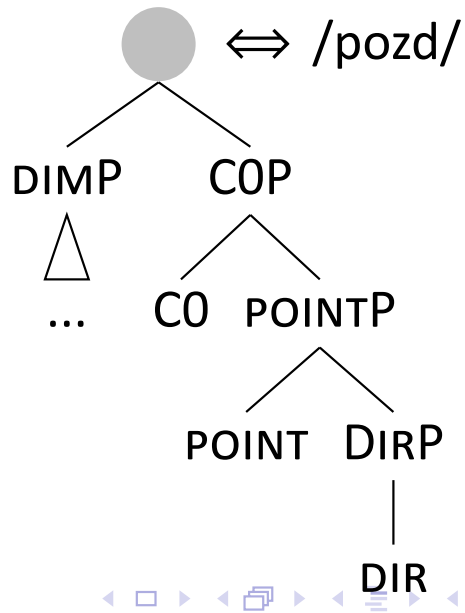
(39) pozd-n-í ~ pozd -ěj-š-í
late-N-AGR late-CMP-CMP-AGR



pozd
'late'

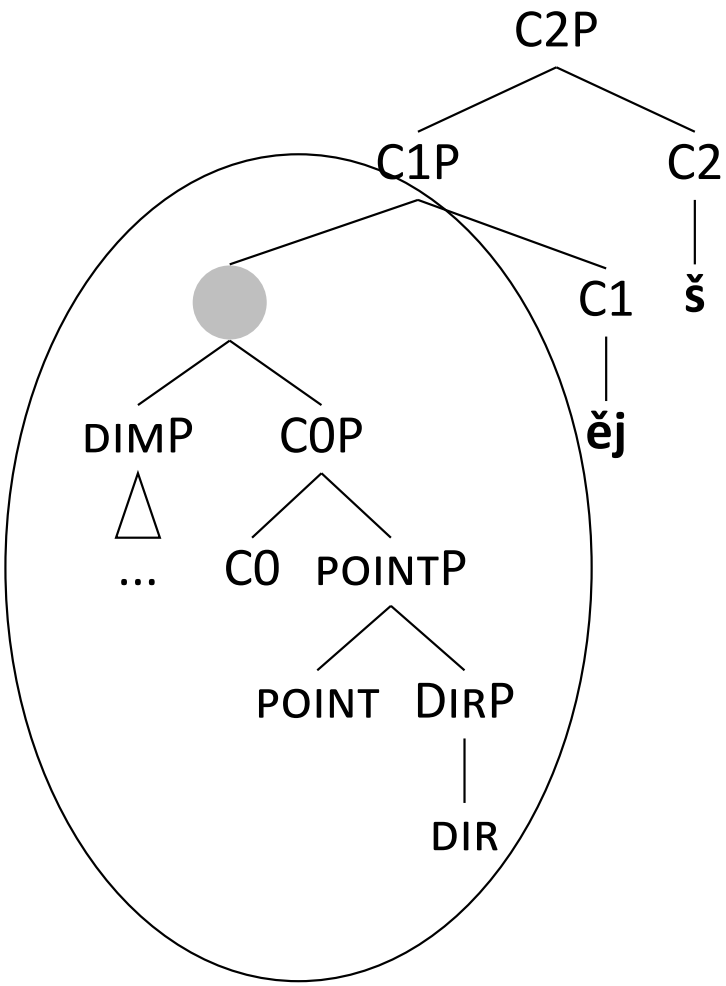


**pozd*
'late'

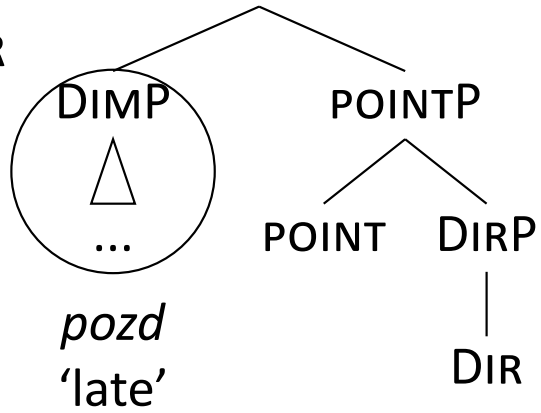


Class X

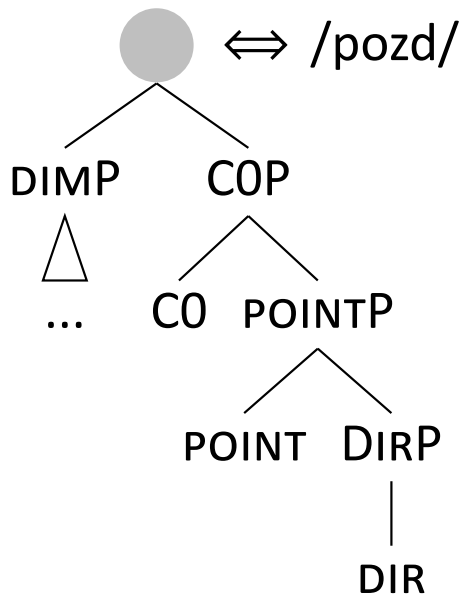
(39) pozd-n-í ~ pozd -**ěj**-**š**-í
late-N-AGR late-CMP-CMP-AGR



pozd
'late'

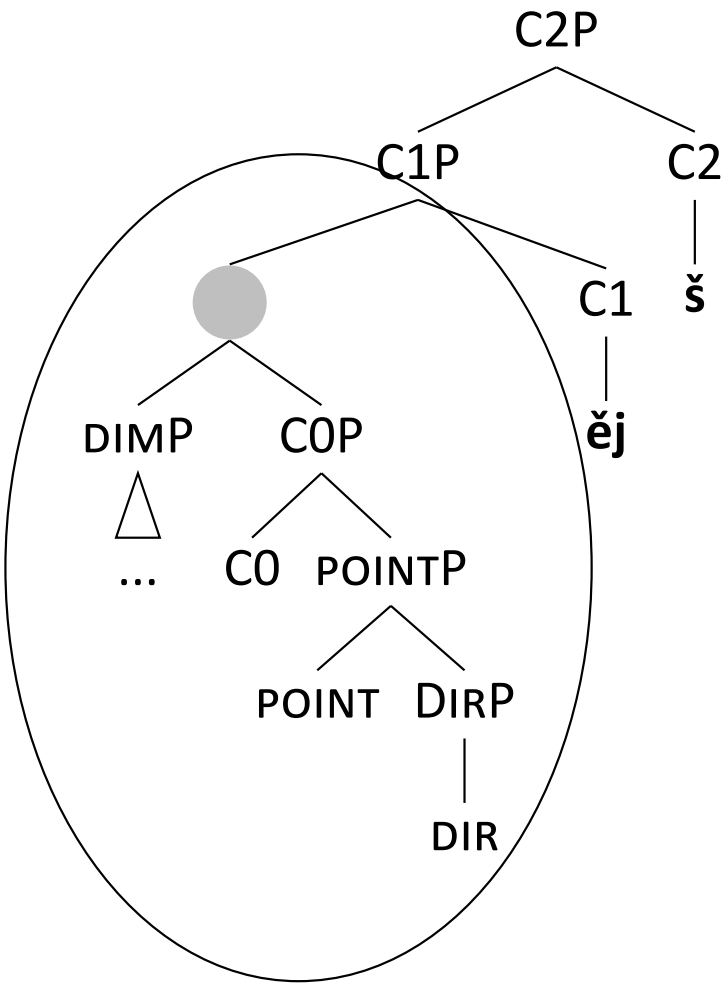


pozd
'late'

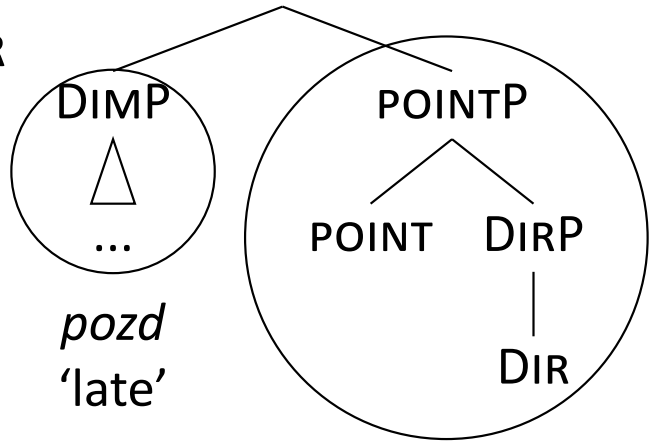


Class X

(39) pozd-n-í ~ pozd -**ěj**-**š**-í
late-N-AGR late-CMP-CMP-AGR

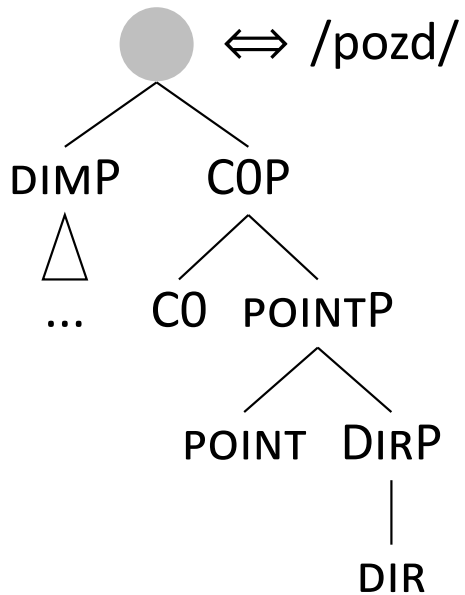


pozd
'late'



pozd
'late'

n

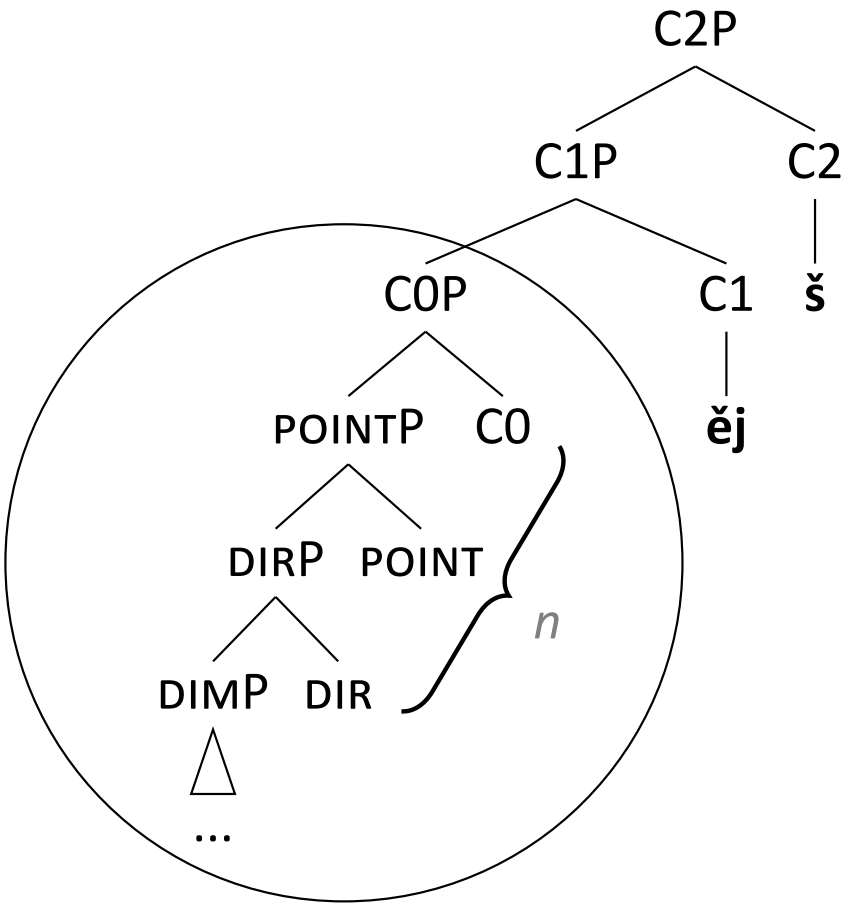


Class C0P: not all roots contain movement

(40) čir-ý ∼ čiř **-ěj-š-**í
pure-AGR pure-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

Class C0P: not all roots contain movement

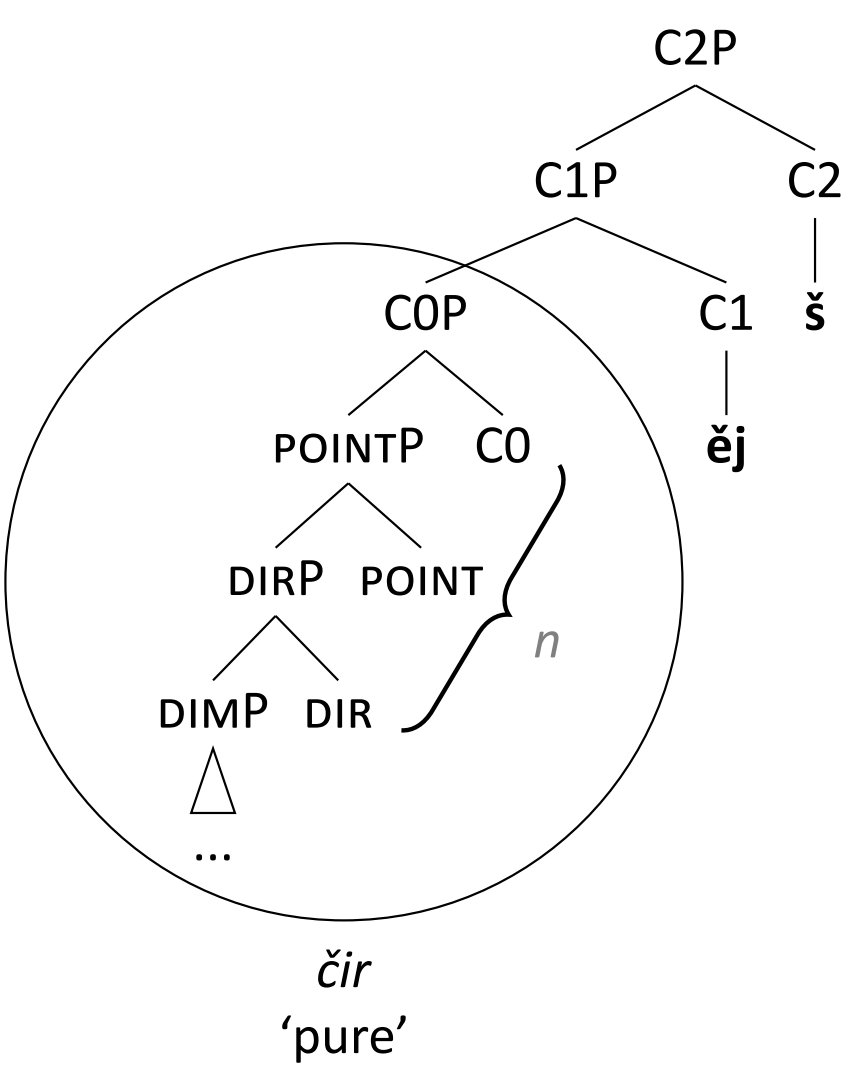
(40) čir-ý ∼ čiř **-ěj-š-**í
pure-AGR pure-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



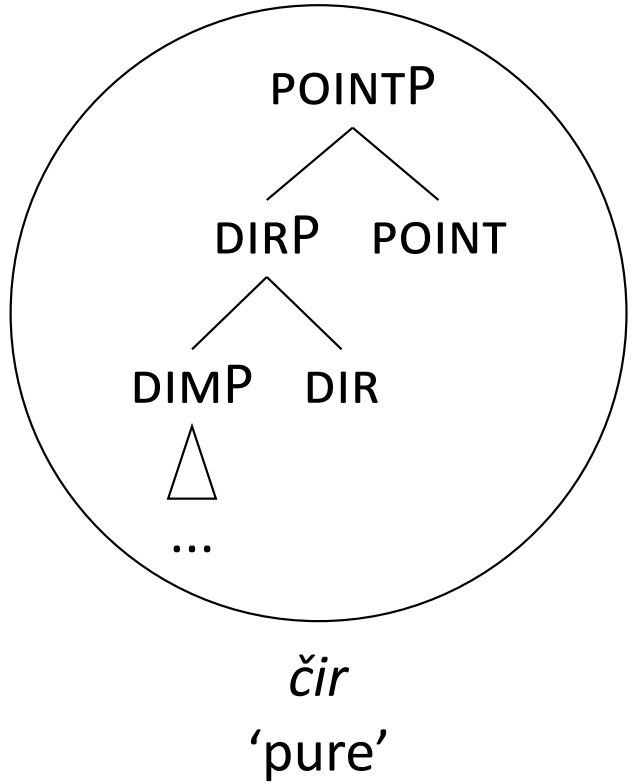
čir
'pure'

Class C0P: not all roots contain movement

(40) čir-ý ∼ čiř **-ěj-š-**í
pure-AGR pure-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



čir
'pure'



čir
'pure'

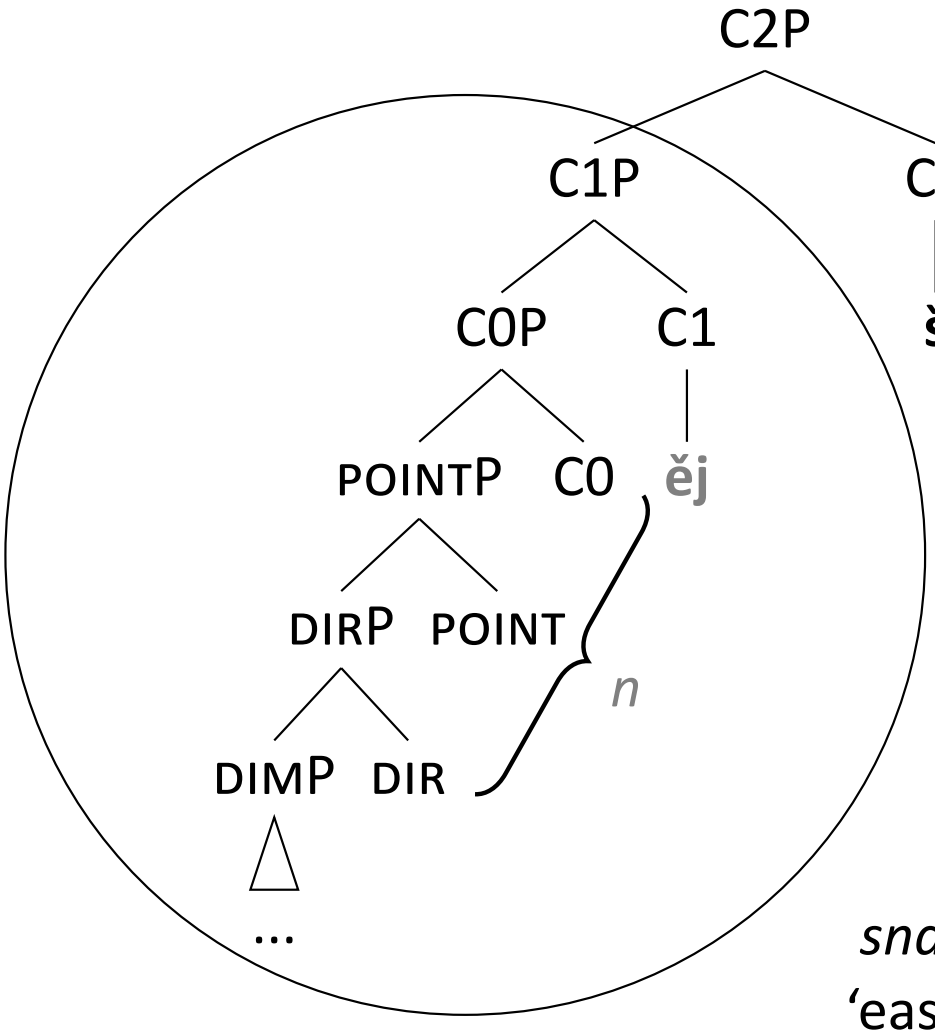
Class Y

(41)

snad-n-ý	∼	snaz	-**š**-í
easy-N-AGR		easy-CMPR-AGR	

Class Y

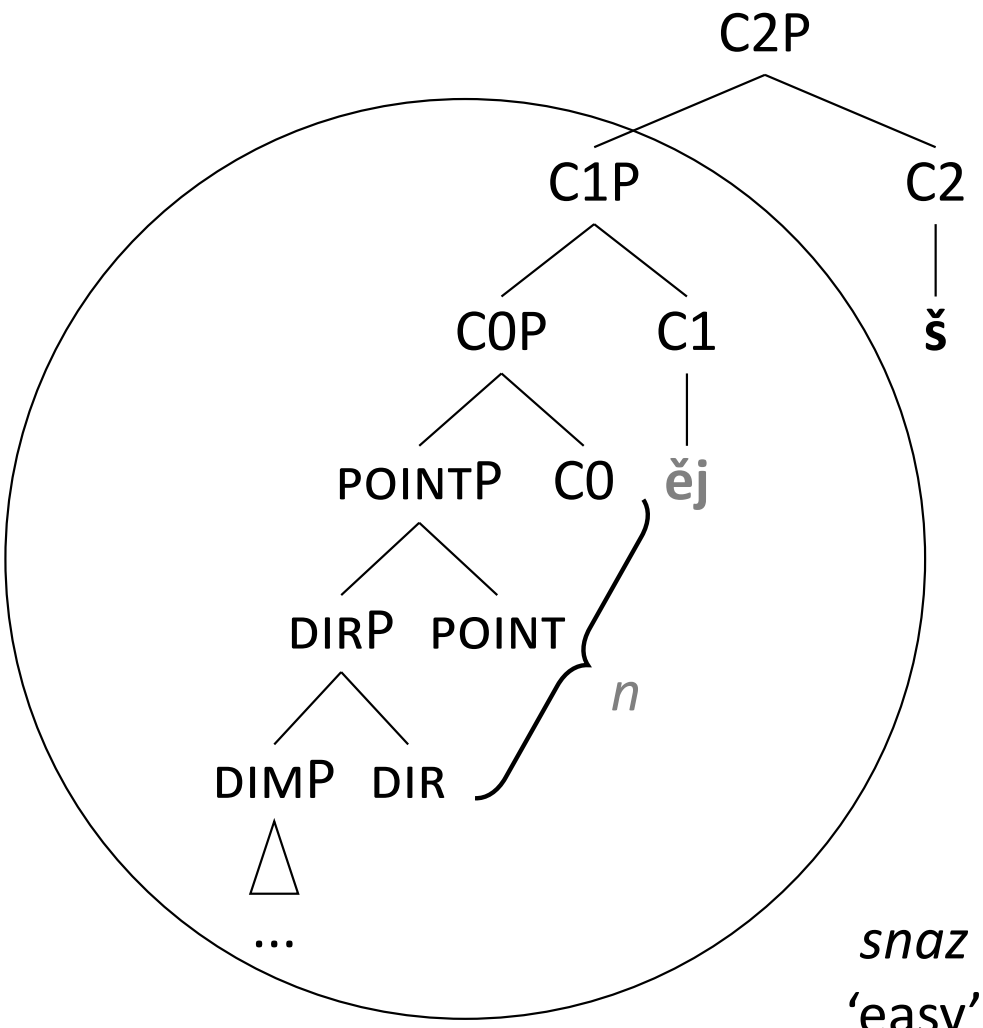
(41) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -**š**-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR



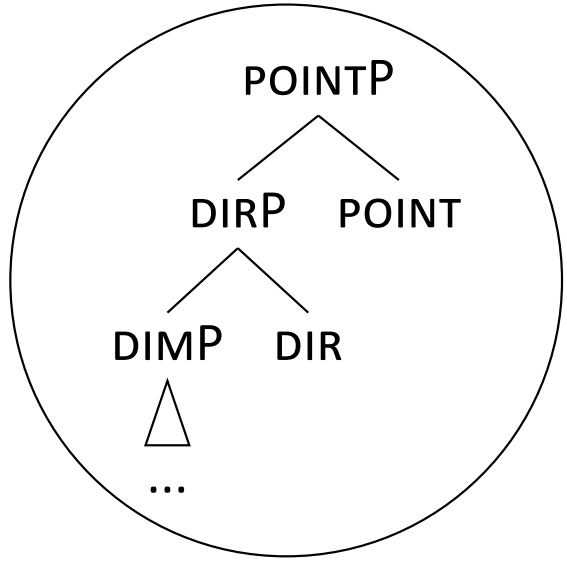
snaz
'easy'

Class Y

(41) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -**š**-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR



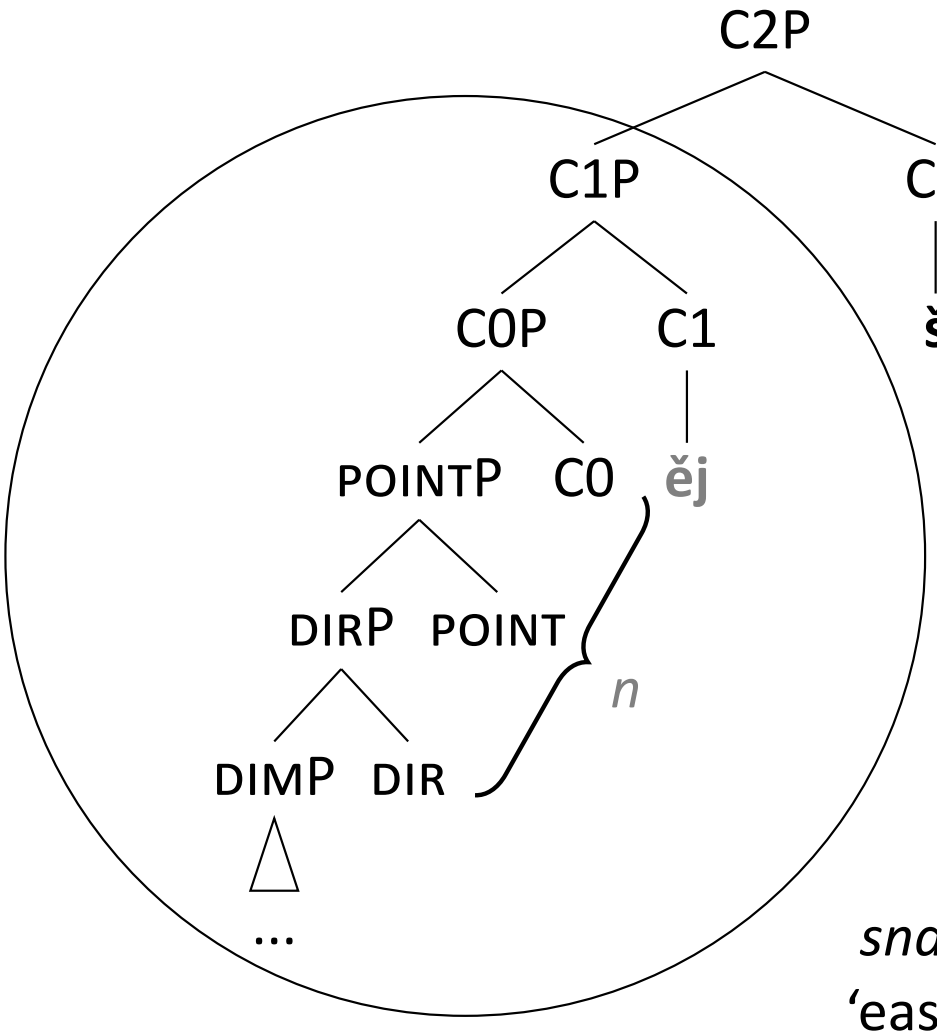
snaz
'easy'



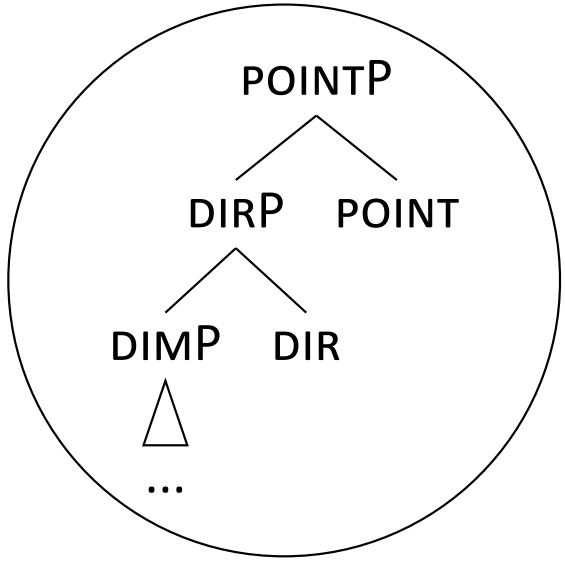
**snad*

Class Y

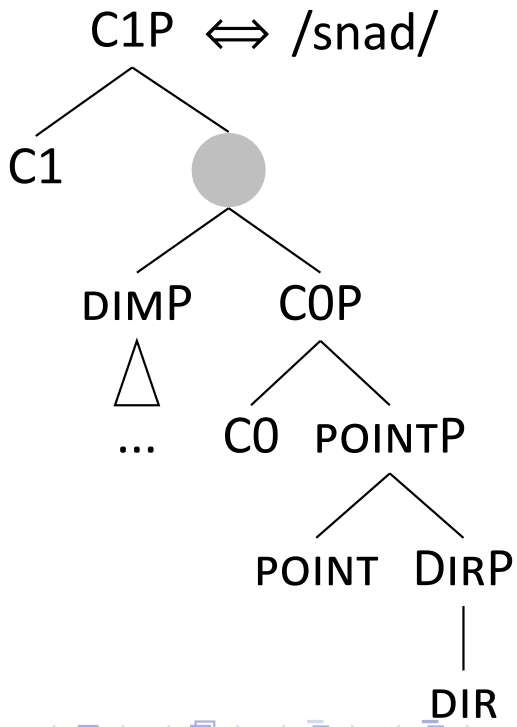
(41) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -**š**-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR



snaz
'easy'

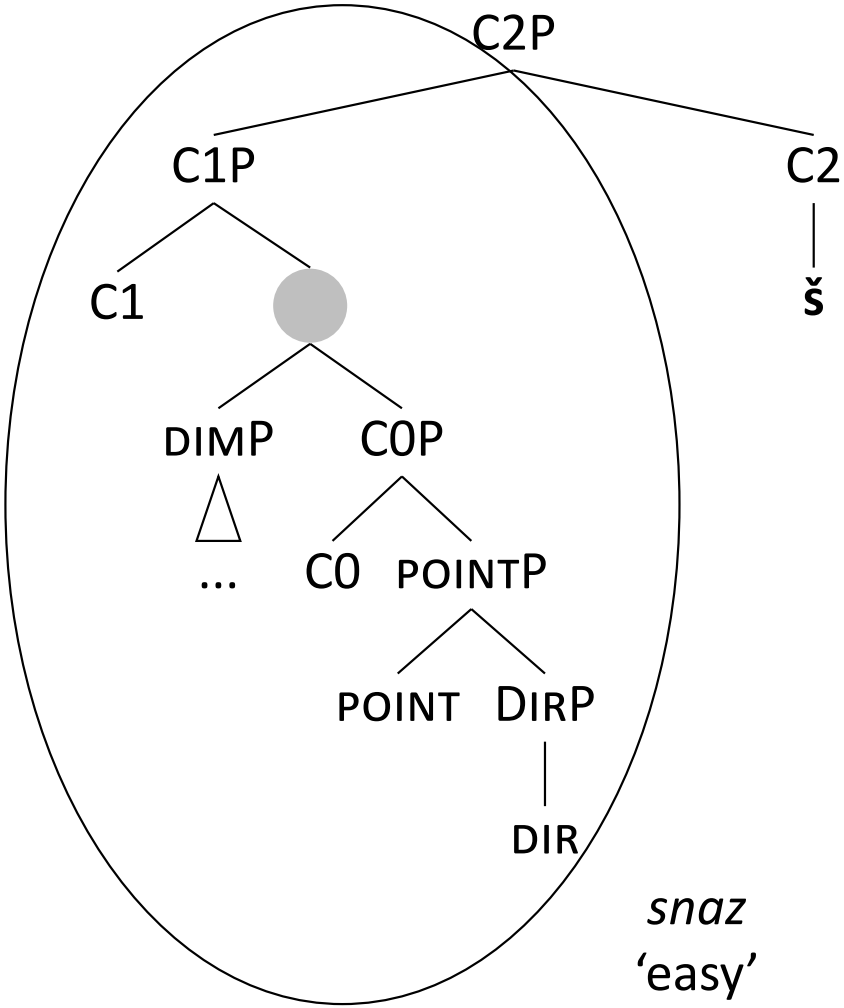


**snad*

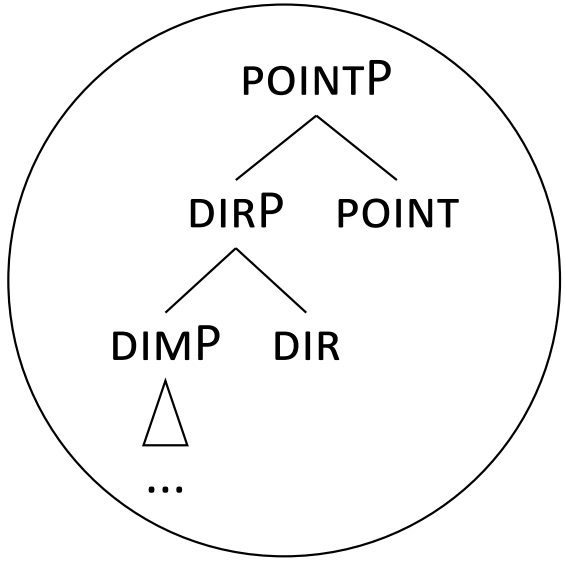


Class Y

(41) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -**š**-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR

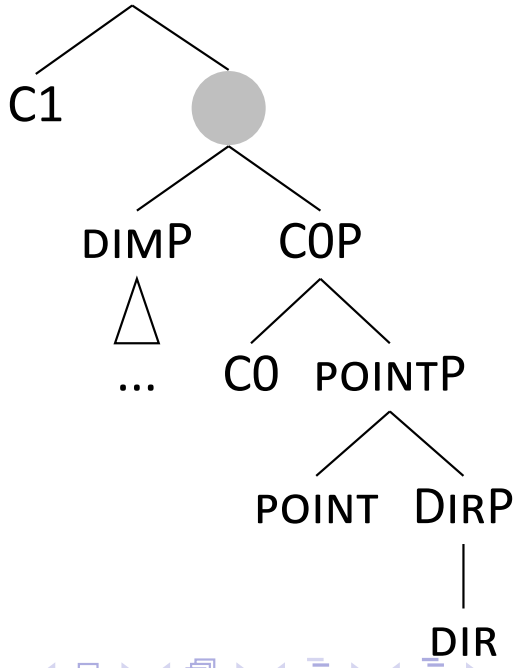


snaz
'easy'



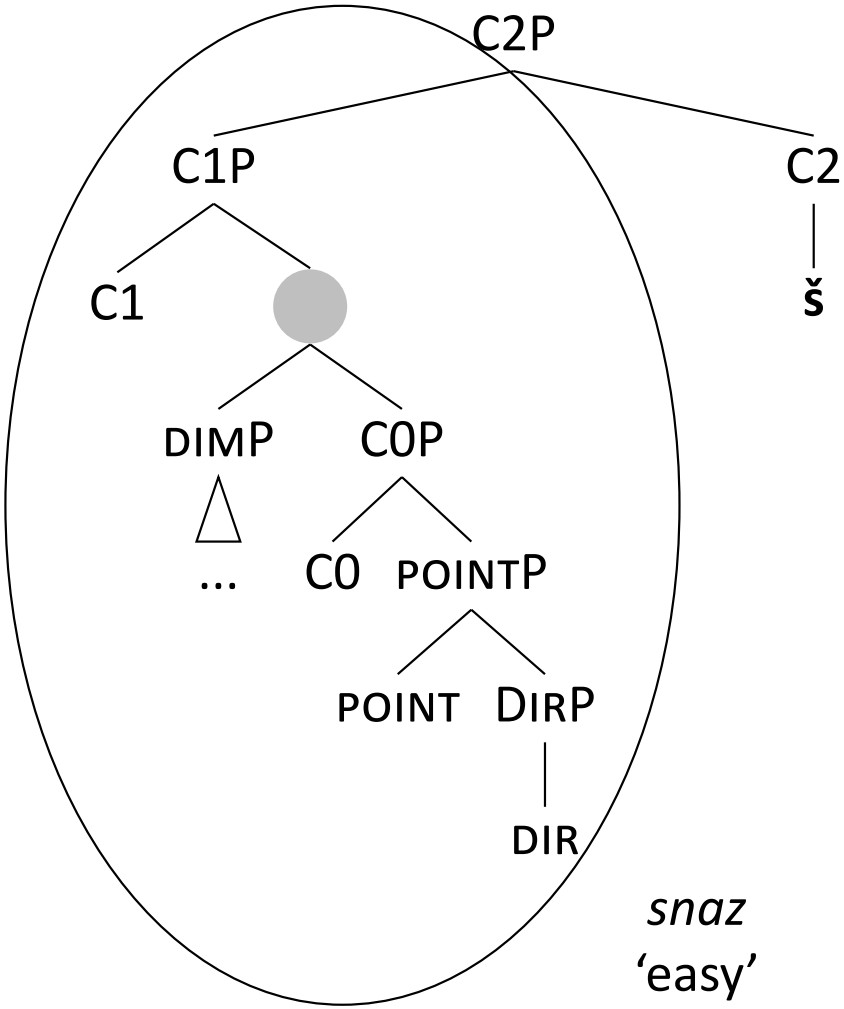
**snad*

C1P ⟺ /snad/

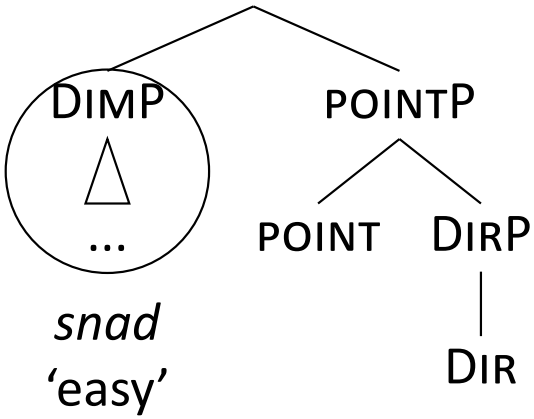


Class Y

(41) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -**š**-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR

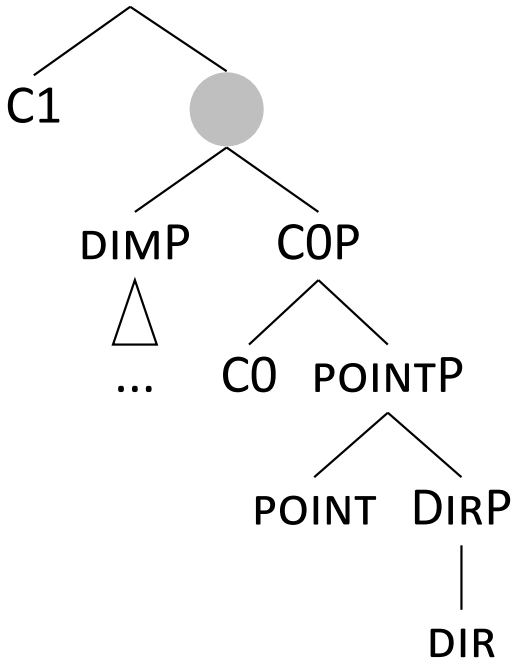


snaz
'easy'



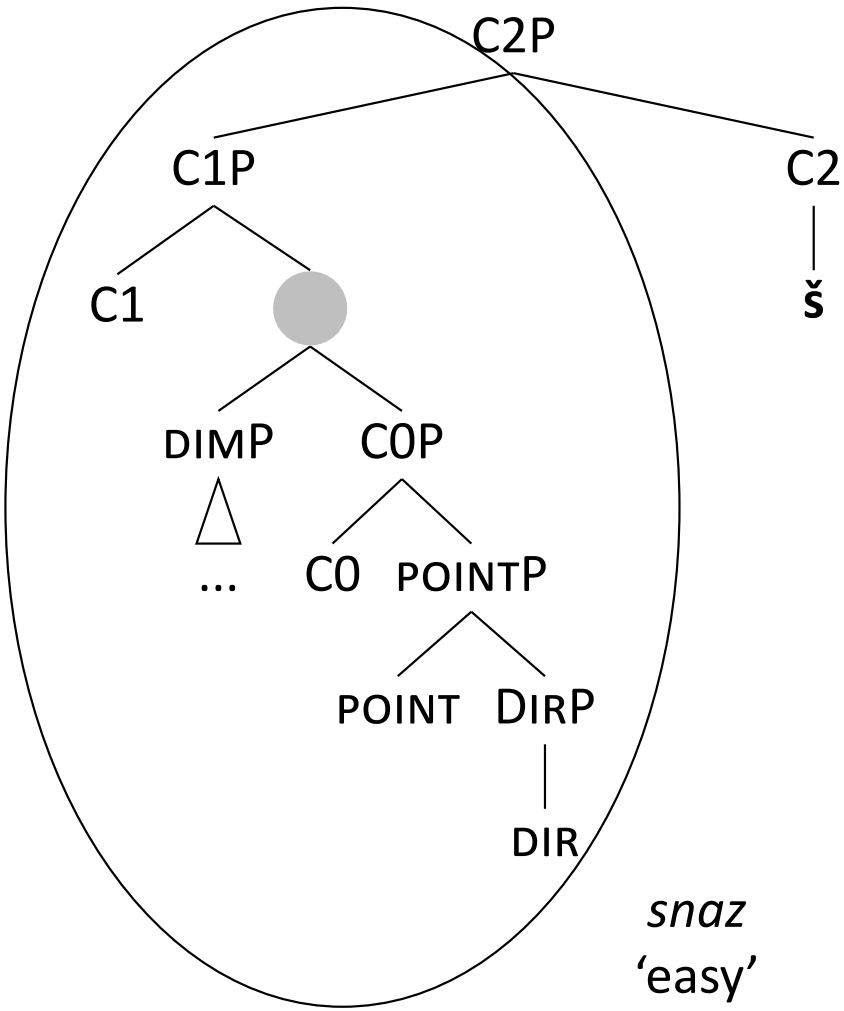
snad
'easy'

C1P ⟺ /snad/

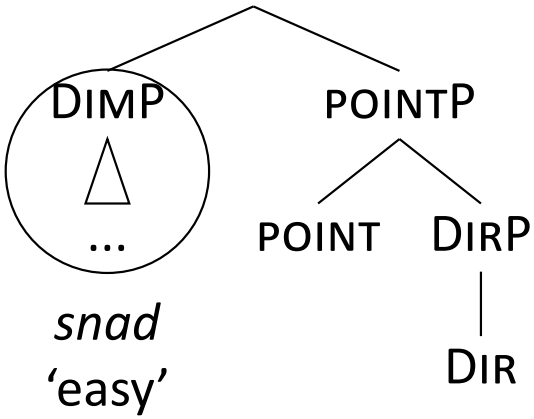


Class Y

(41) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -**š**-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR

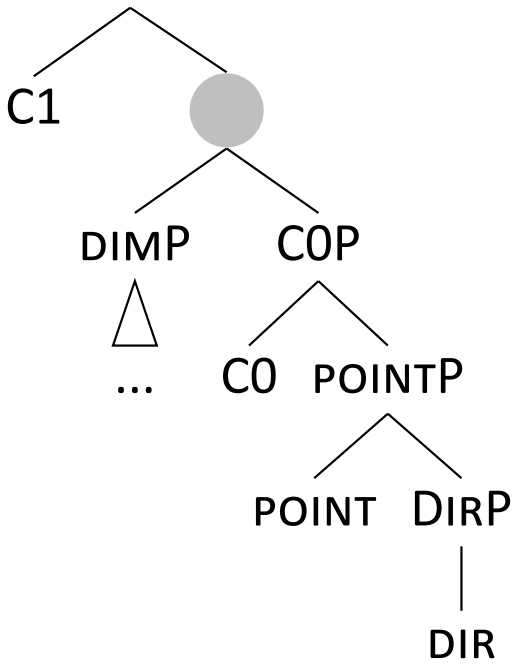


snaz
'easy'



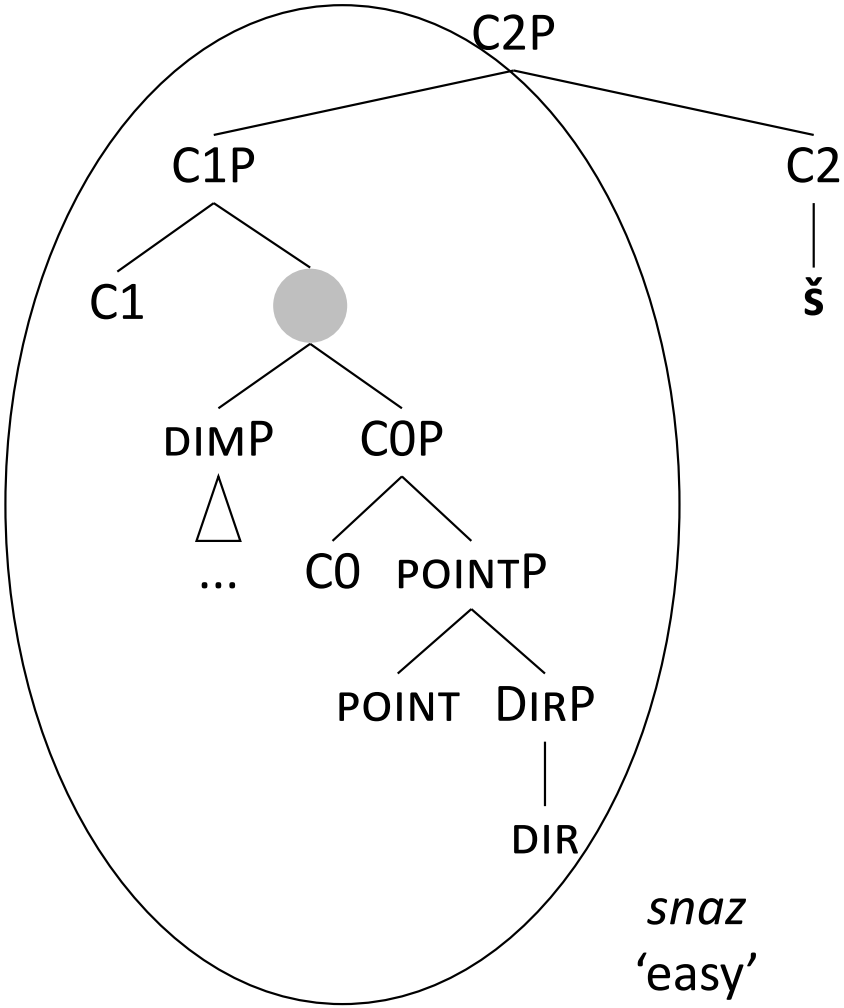
snad
'easy'

C1P ⟺ /snad/

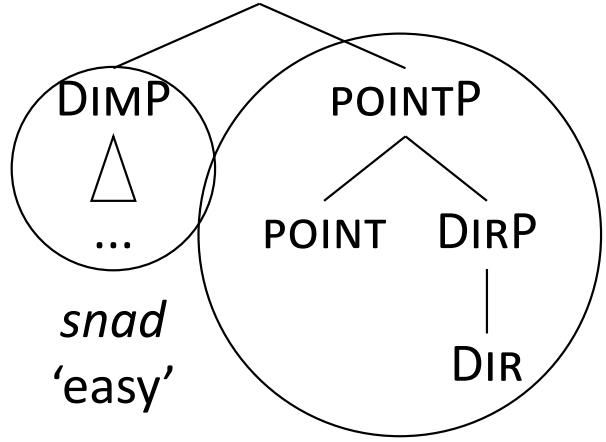


Class Y

(41) snad-n-ý ~ snaz -š-í
easy-N-AGR easy-CMPR-AGR



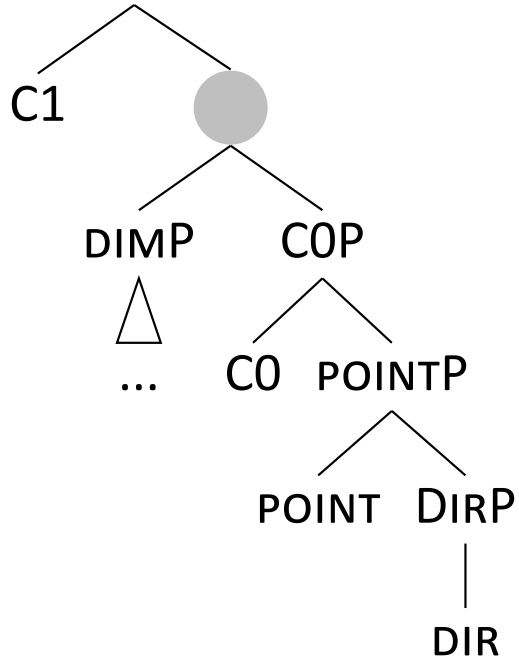
snaz
'easy'



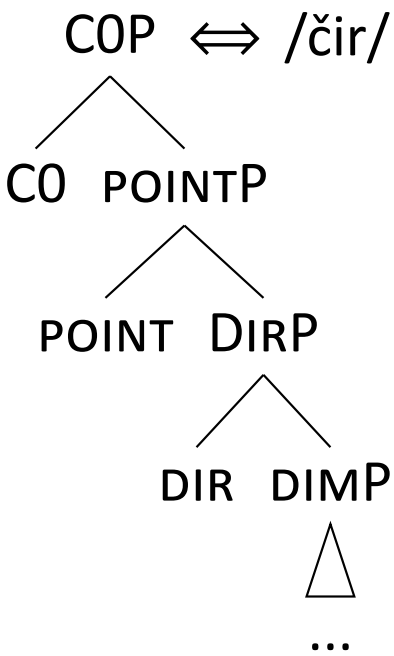
snad
'easy'

n

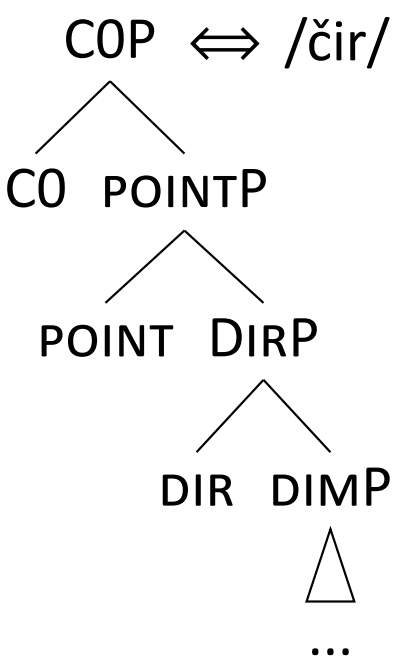
C1P ⟺ /snad/

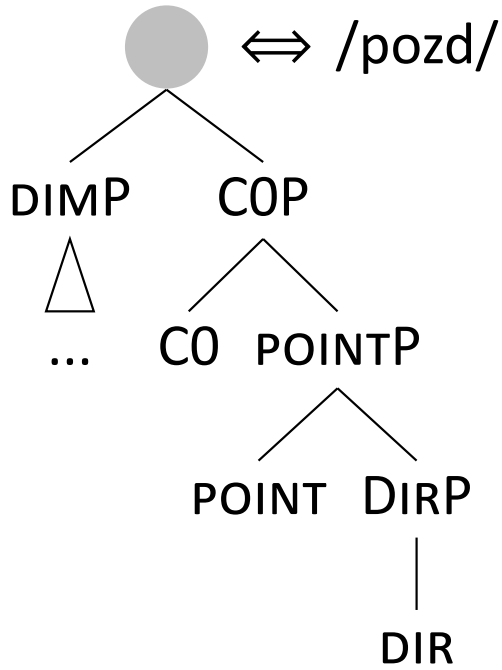


Comparing classes

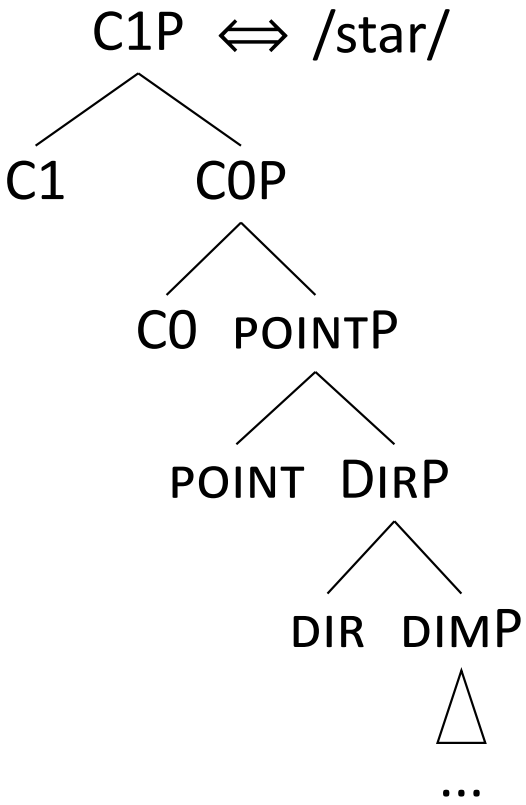


Comparing classes

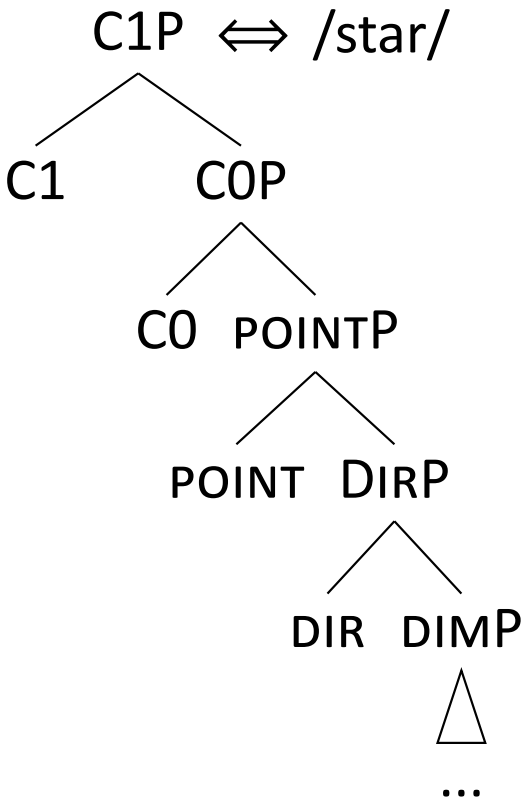


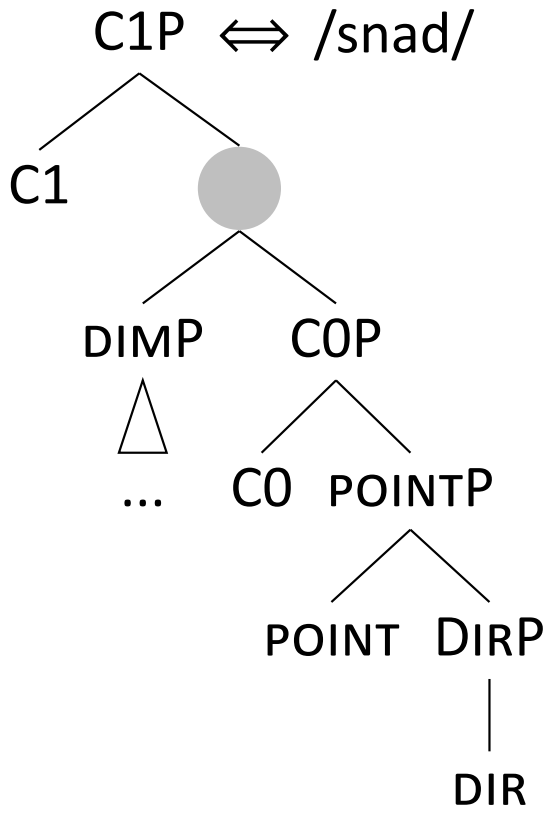


Comparing classes

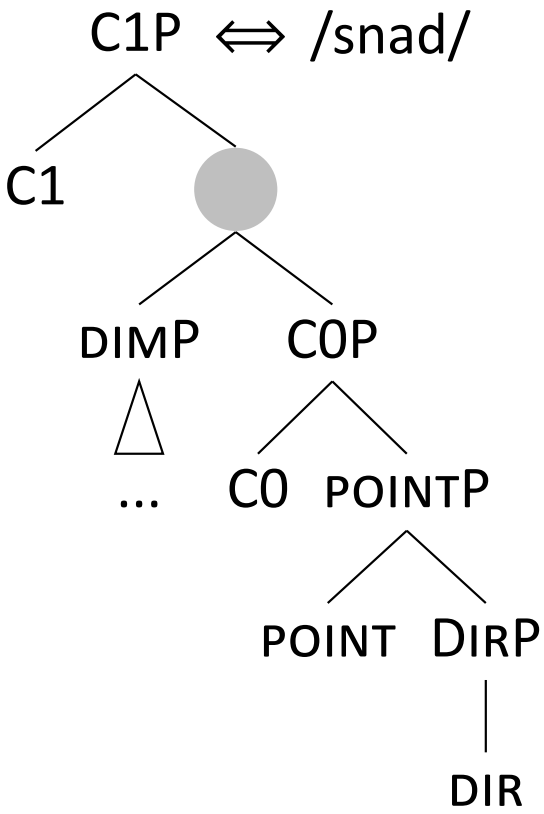


Comparing classes

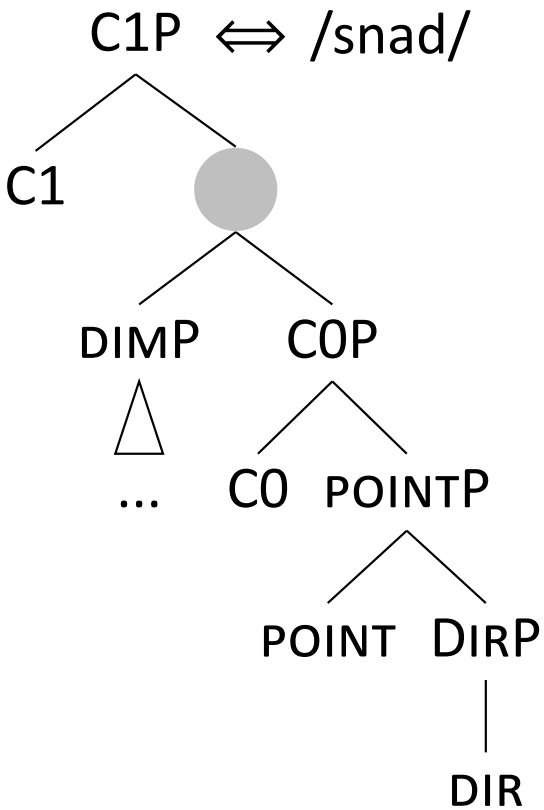


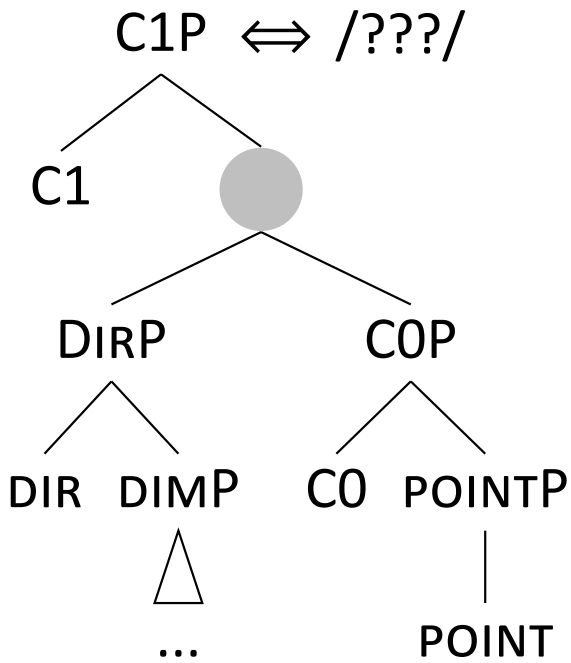


Hypothetical classes



Hypothetical classes

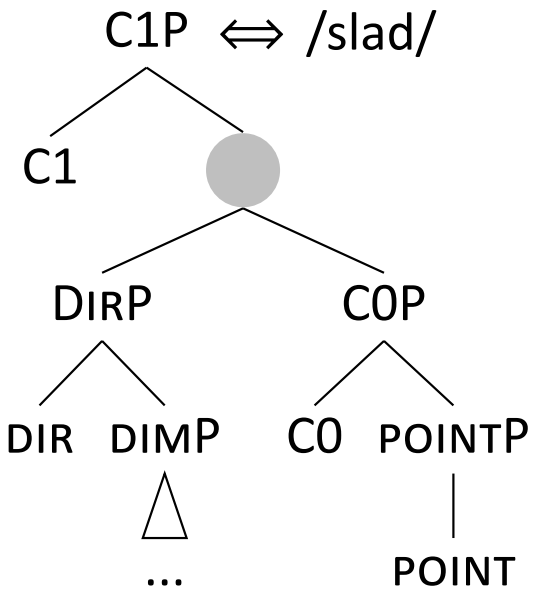




Class Z

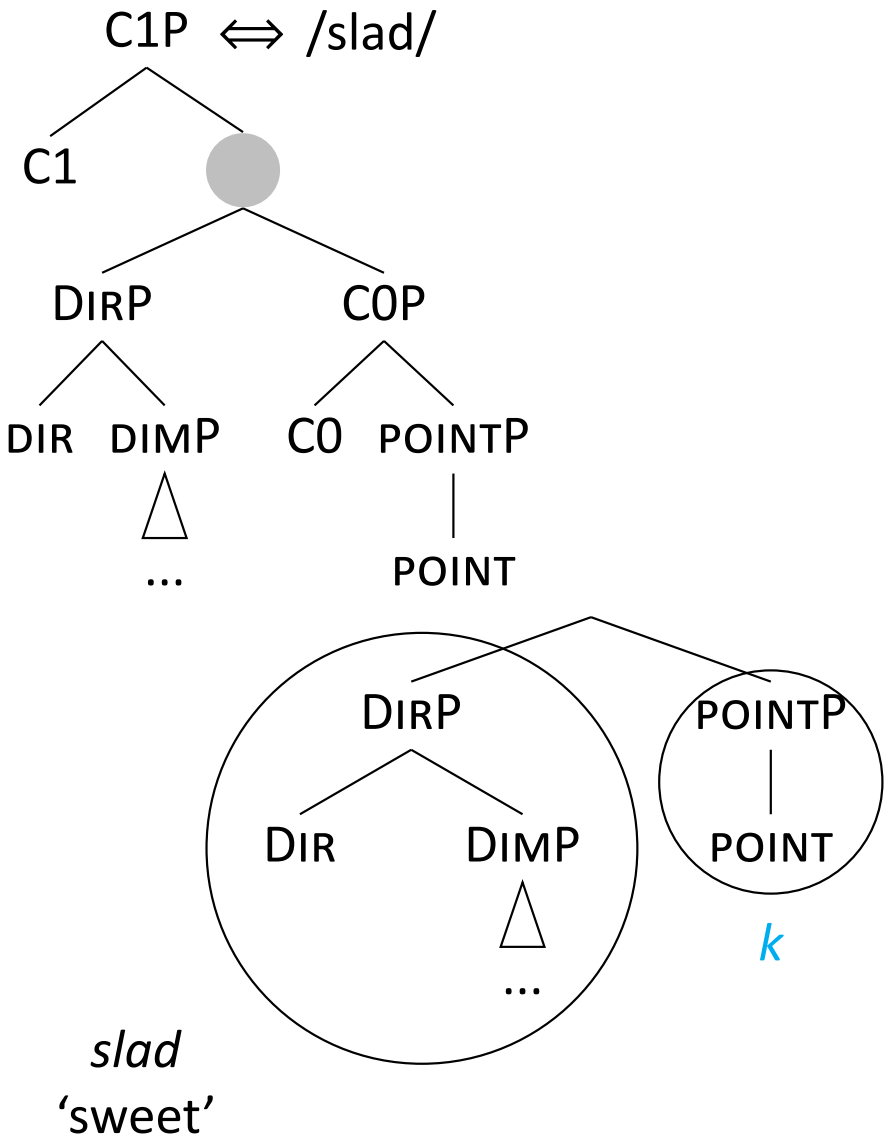
(42)

slad-k-ý		~	slad	-**š**-í
sweet-AUG-AGR			sweet-CMPR-AGR	



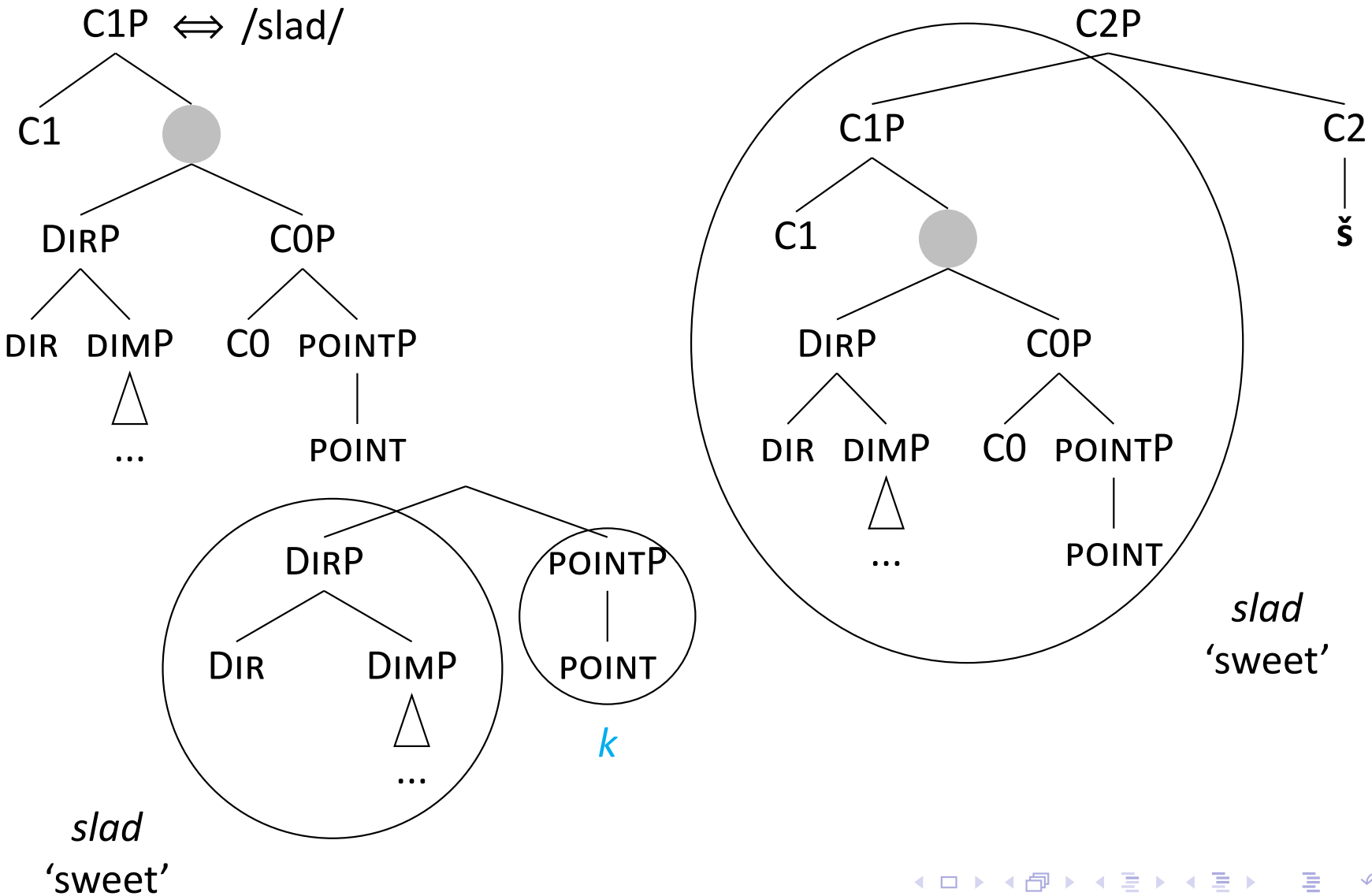
Class Z

(42) slad-k-ý ~ slad -**š**-í
sweet-AUG-AGR sweet-CMPR-AGR



Class Z

(42) slad-k-ý ~ slad -š-í
sweet-AUG-AGR sweet-CMPR-AGR



Outline

Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43)

pěk-n-ý	∼	pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR		prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)
△
...

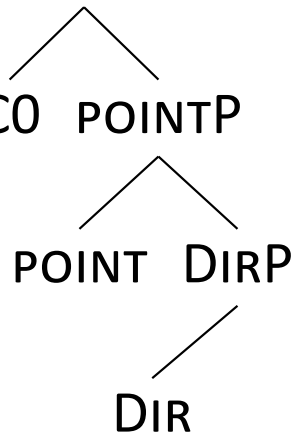
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

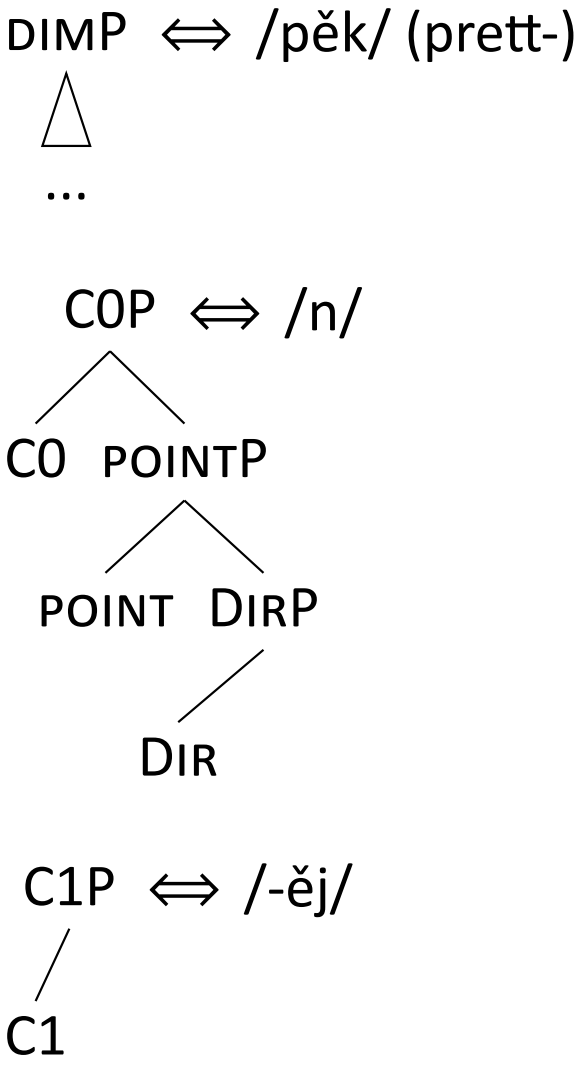
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



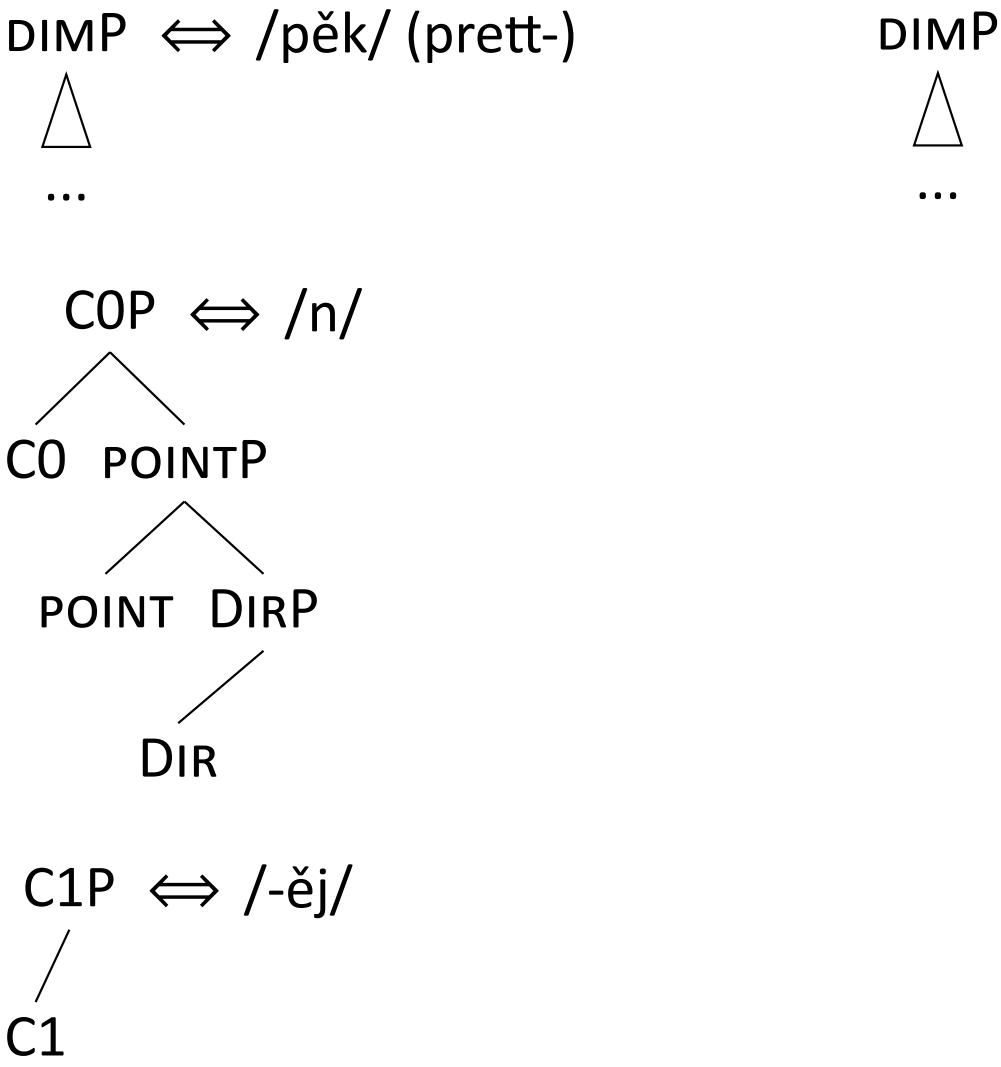
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



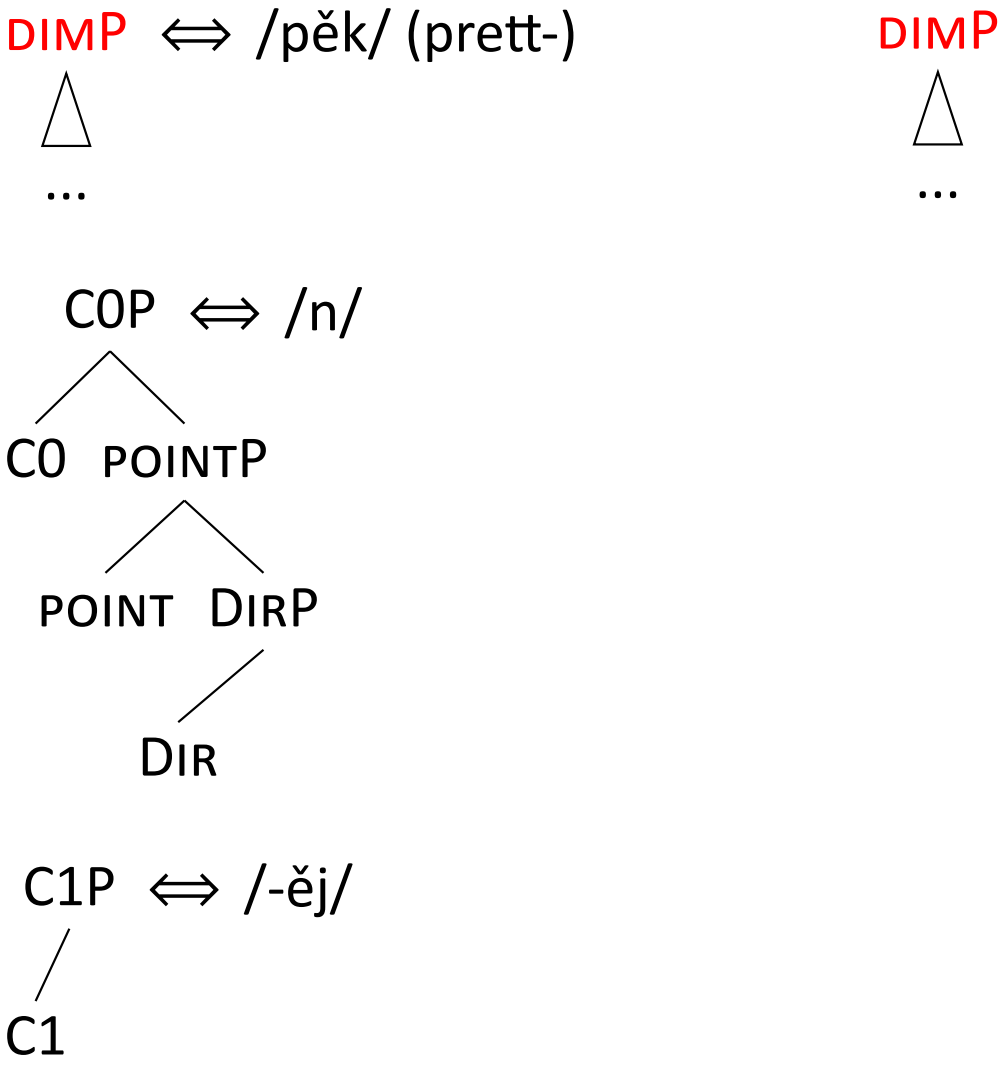
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

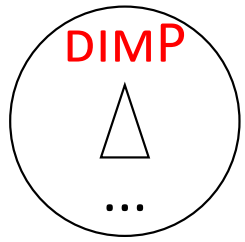
(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

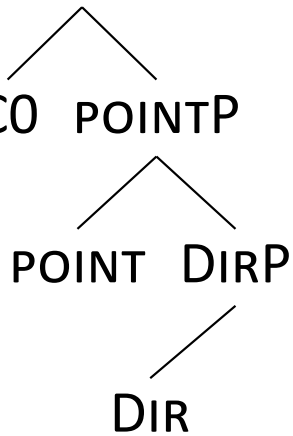
(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)



pěk
'prett'

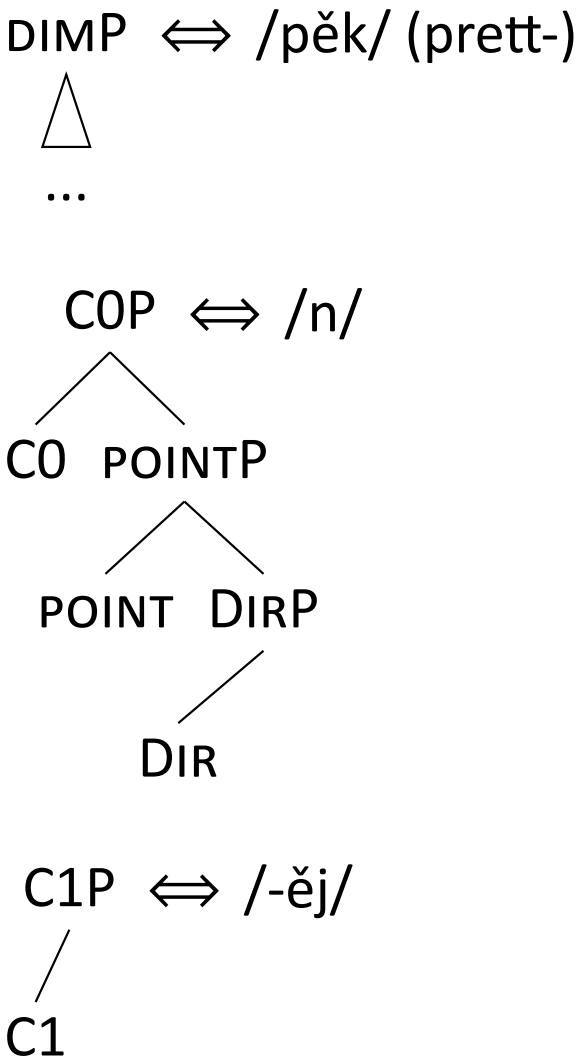
C0P ⟺ /n/

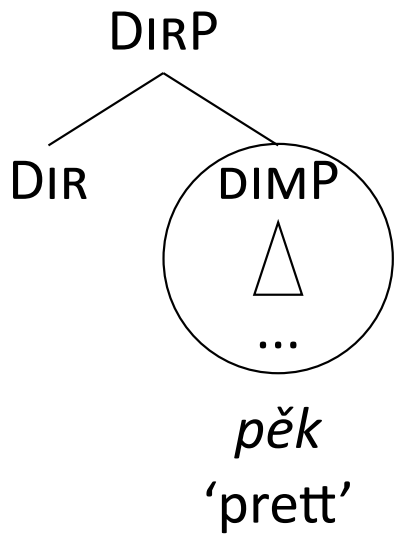


C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

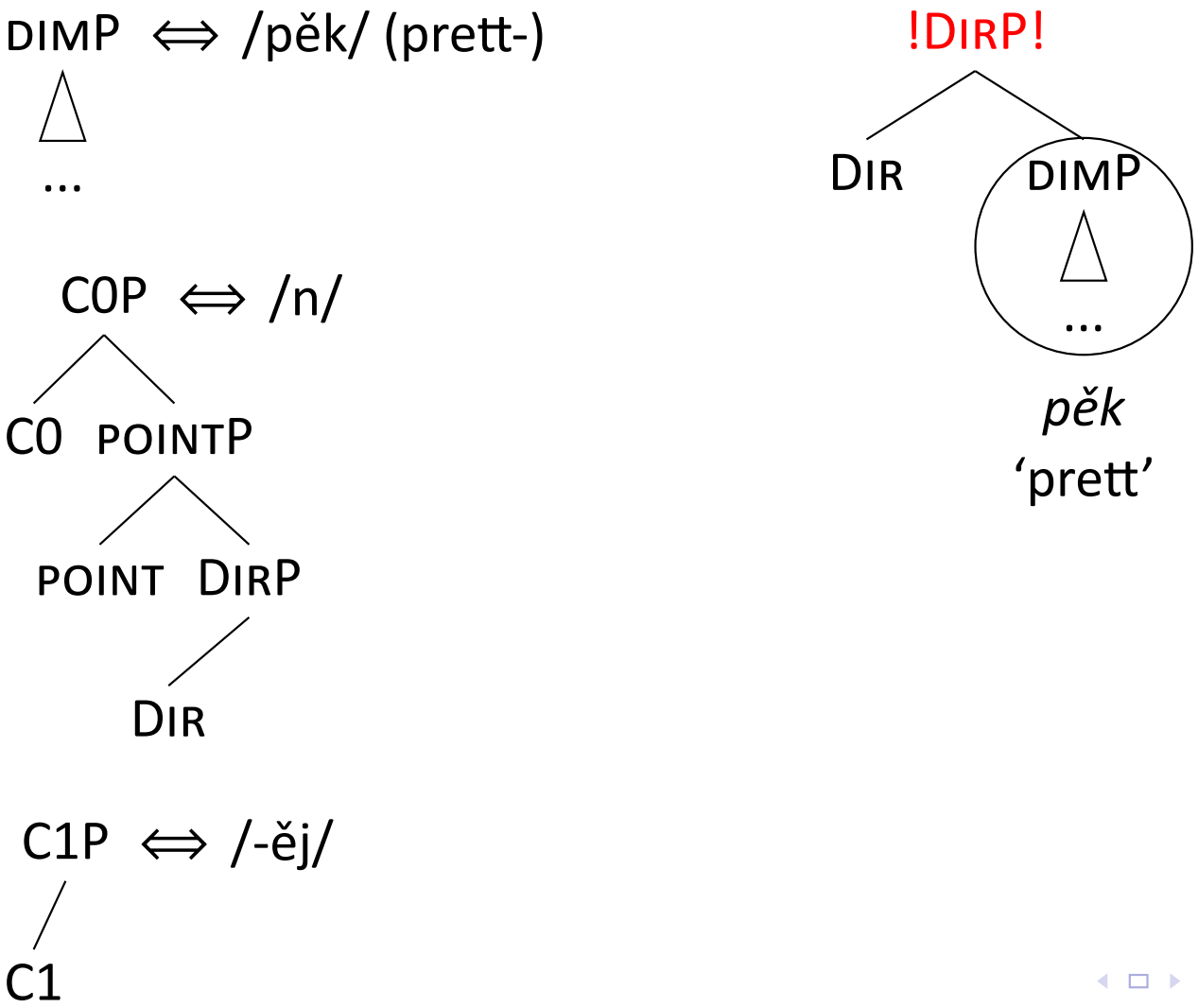
(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR





Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



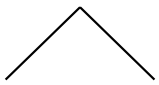
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

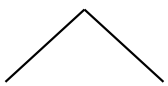
DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C0 POINTP

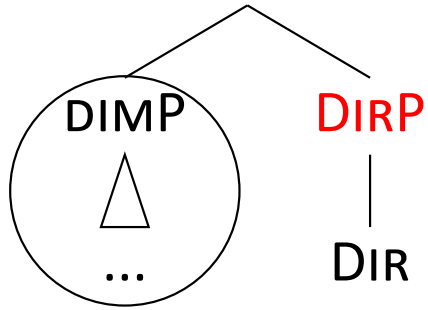


POINT DIRP

DIR

C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



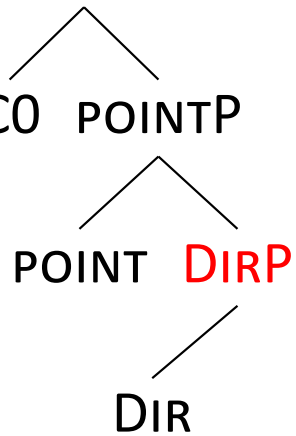
pěk
'prett'

Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

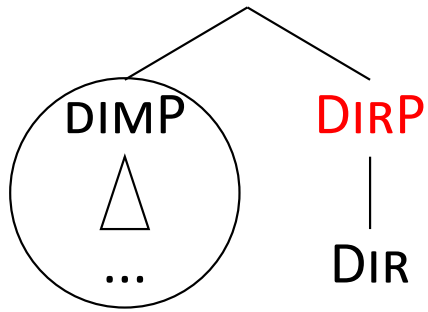
(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

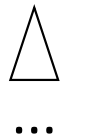


pěk
'prett'

Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

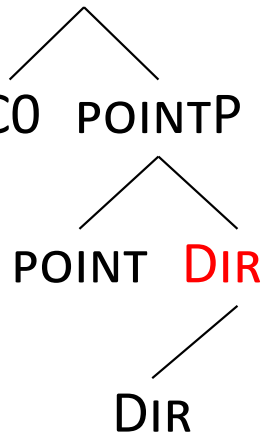
(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)



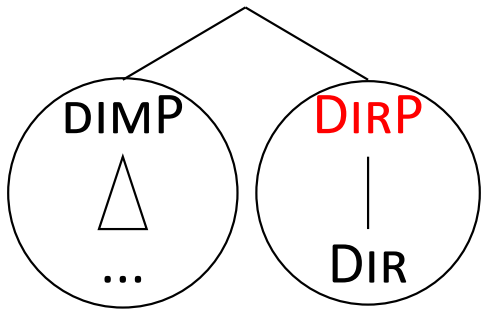
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1

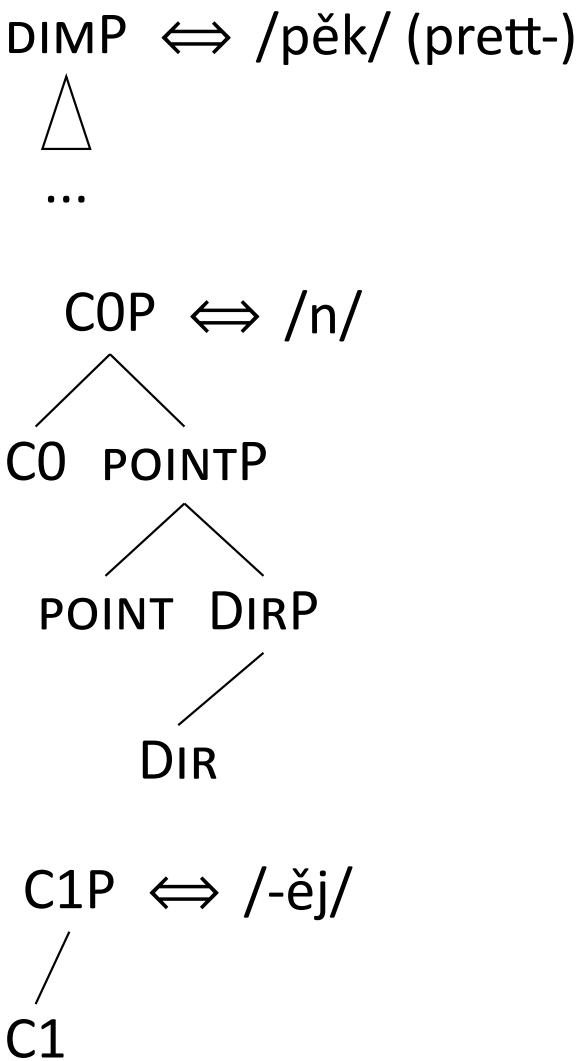


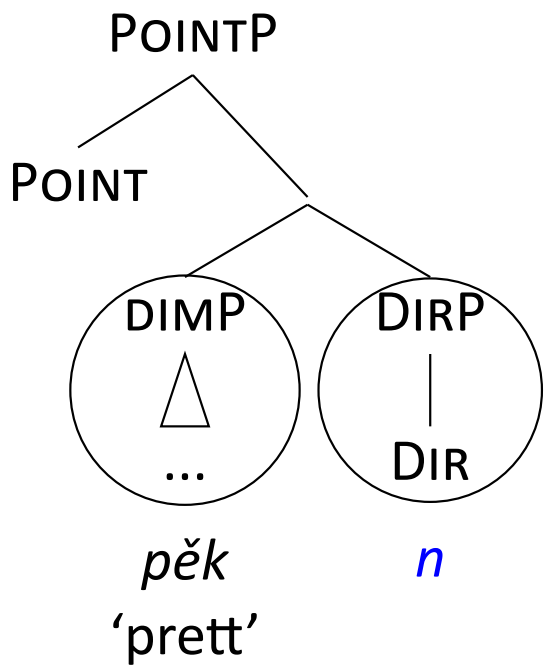
pěk *n*

'prett'

Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR





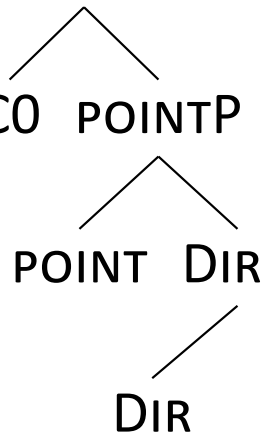
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

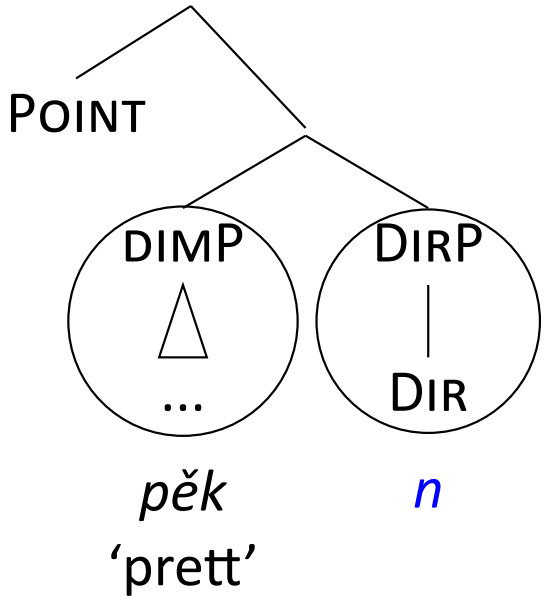
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

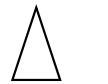
C1



Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

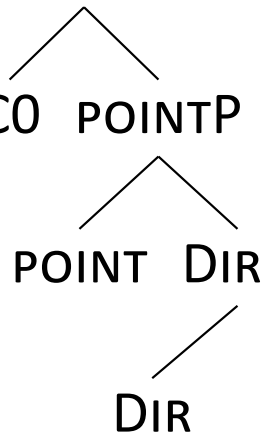
(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)



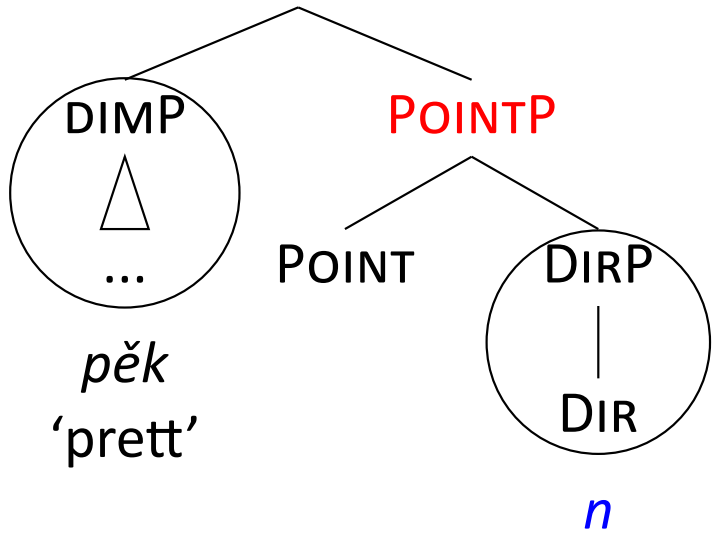
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



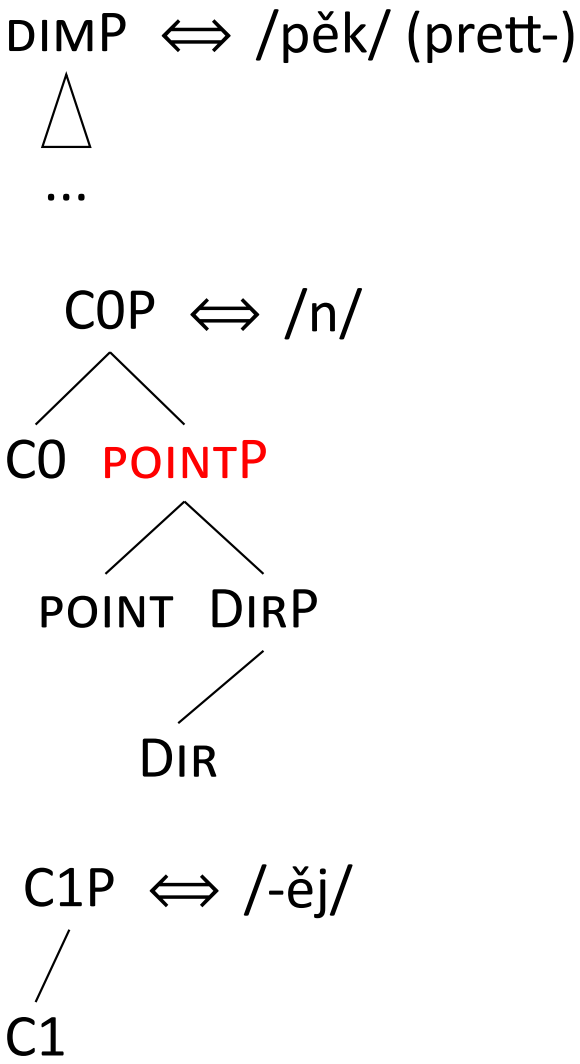
C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

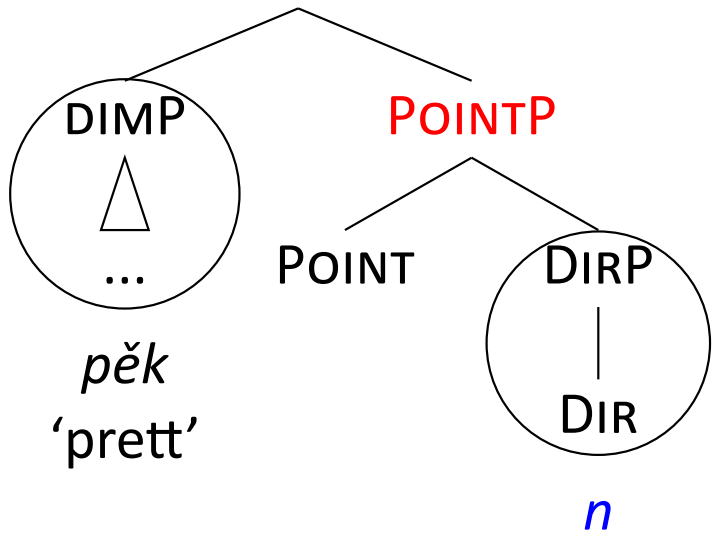
C1



Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR





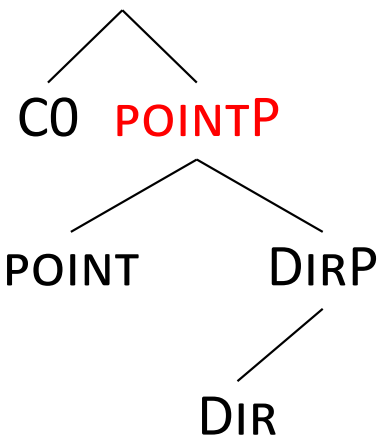
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

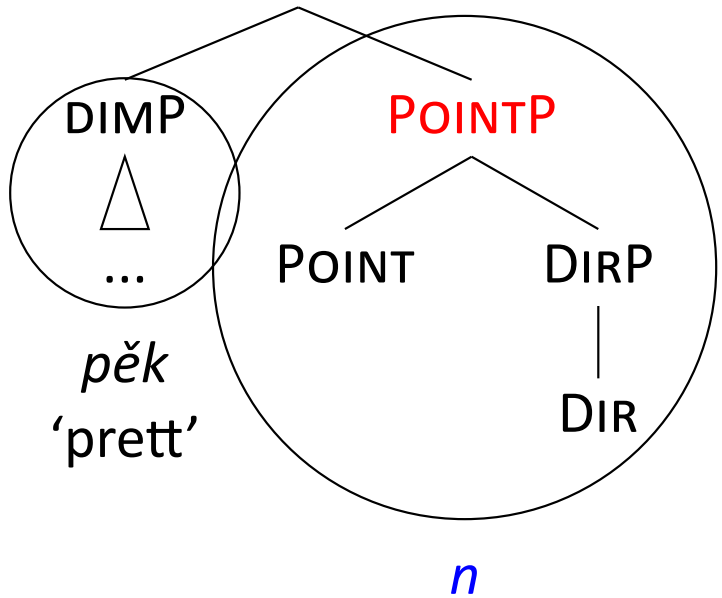
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



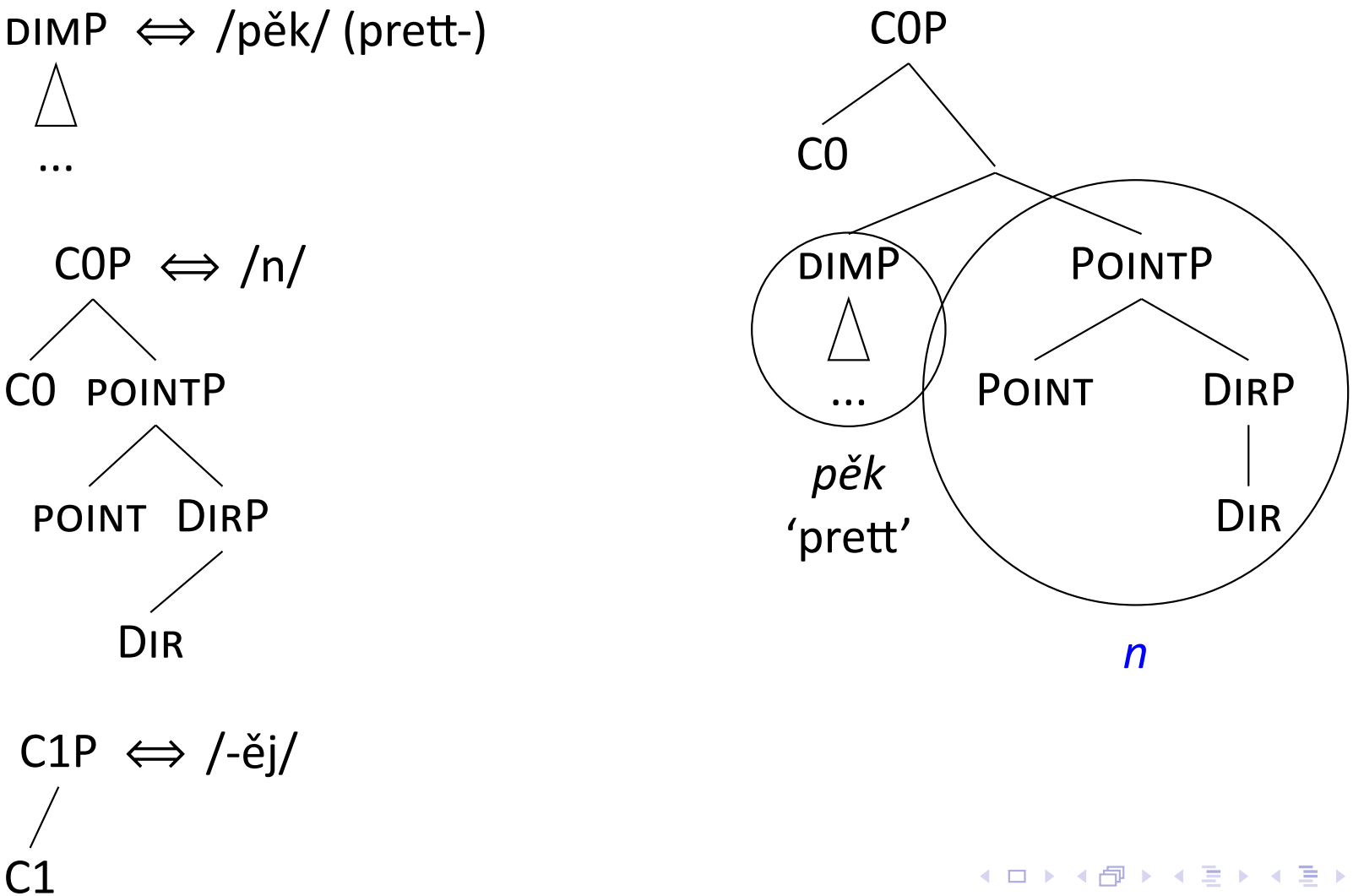
C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



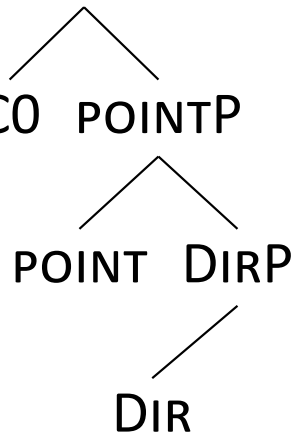
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

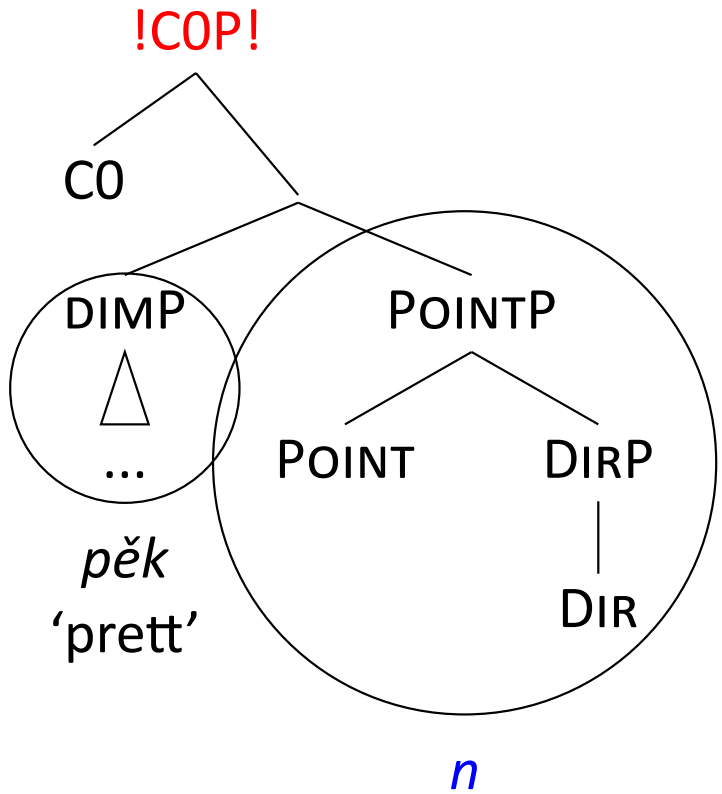
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

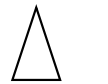
C1



Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

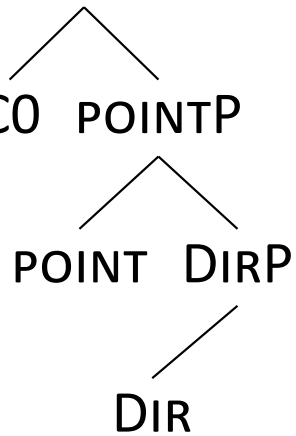
(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)



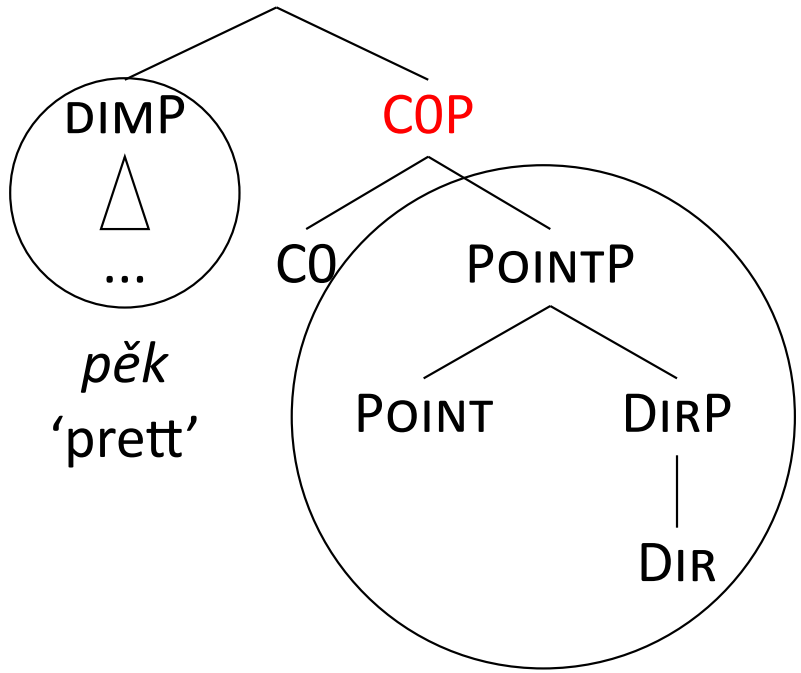
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



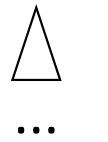
pěk
'prett'

n

Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

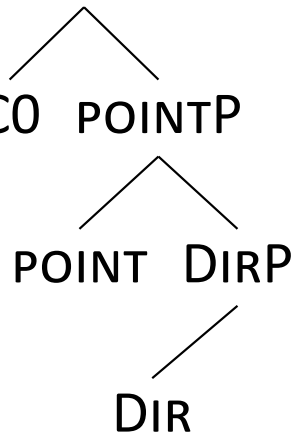
(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)



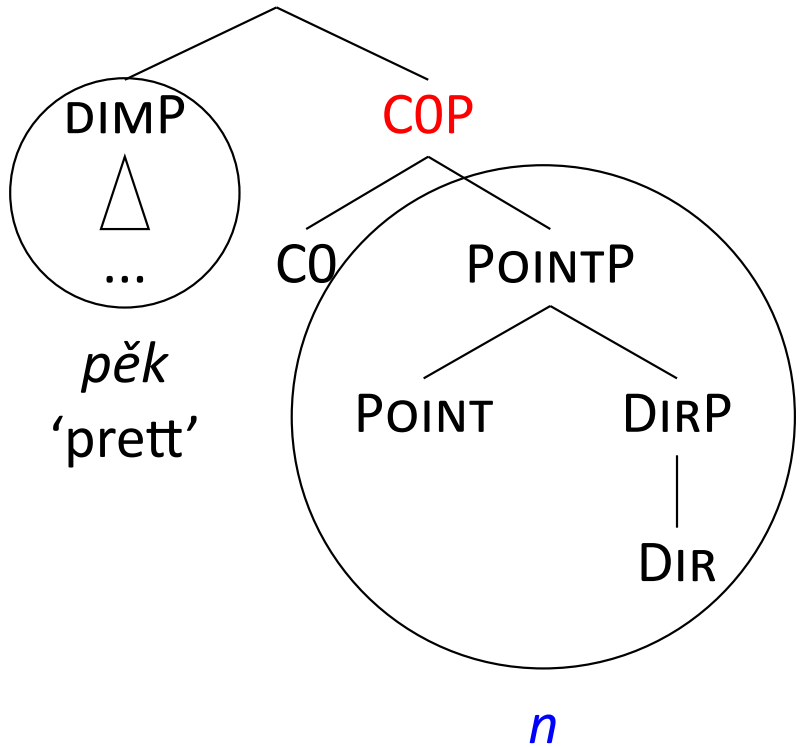
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



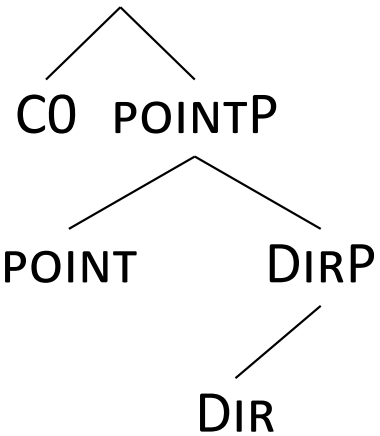
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

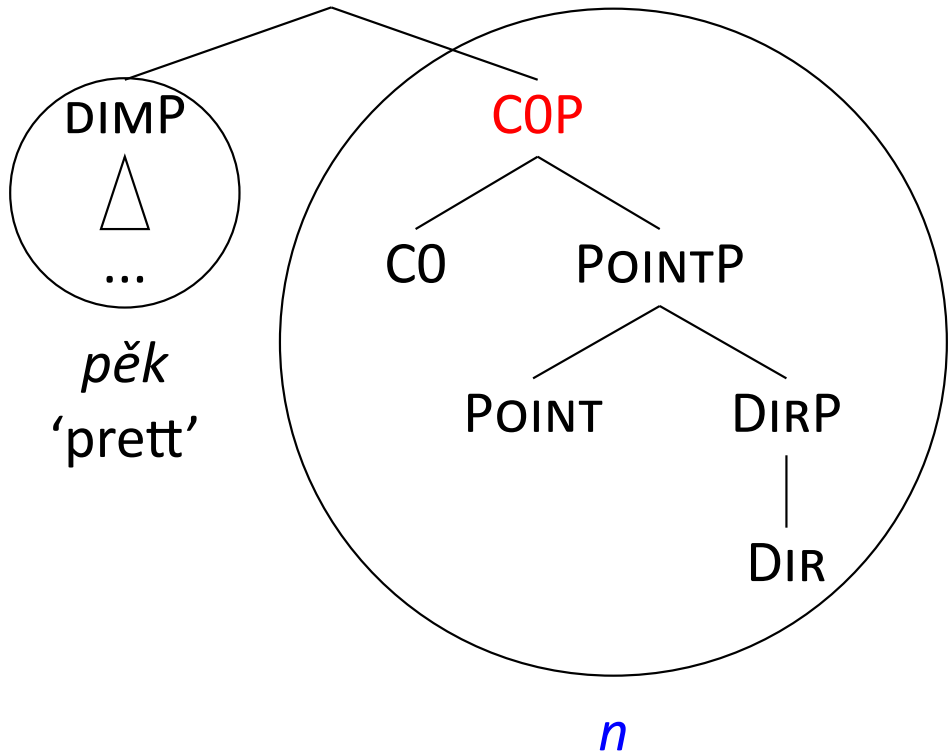
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



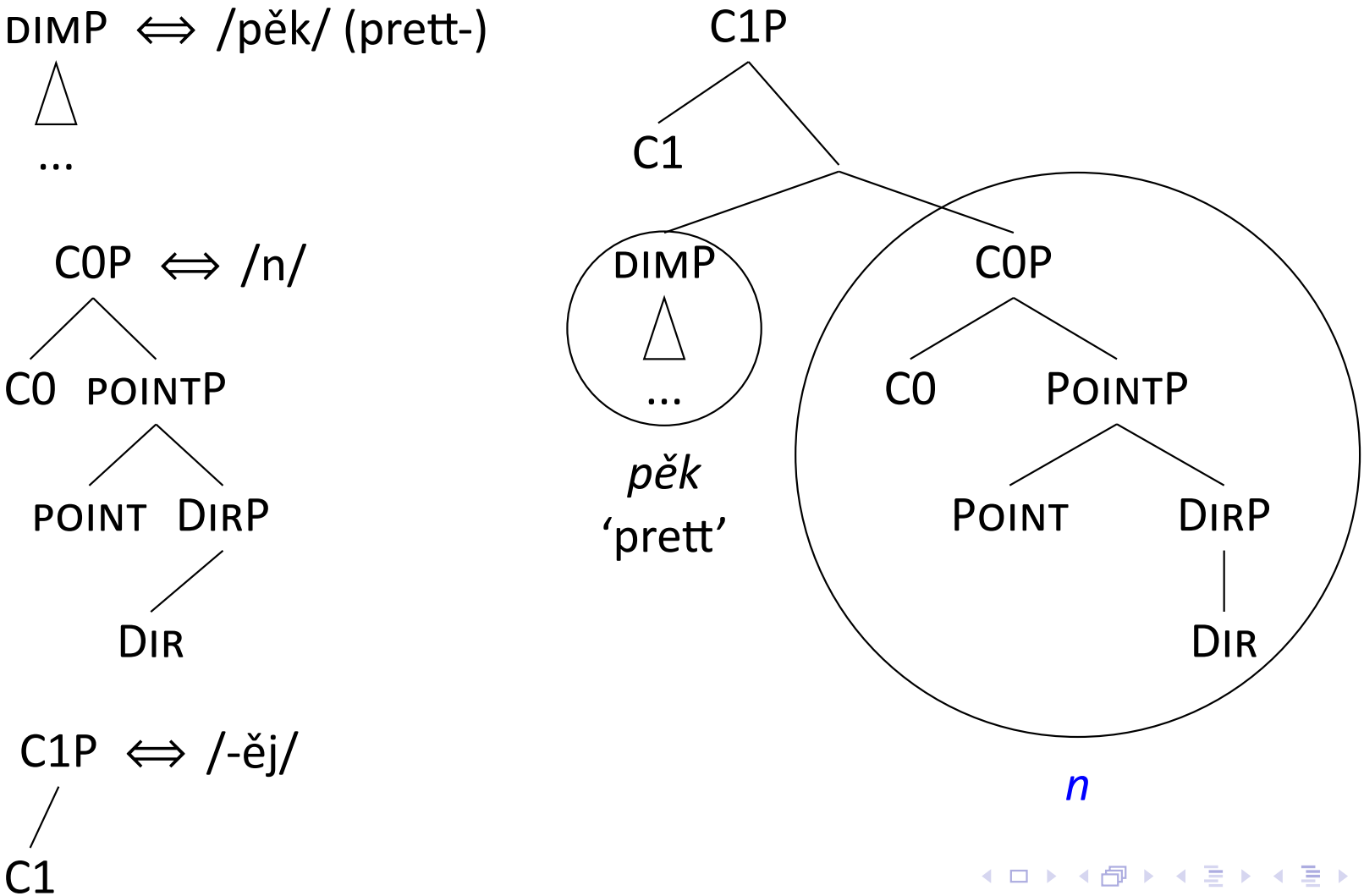
C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



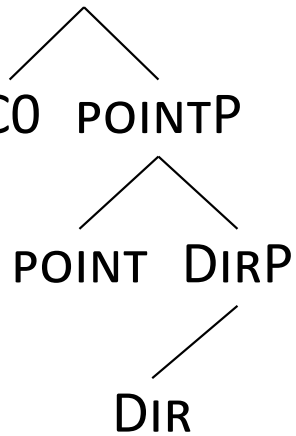
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

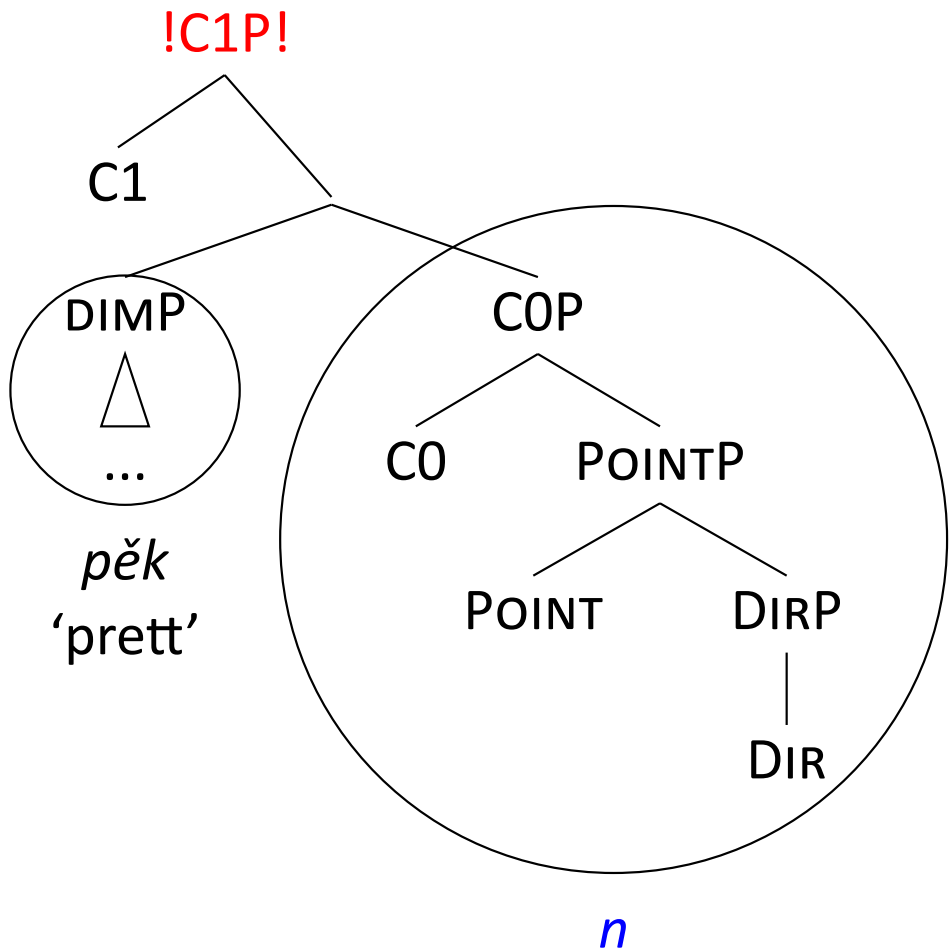
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



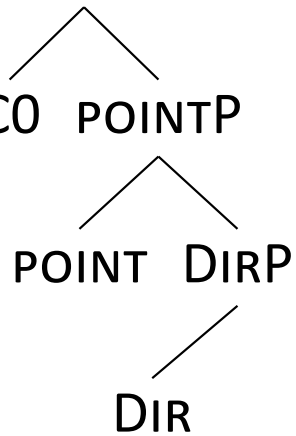
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

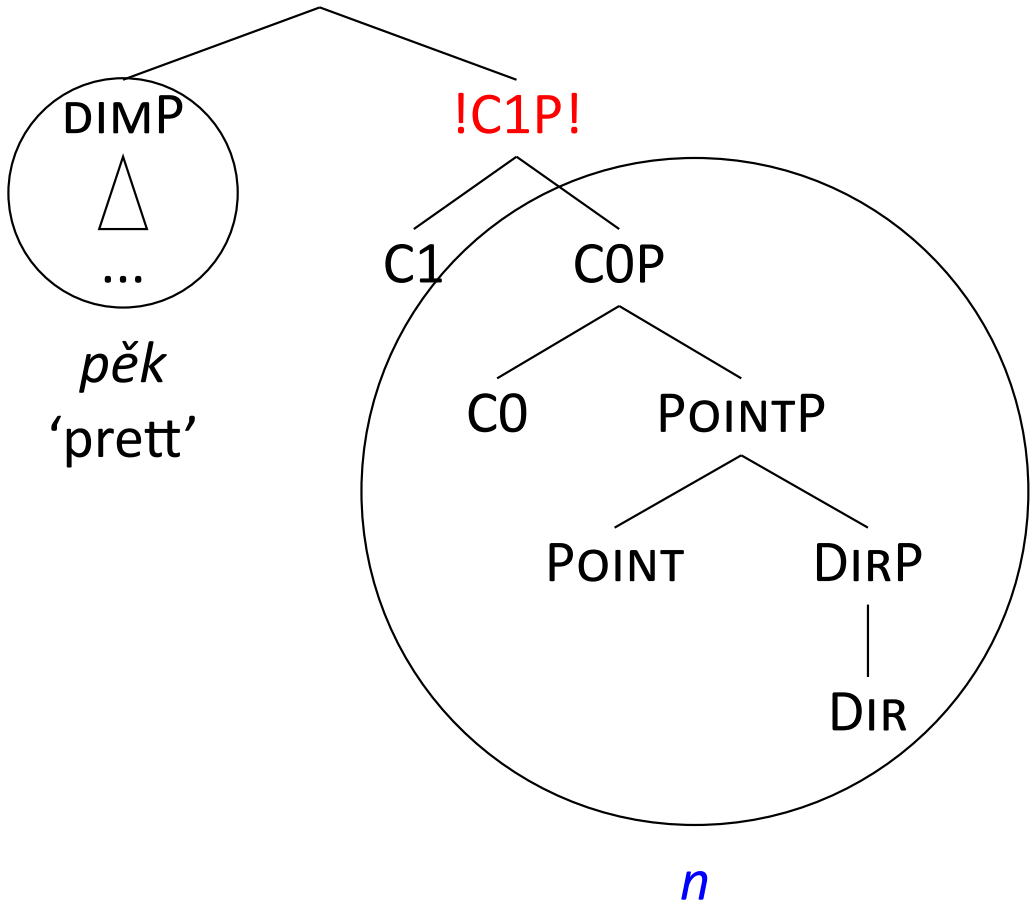
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1

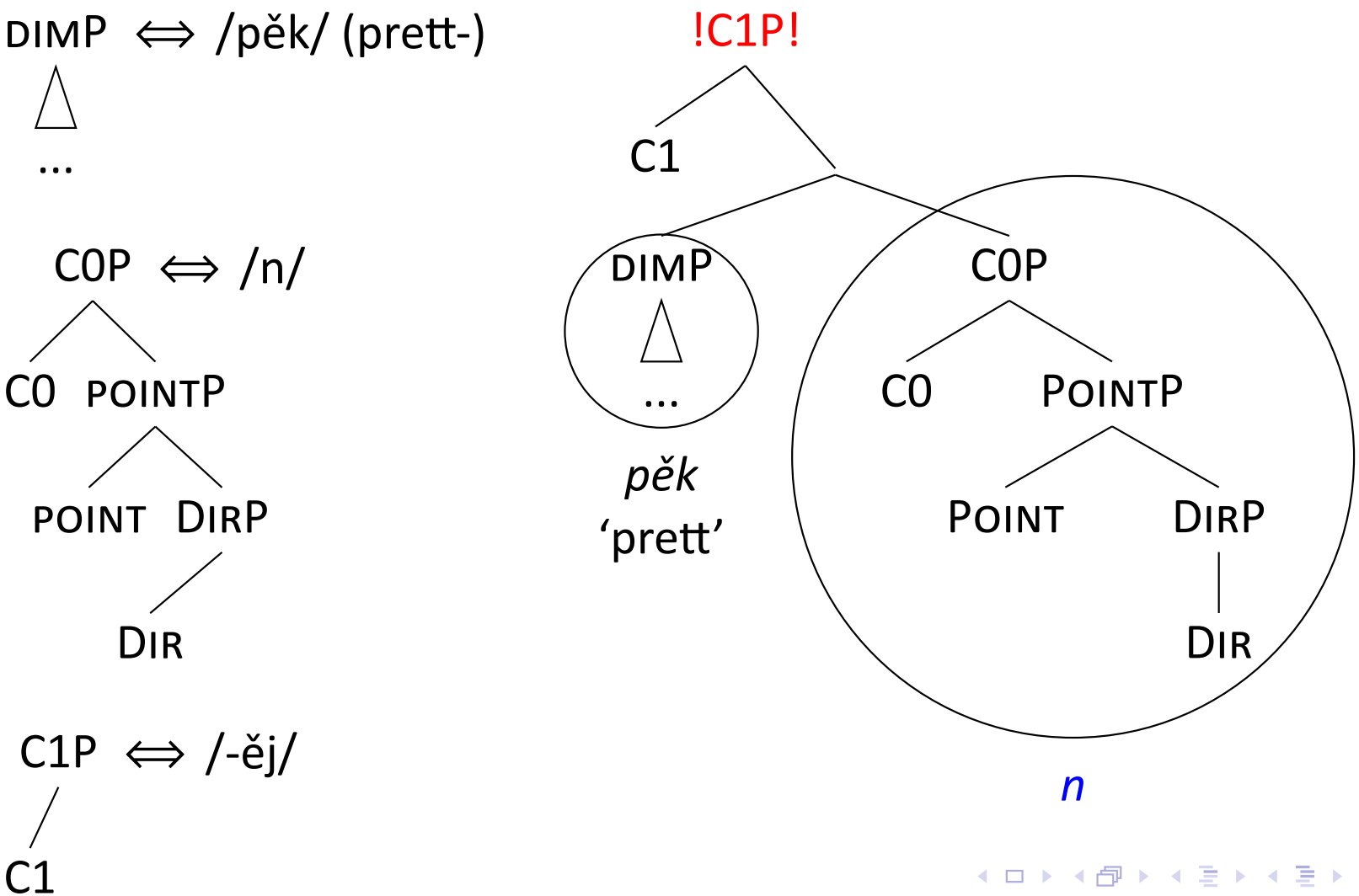


pěk
'prett'

n

Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

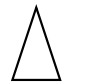
(43) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR



Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

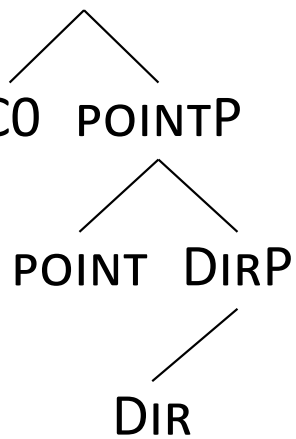
(43) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)



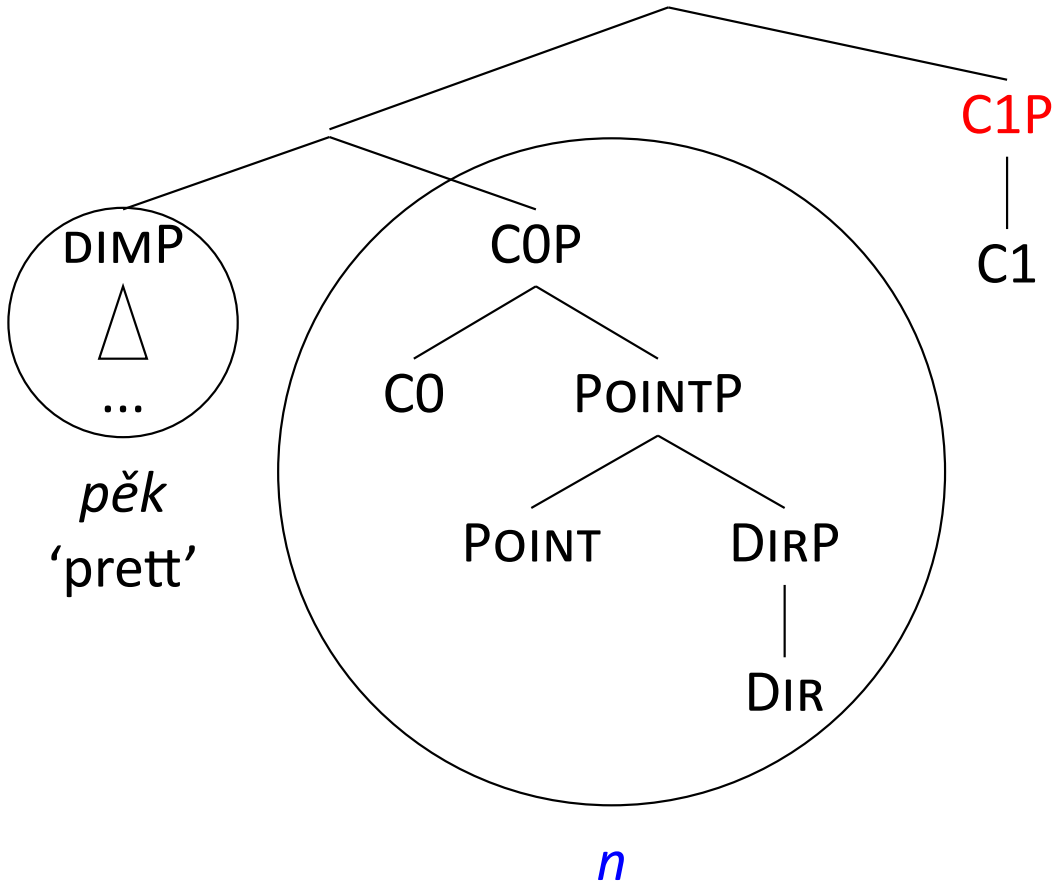
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



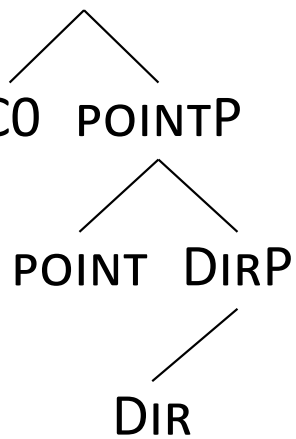
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

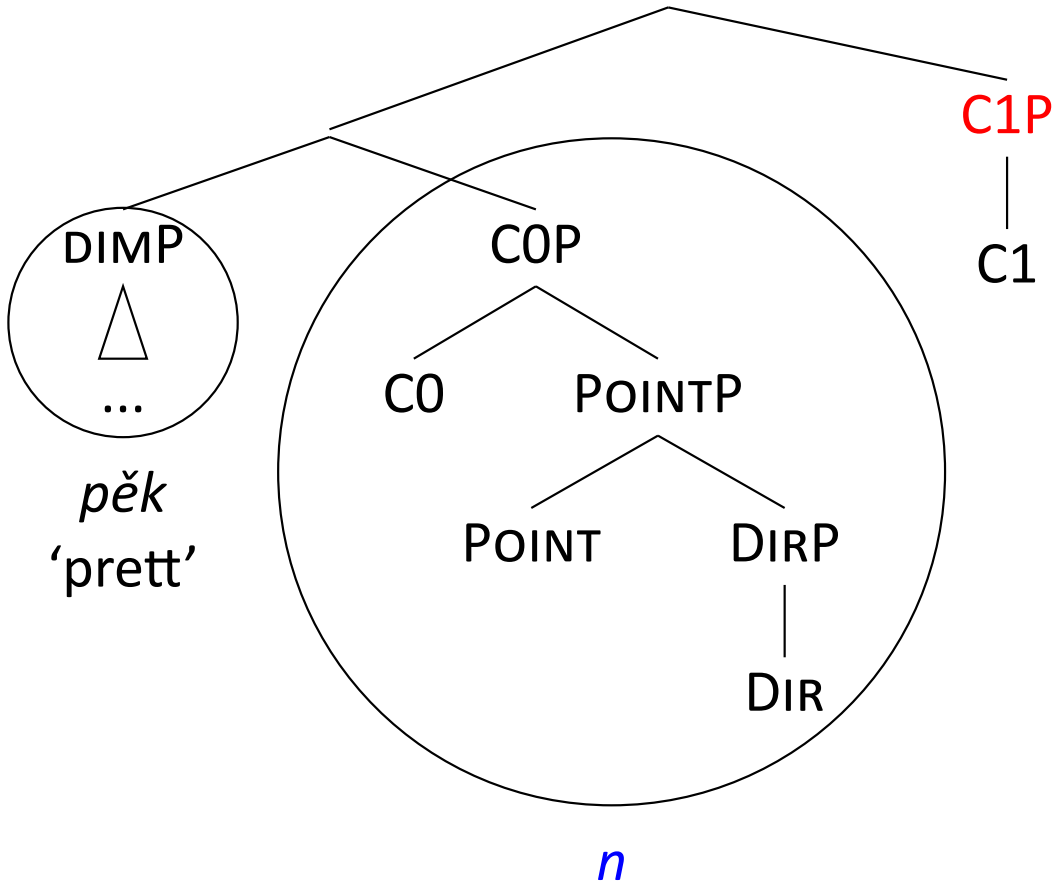
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

△
…

C0P ⟺ /n/

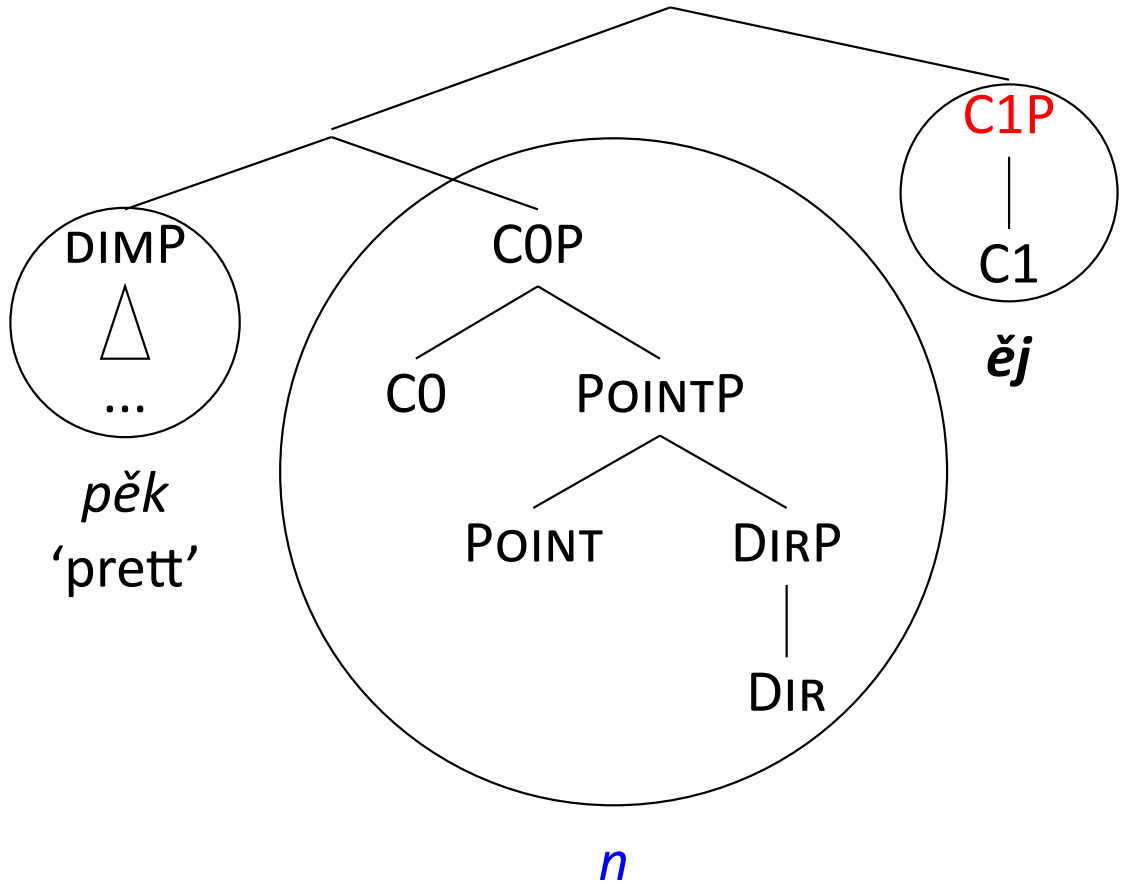
C0 POINTP

POINT DIRP

DIR

C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



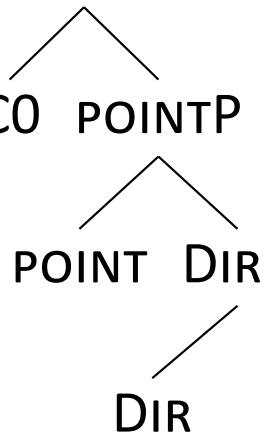
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

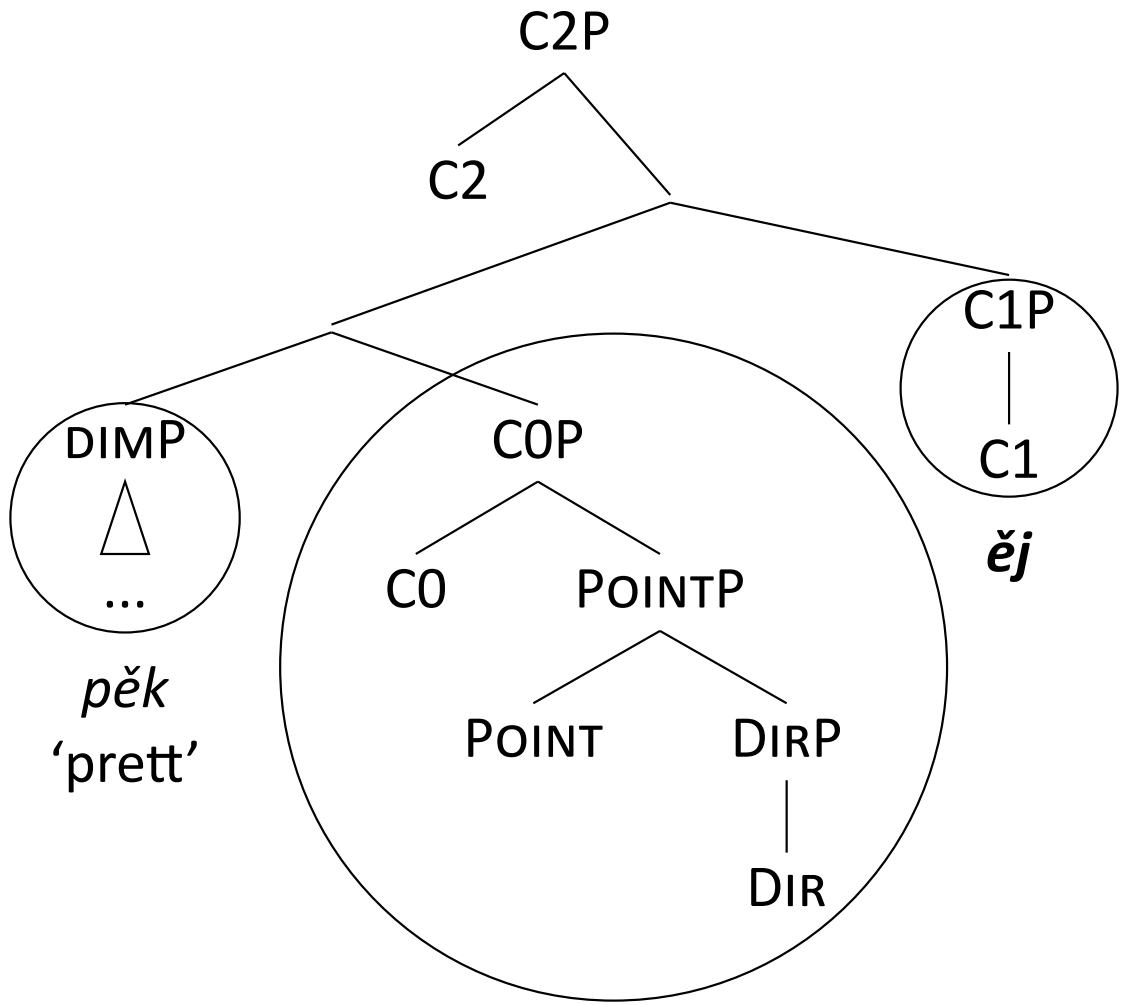
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



n

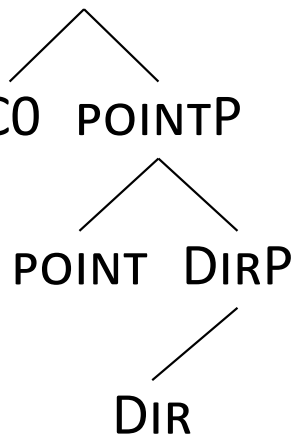
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

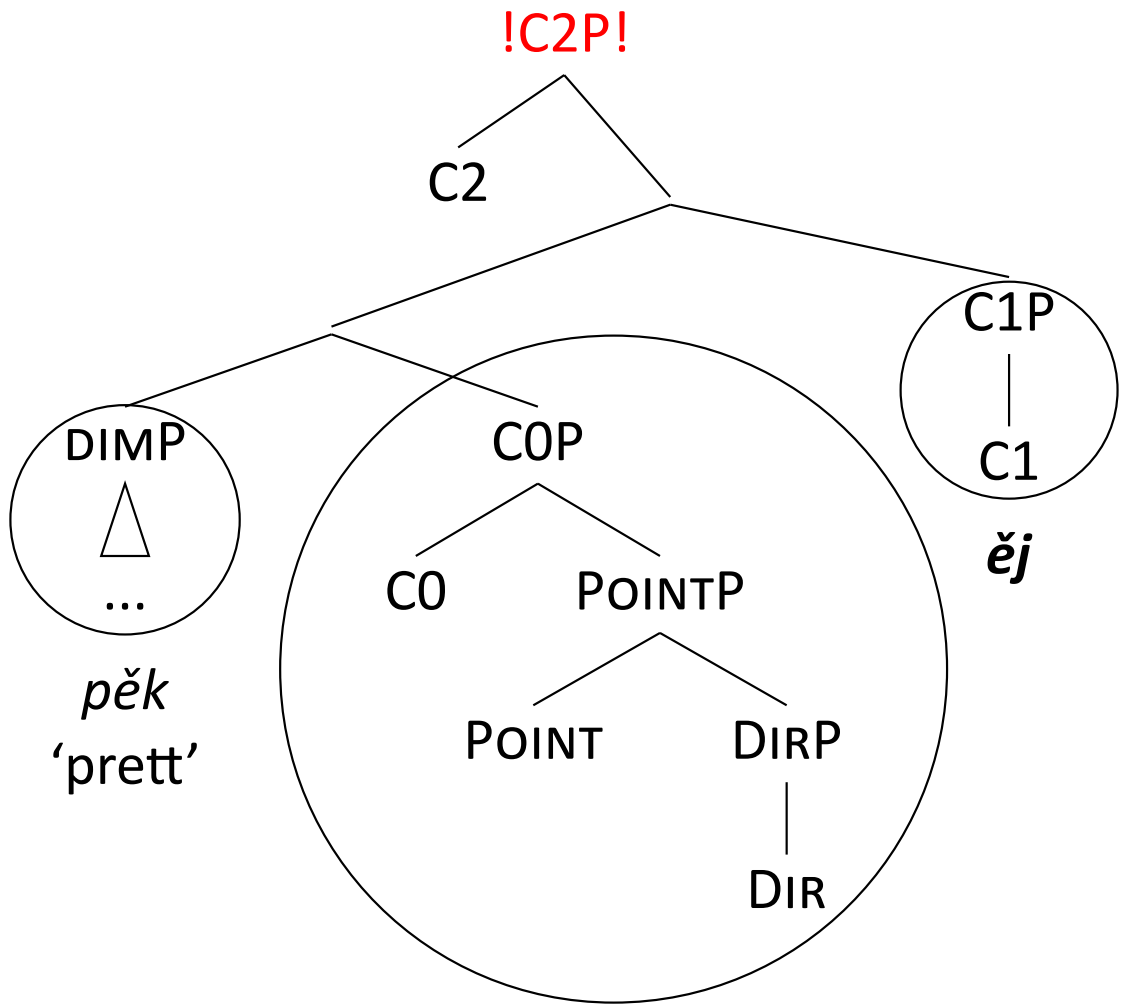
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



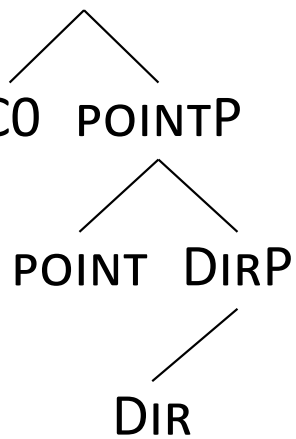
n

Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

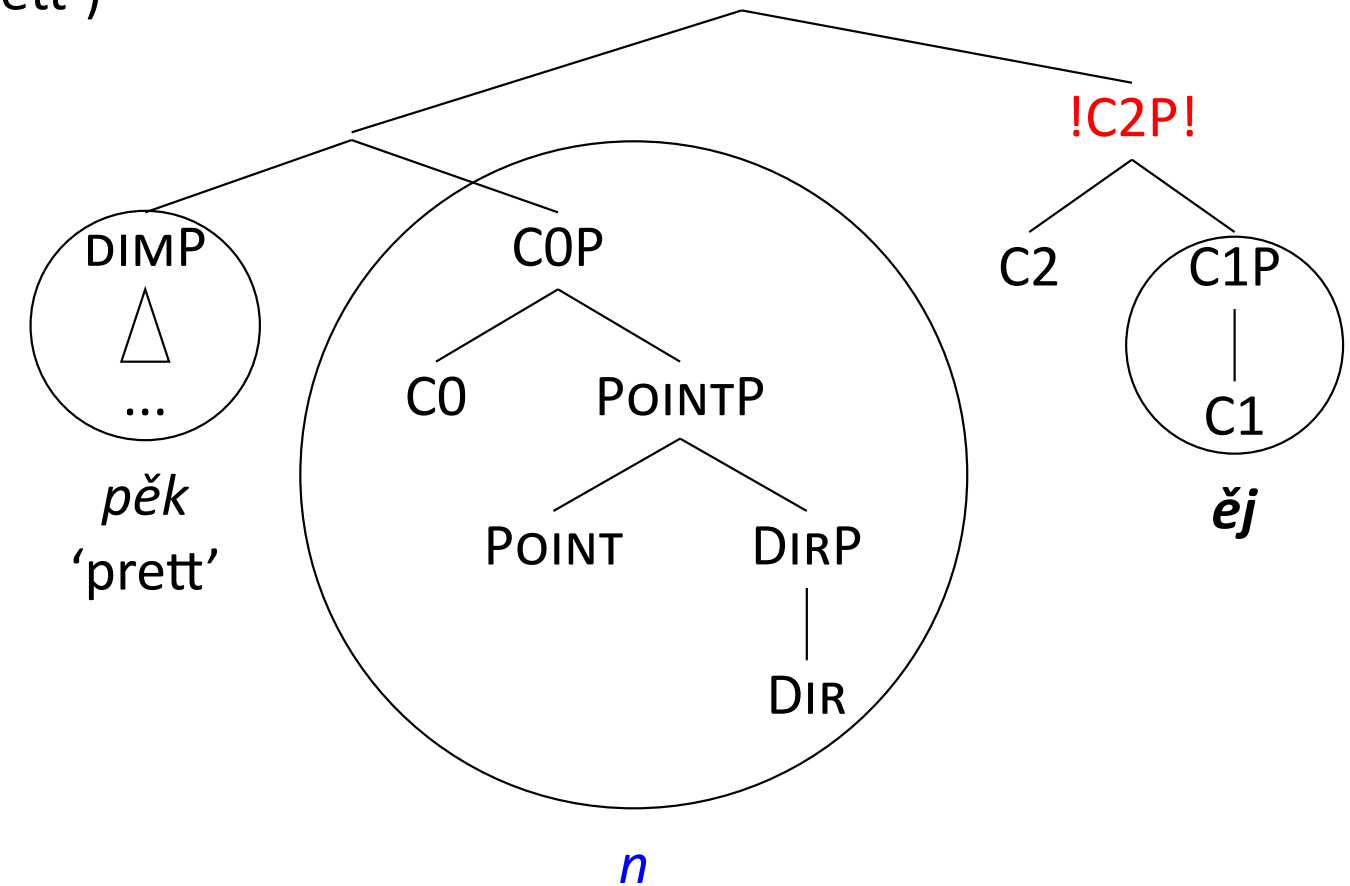
(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/



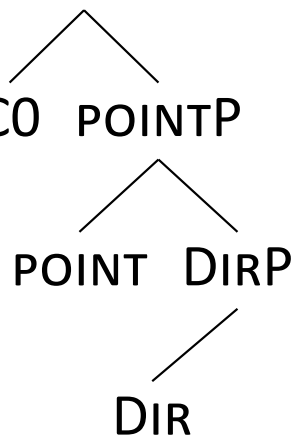
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

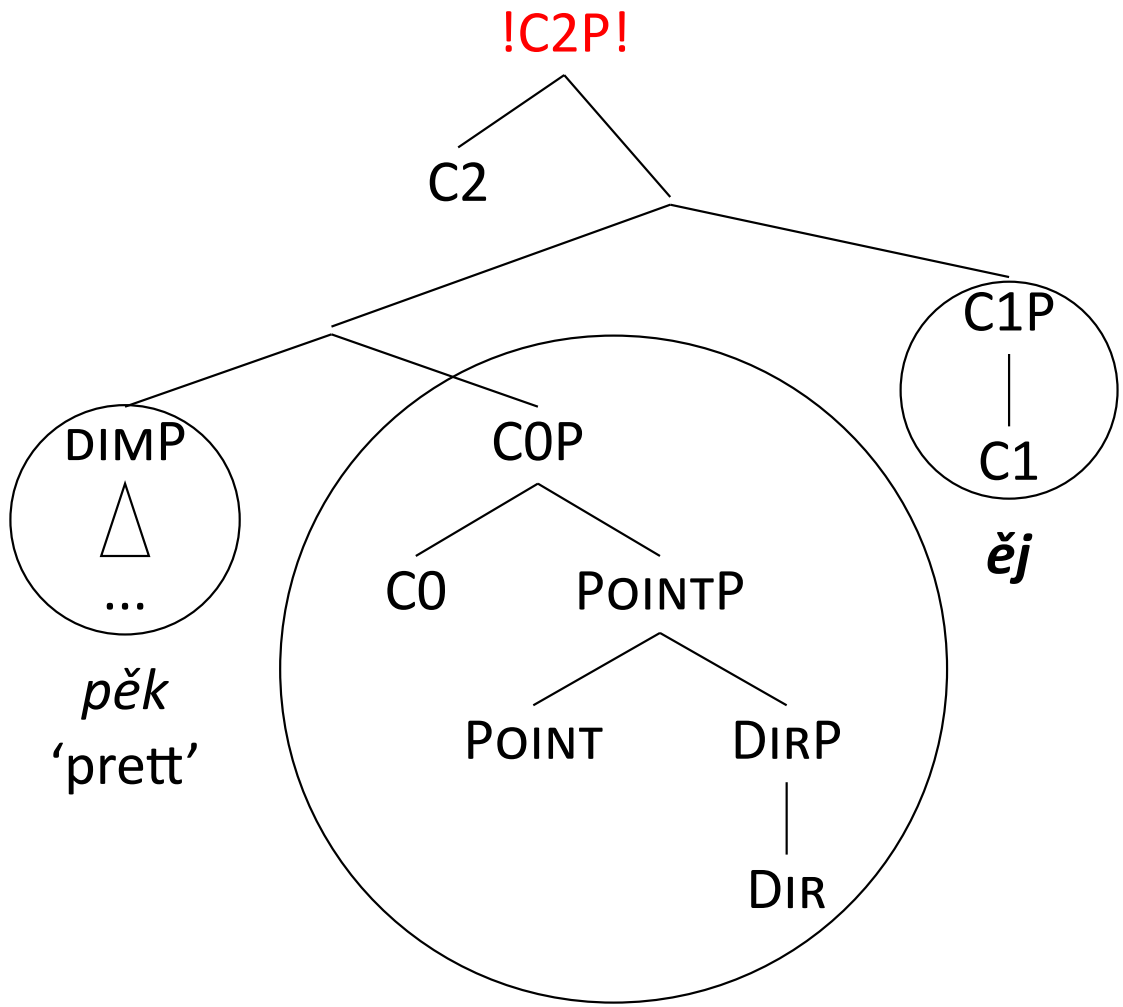
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



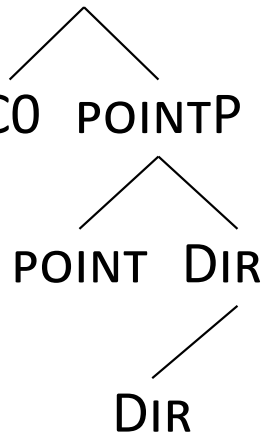
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ∼ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

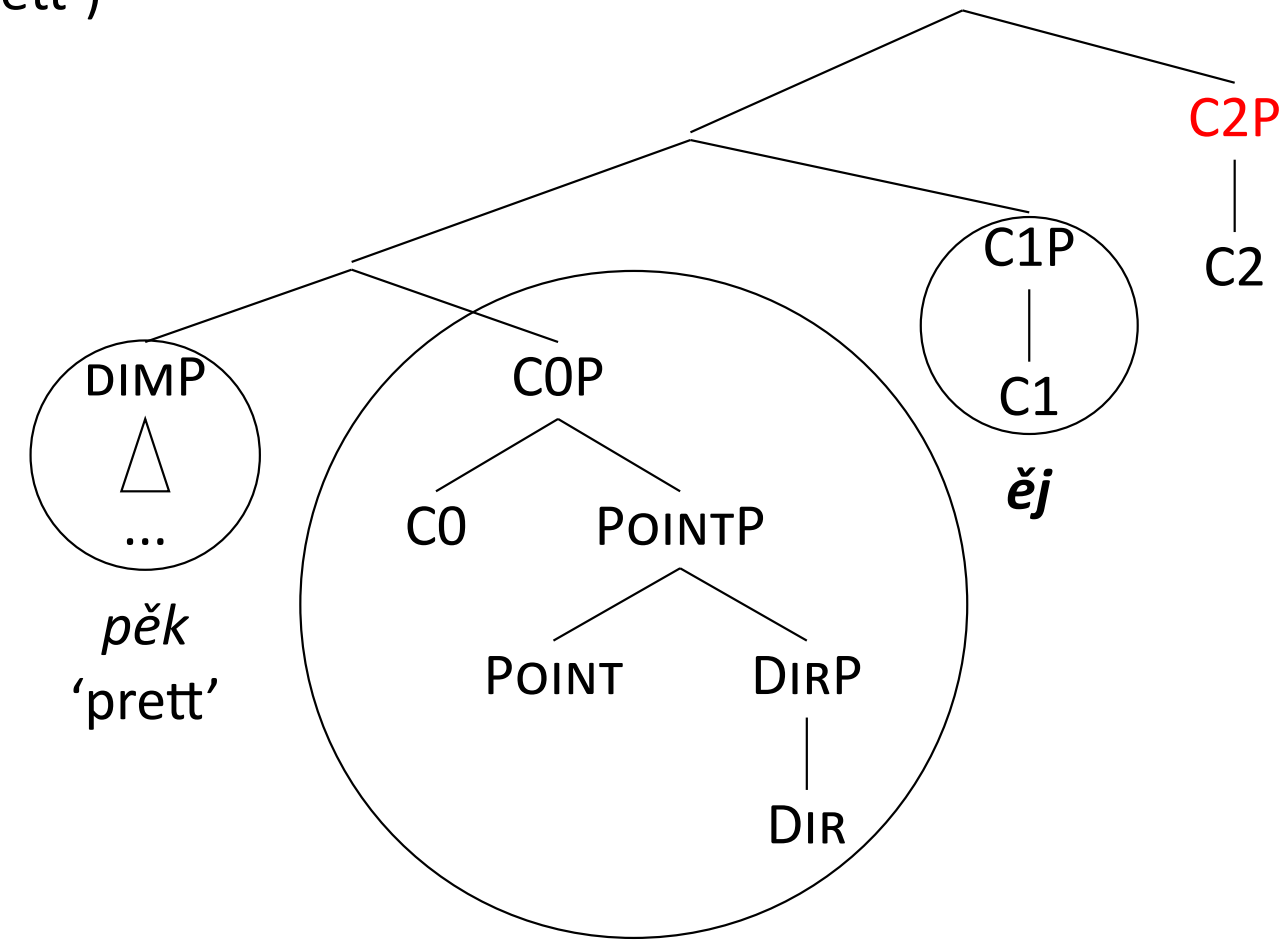
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



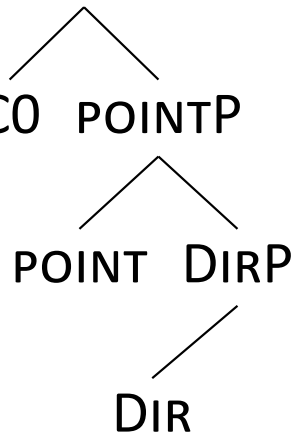
Spellout-driven movements (Starke 2018)

(43) pěk-n-ý ~ pěk-n-**ěj**-**š**-í
prett-AUG-AGR prett-AUG-CMPR-CMPR-AGR

DIMP ⟺ /pěk/ (prett-)

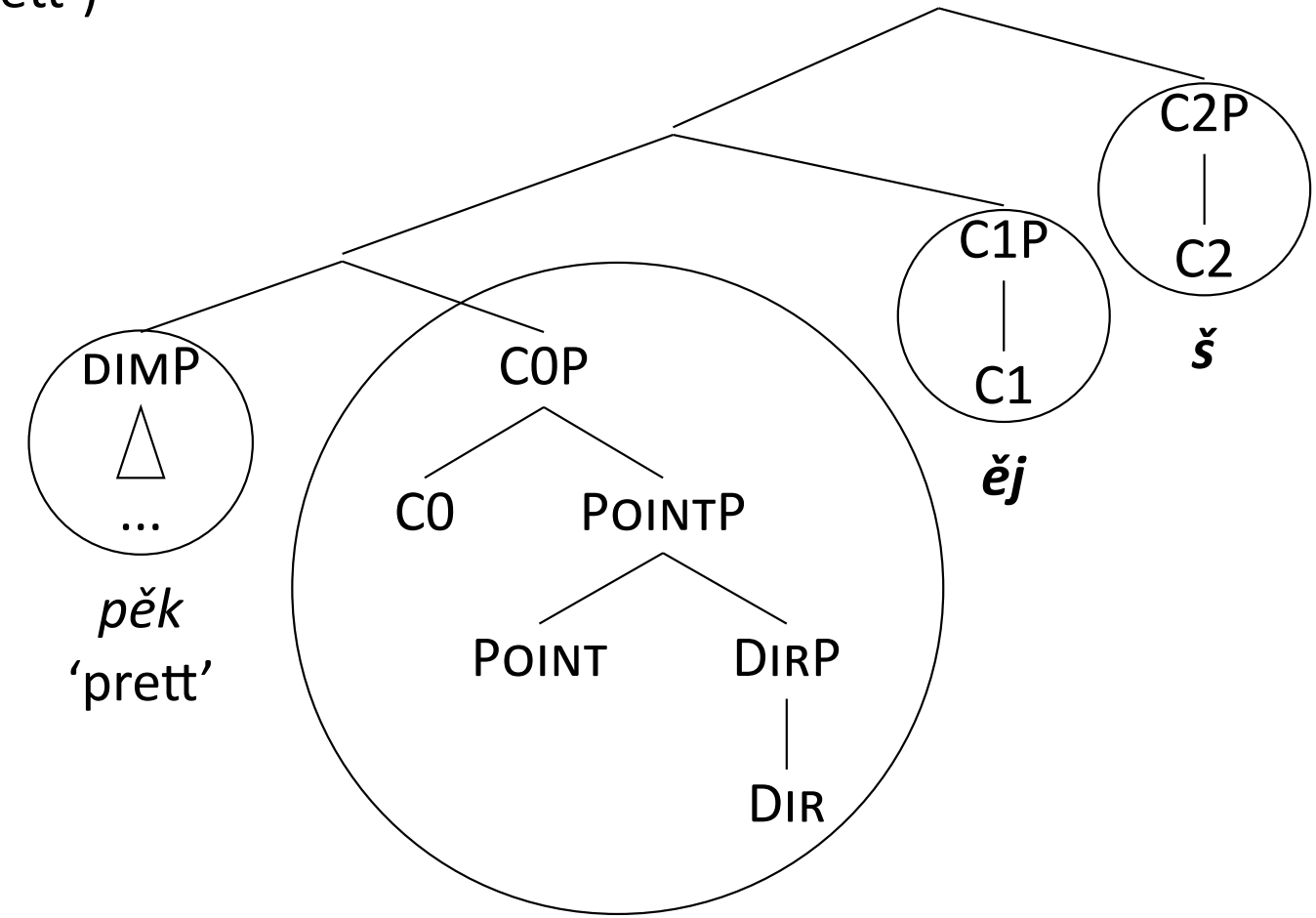
...

C0P ⟺ /n/



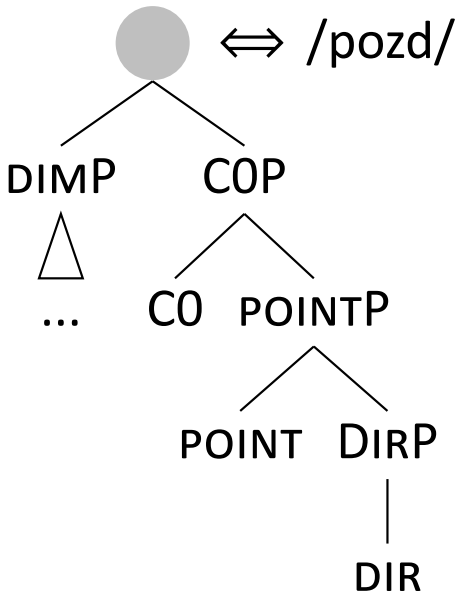
C1P ⟺ /-ěj/

C1



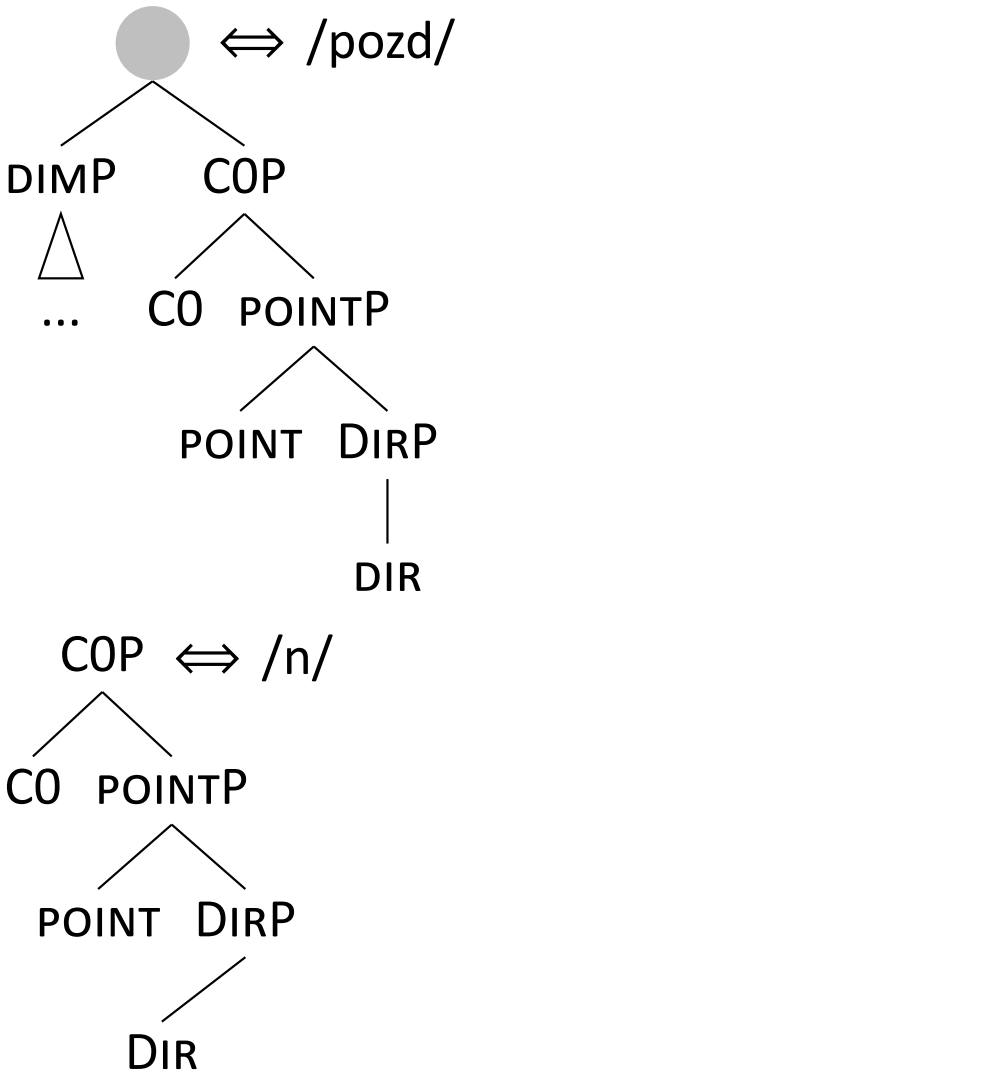
Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(44) pozd-n-í ∼ pozd **-ěj-š-**í
late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'late ∼ later'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(44) pozd-n-í ∼ pozd **-ěj-š-**í
late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'late ∼ later'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(44) pozd-n-í ∼ pozd **-ěj-š-**í
late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
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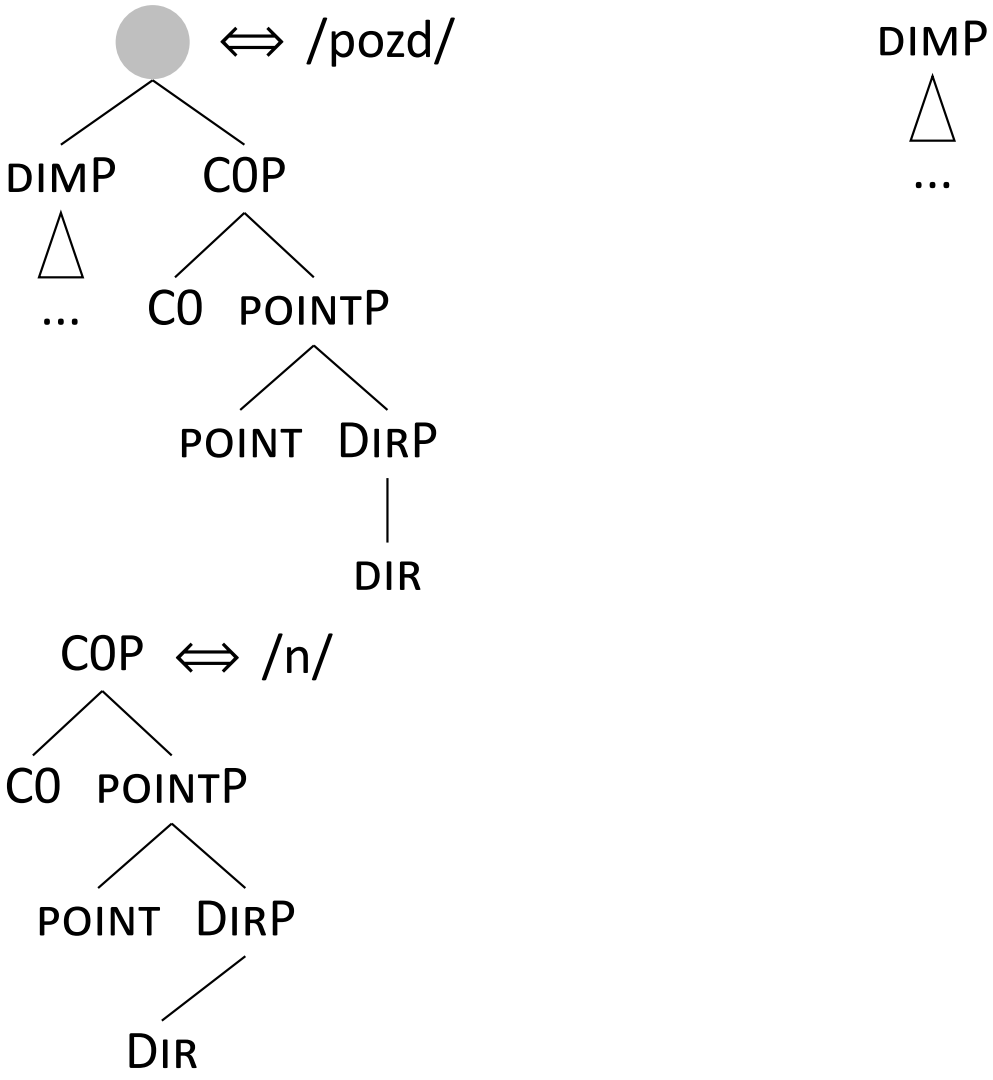

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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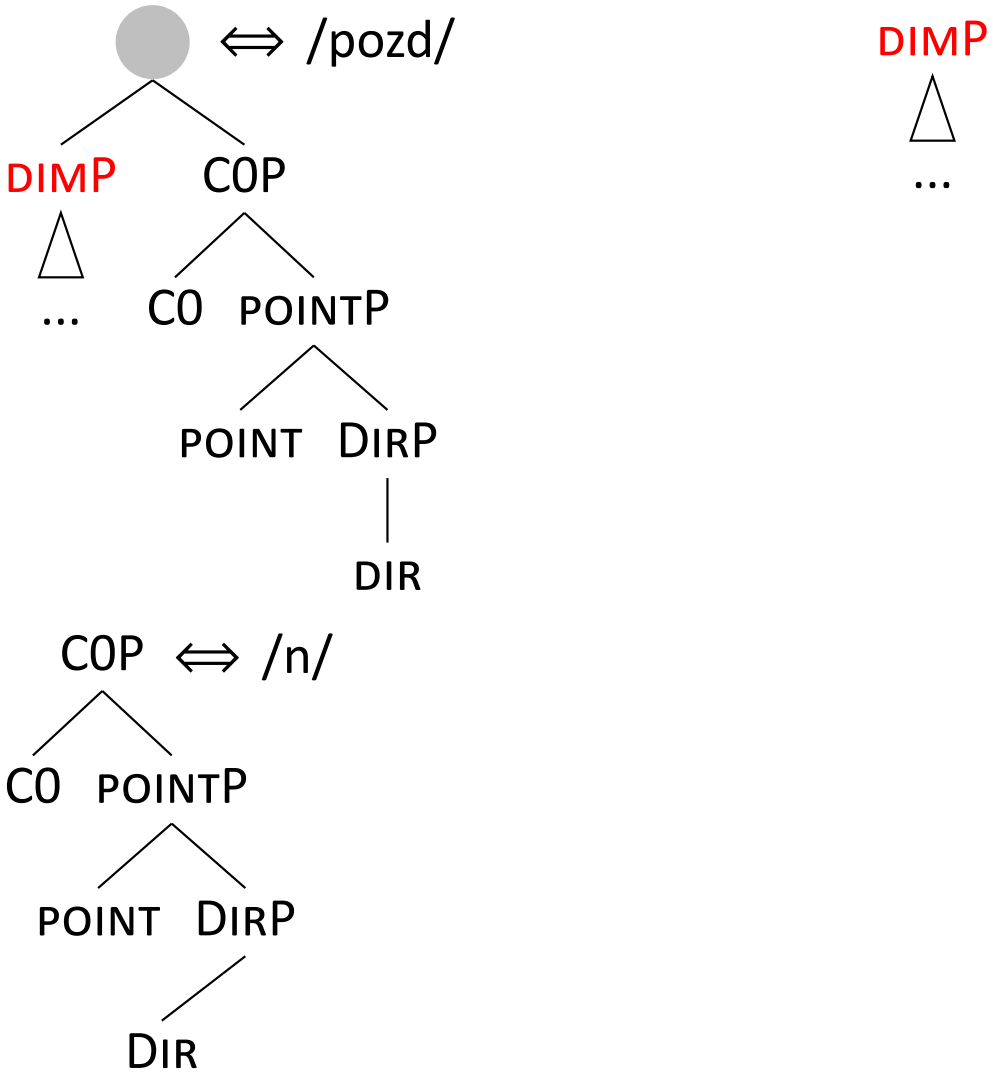

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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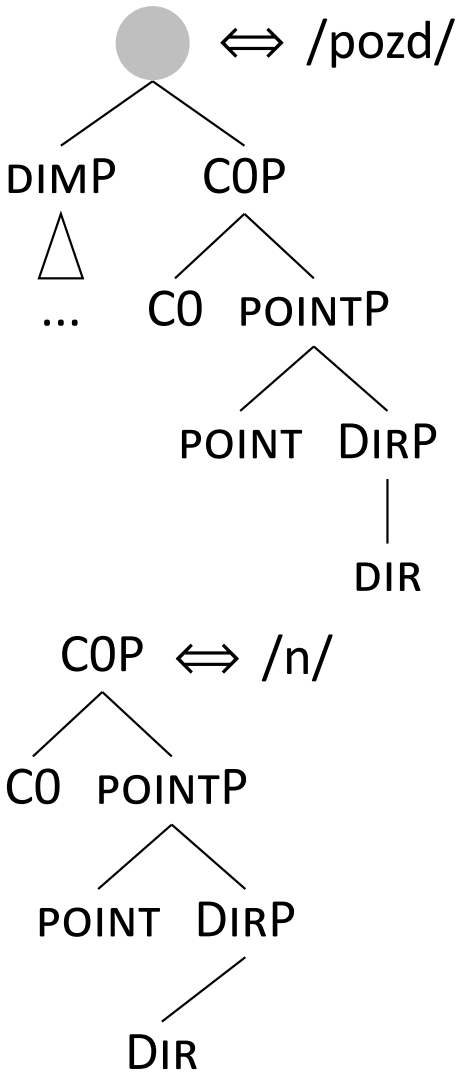

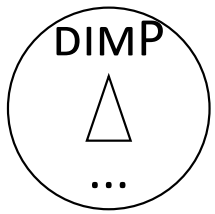

pozd
'late'

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
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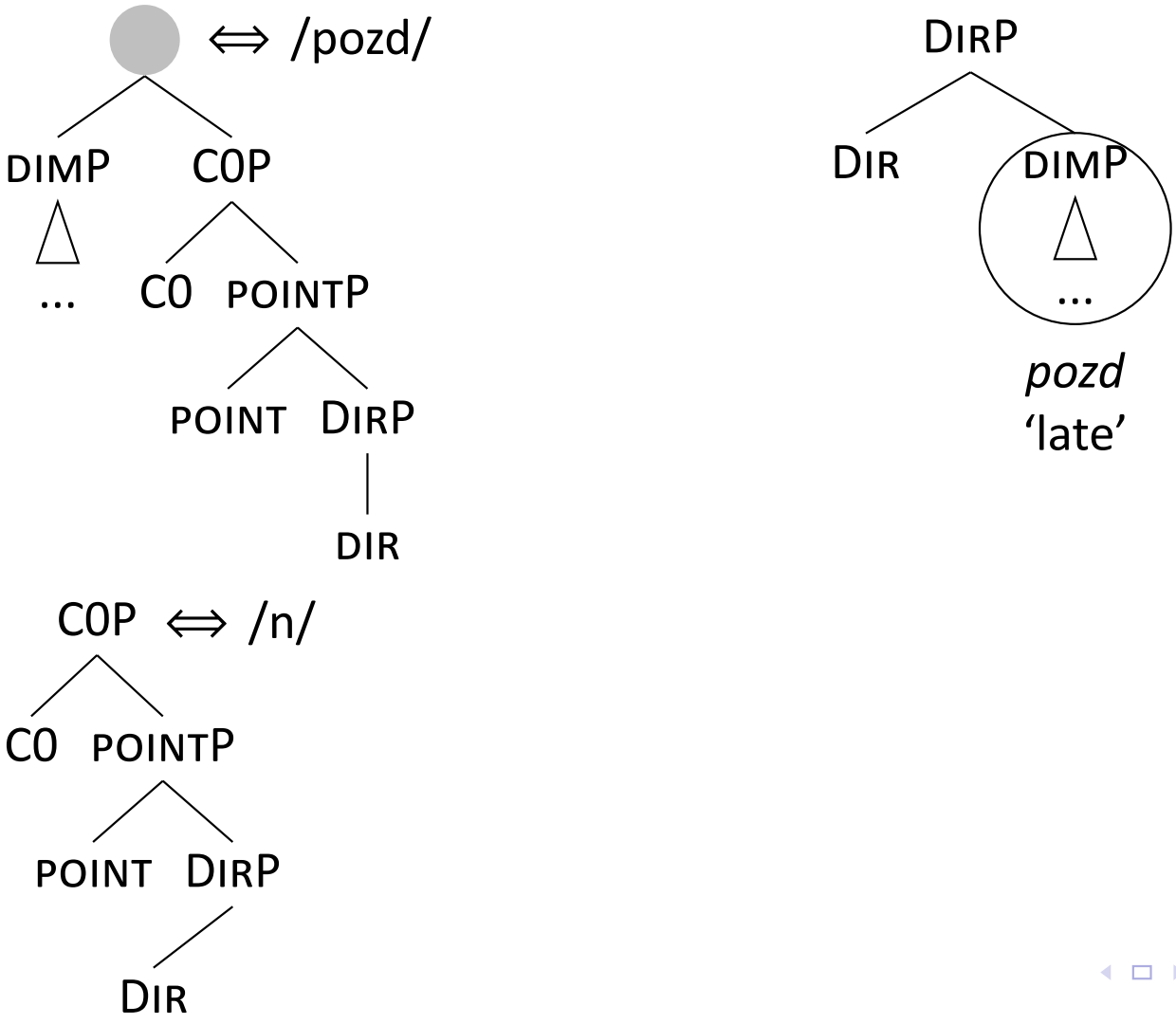

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(44) pozd-n-í ~ pozd **-ěj-š-**í
late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
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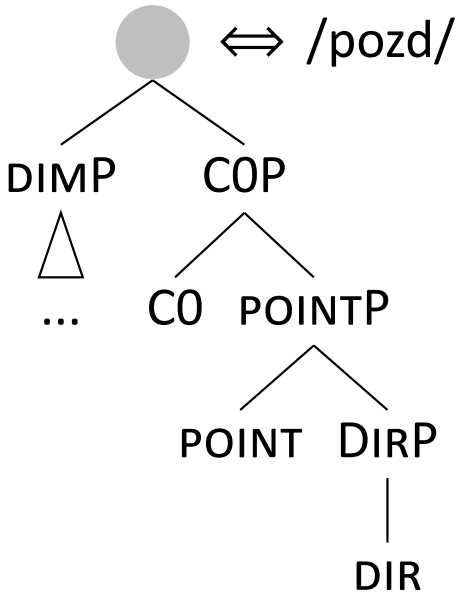

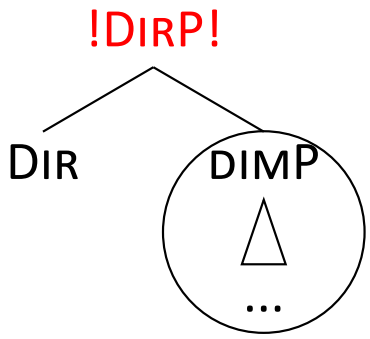

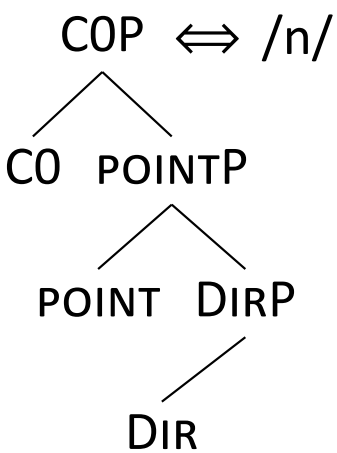

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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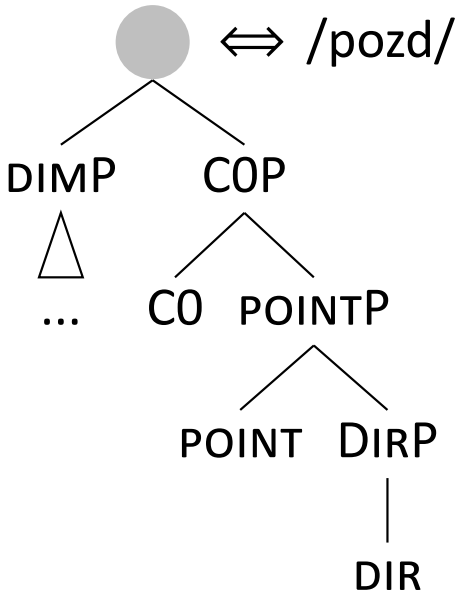
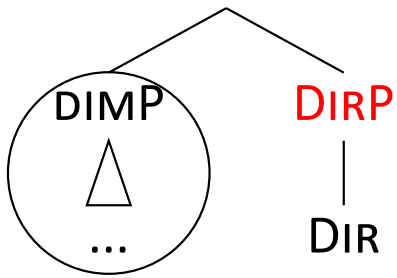
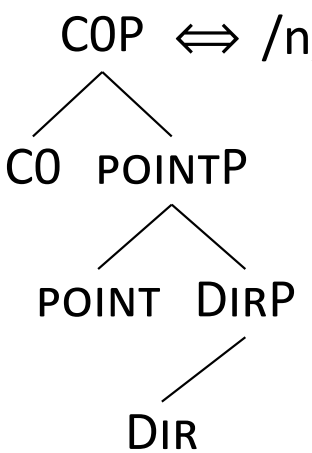
late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'late ~ later'





pozd
'late'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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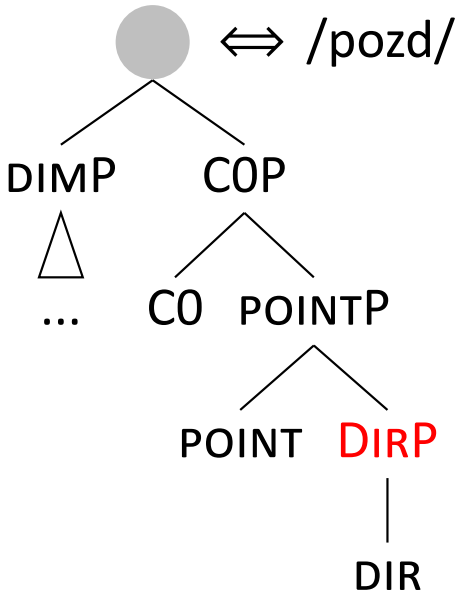

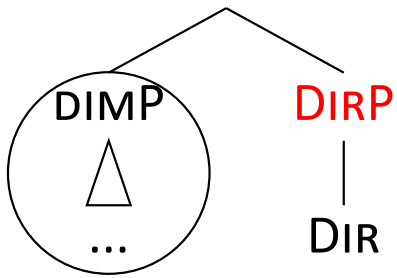

pozd
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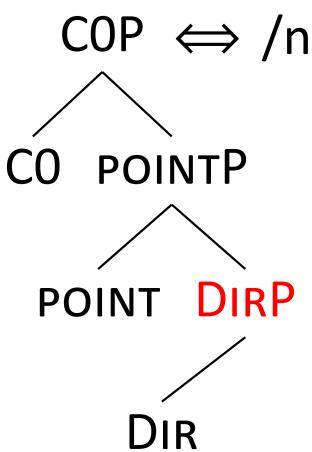

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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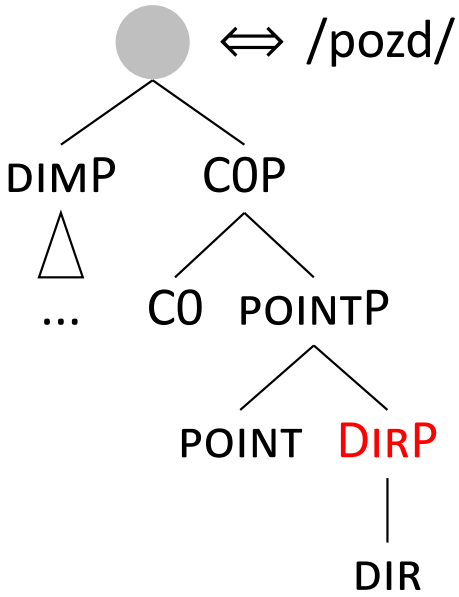
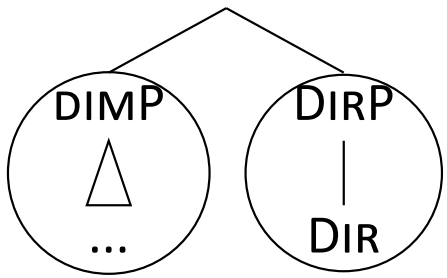
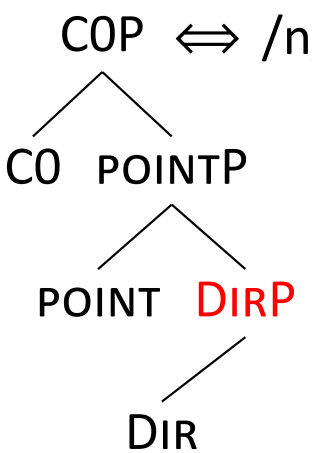
late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'late ~ later'





pozd *n*
'late'



Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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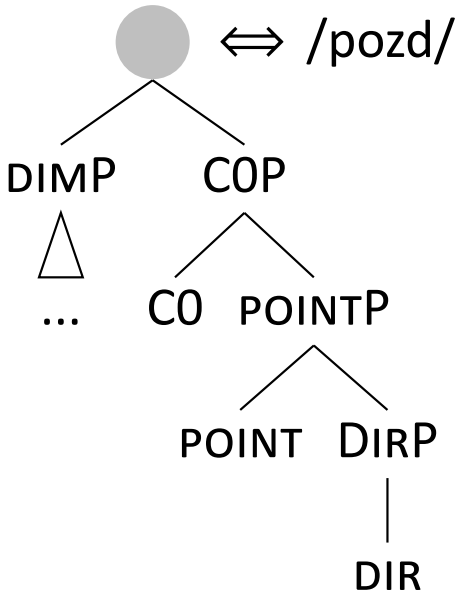

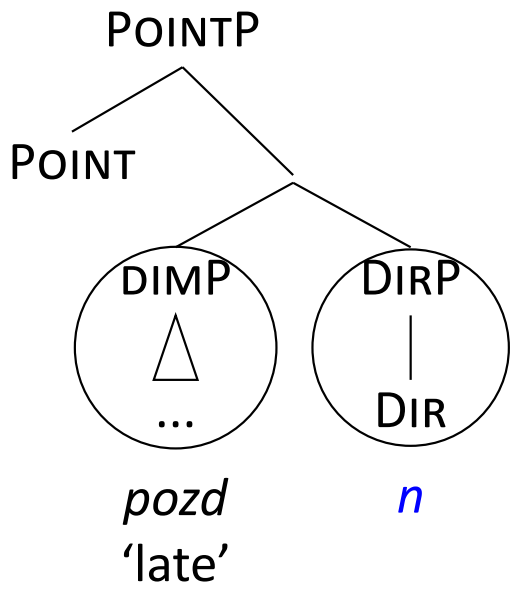

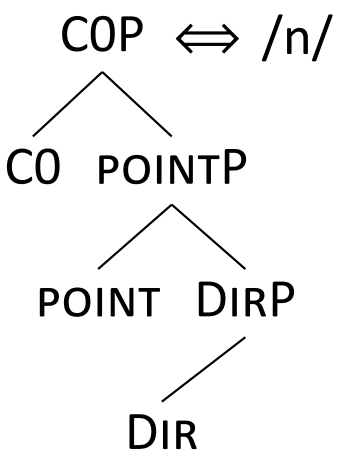

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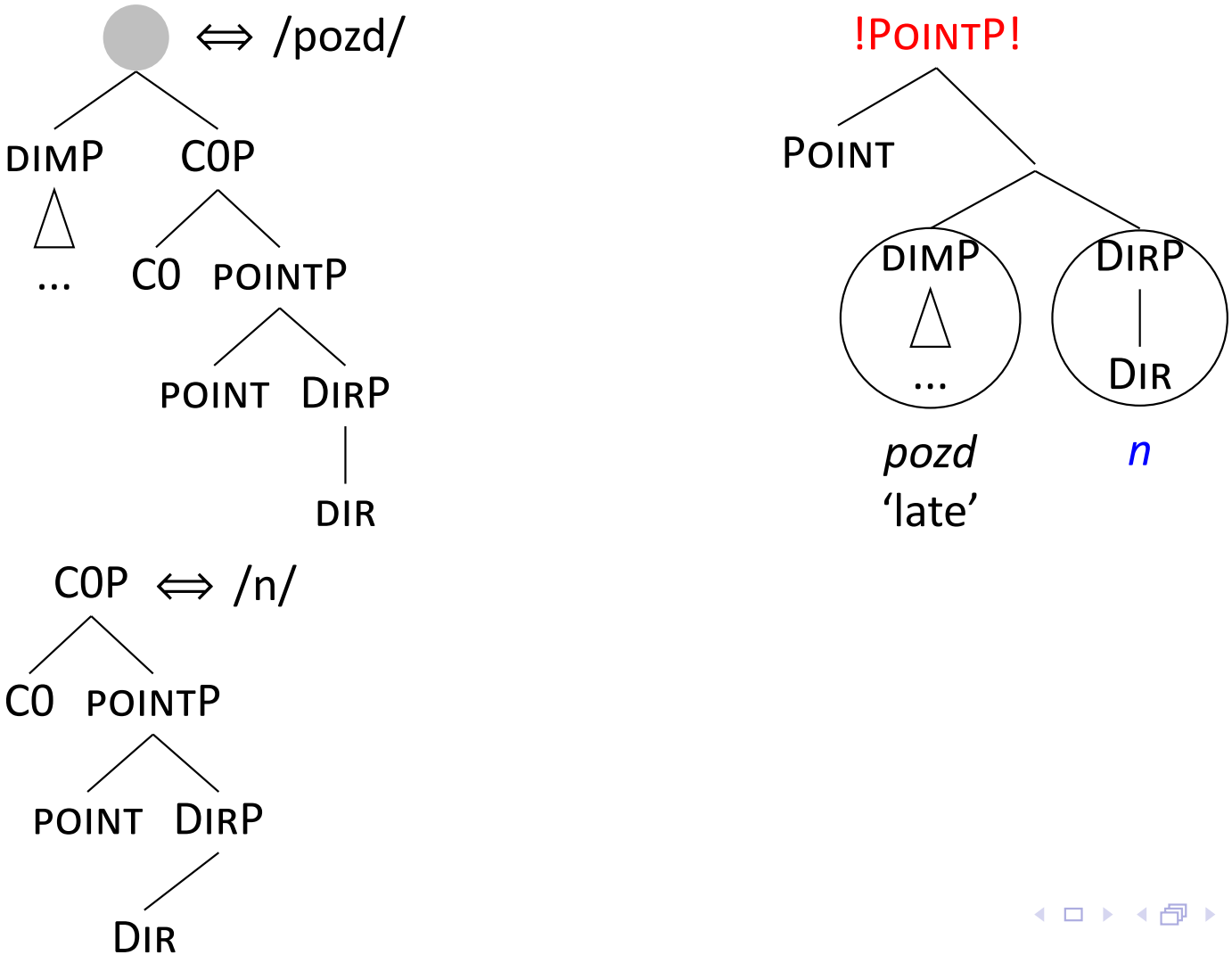

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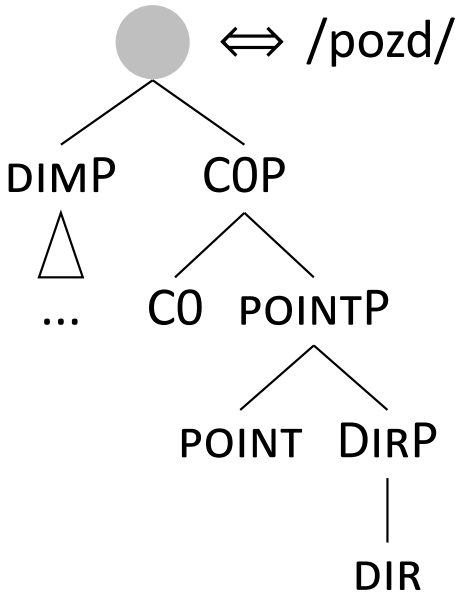

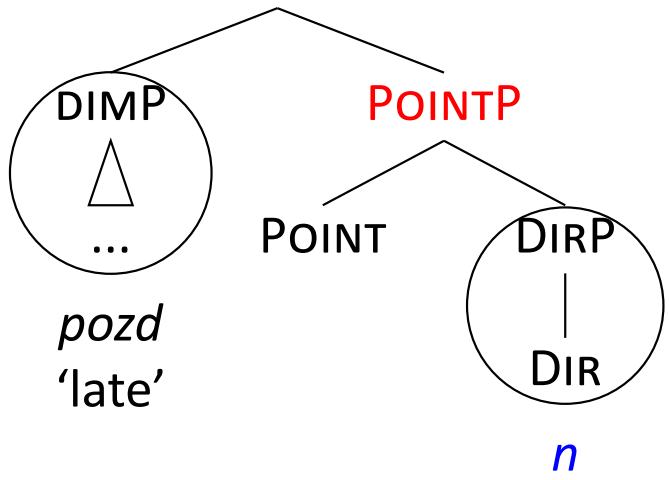

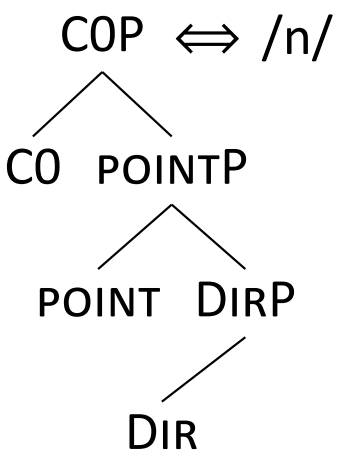

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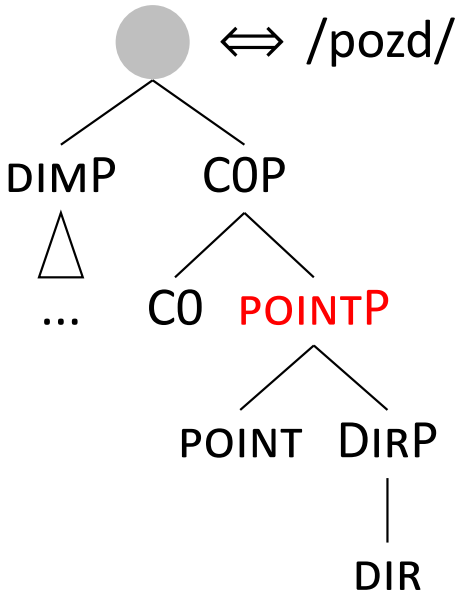

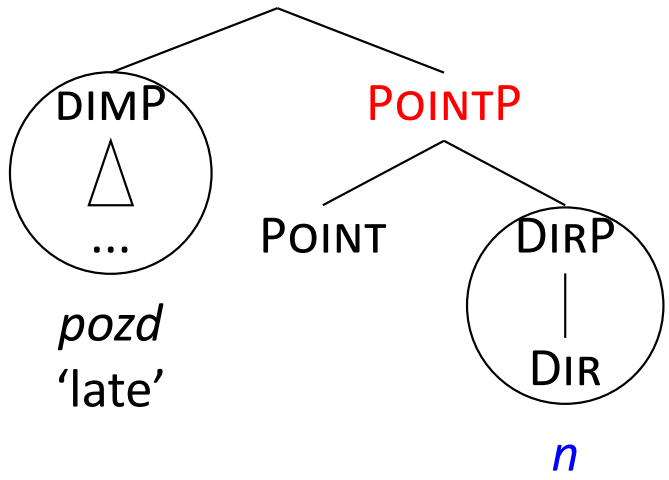

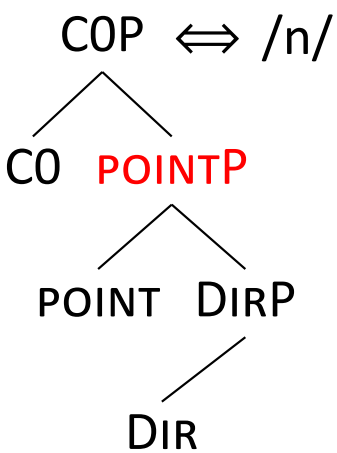

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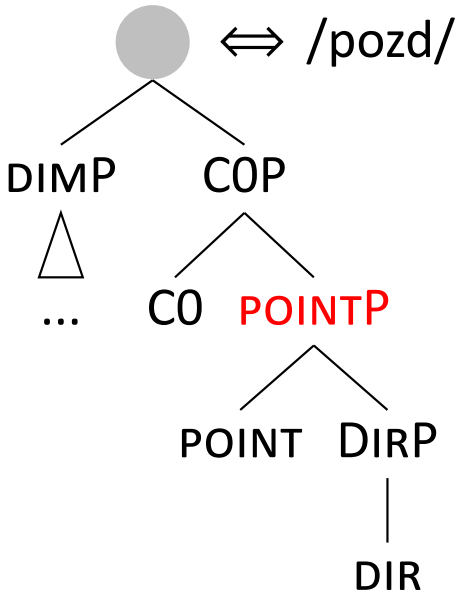

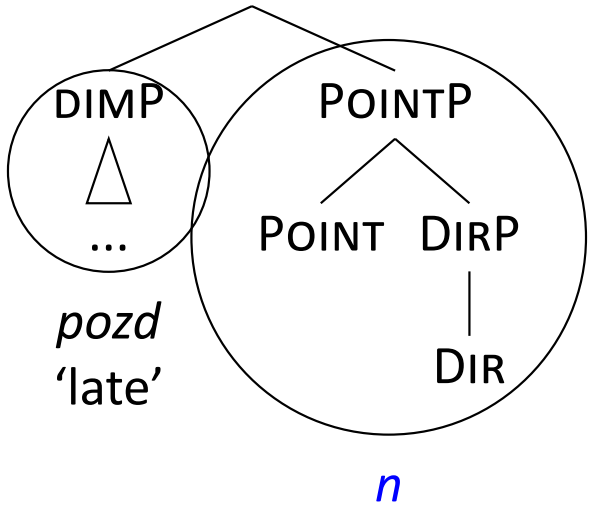

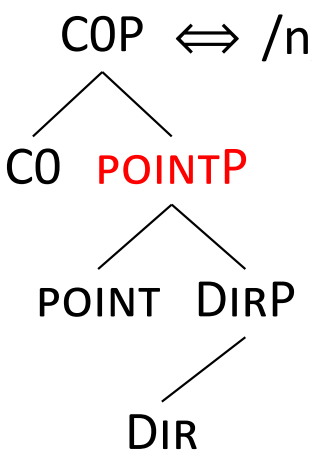

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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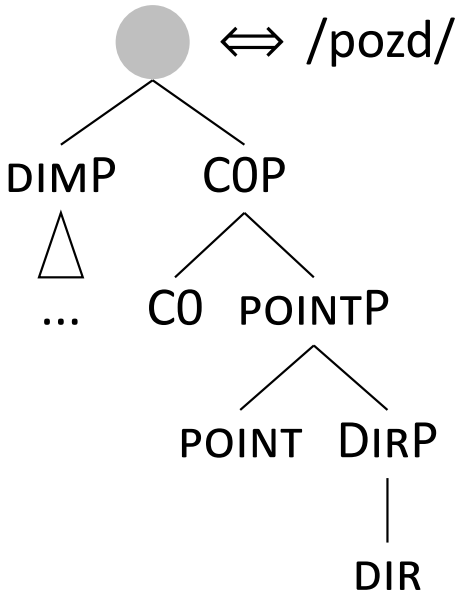

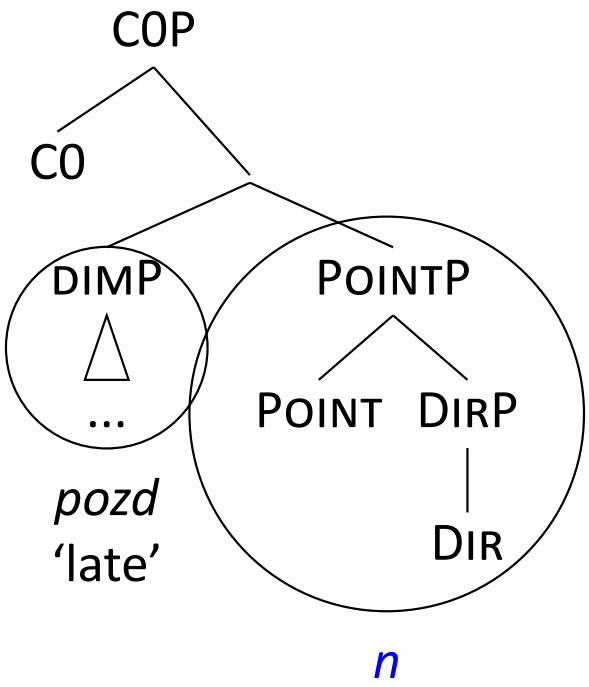

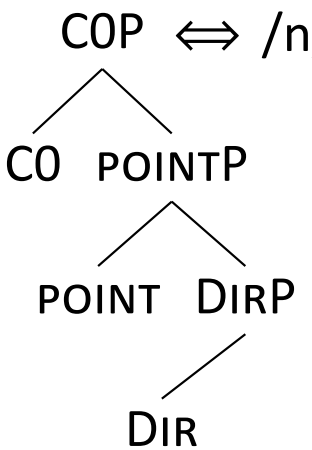

Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

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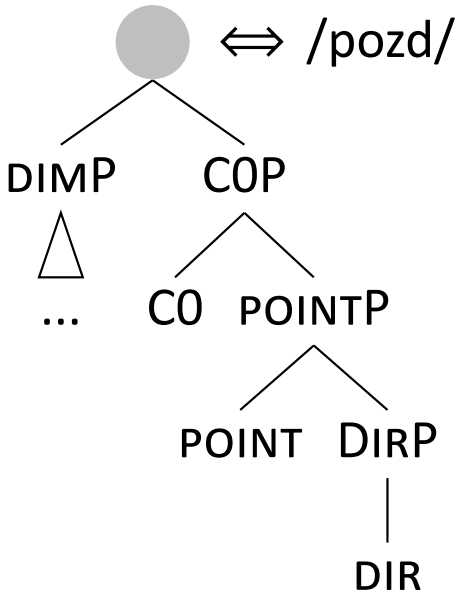

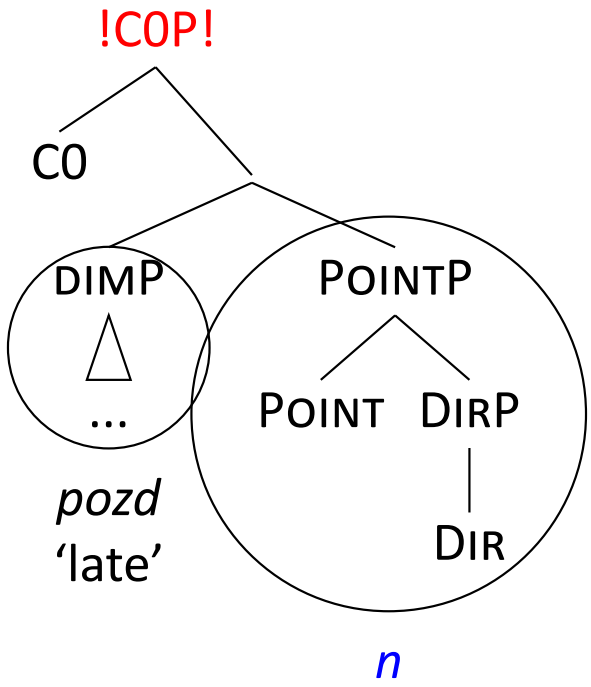

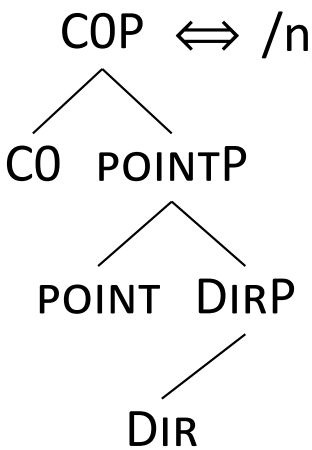

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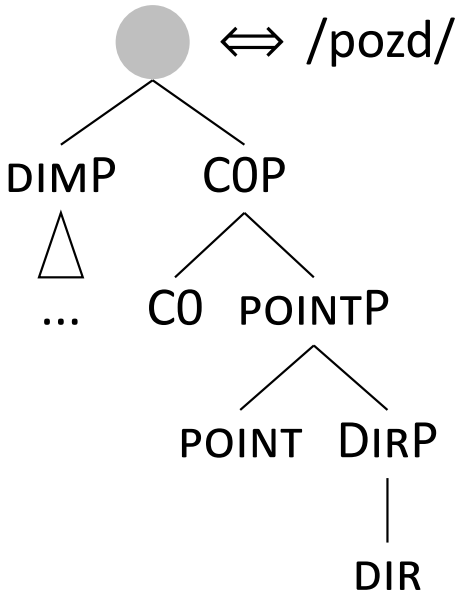

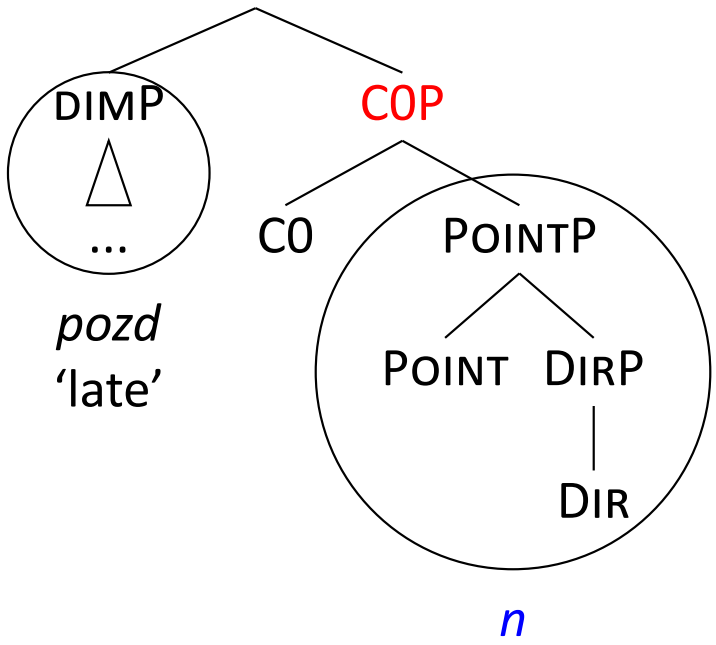

pozd
'late'

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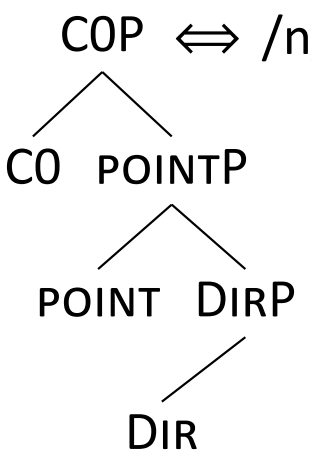

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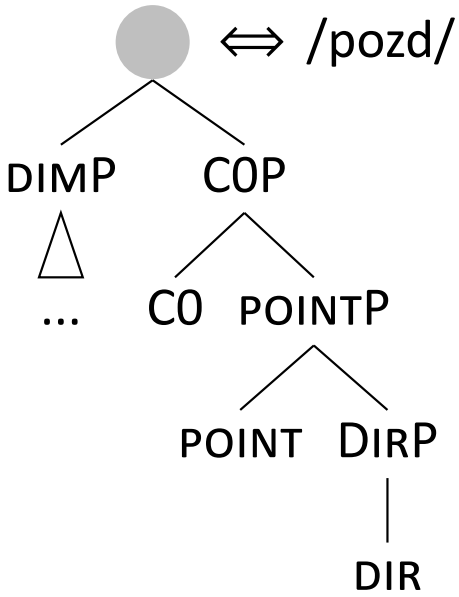

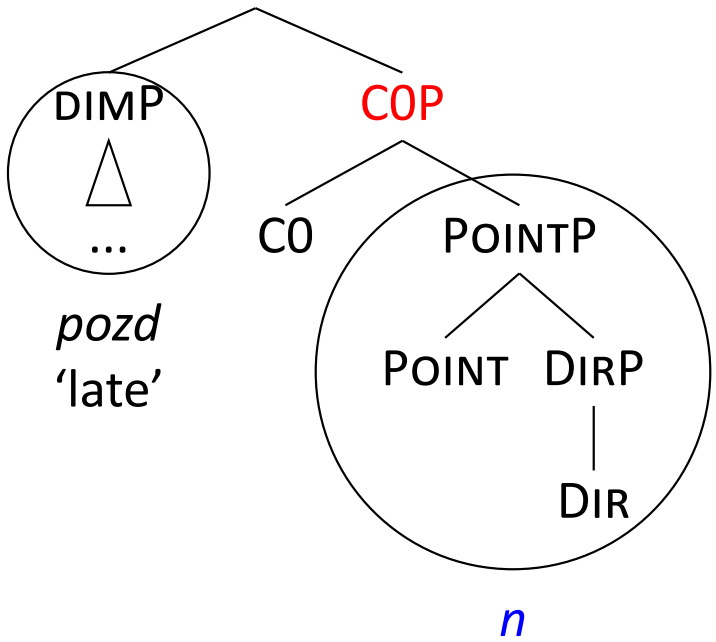

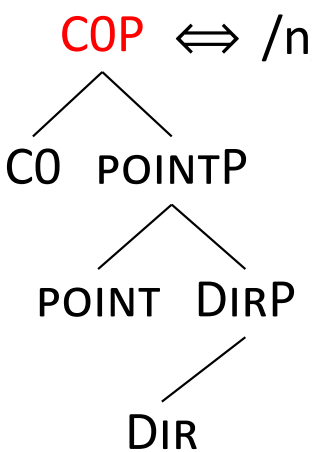

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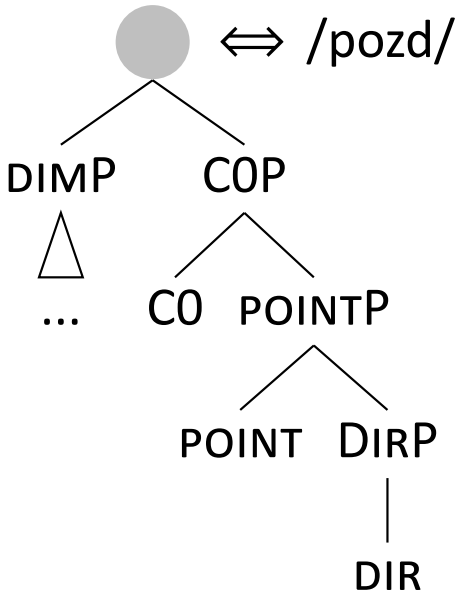

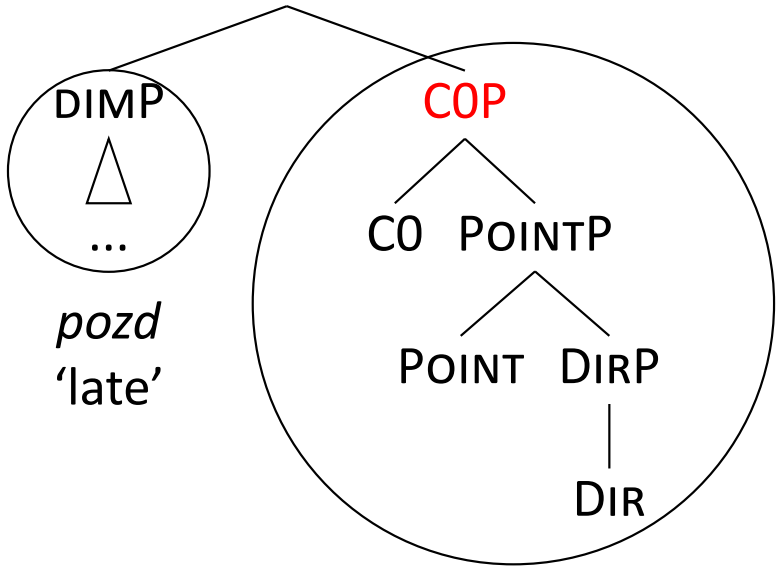

pozd
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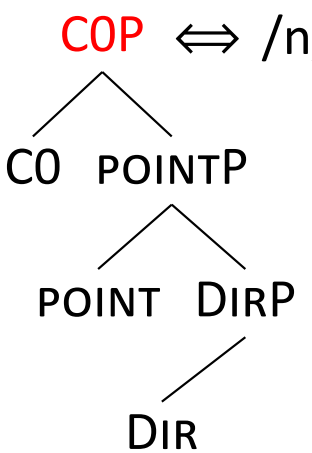

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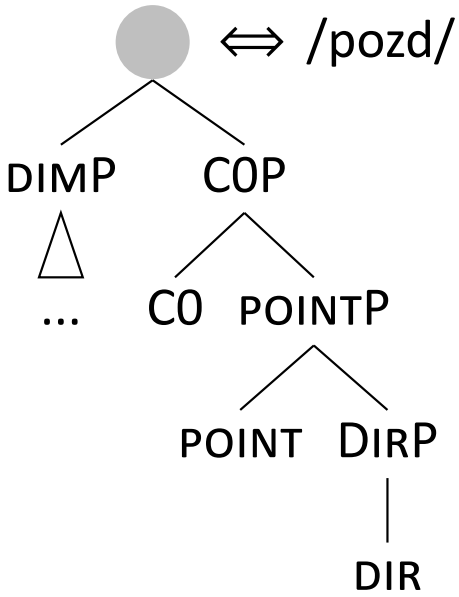

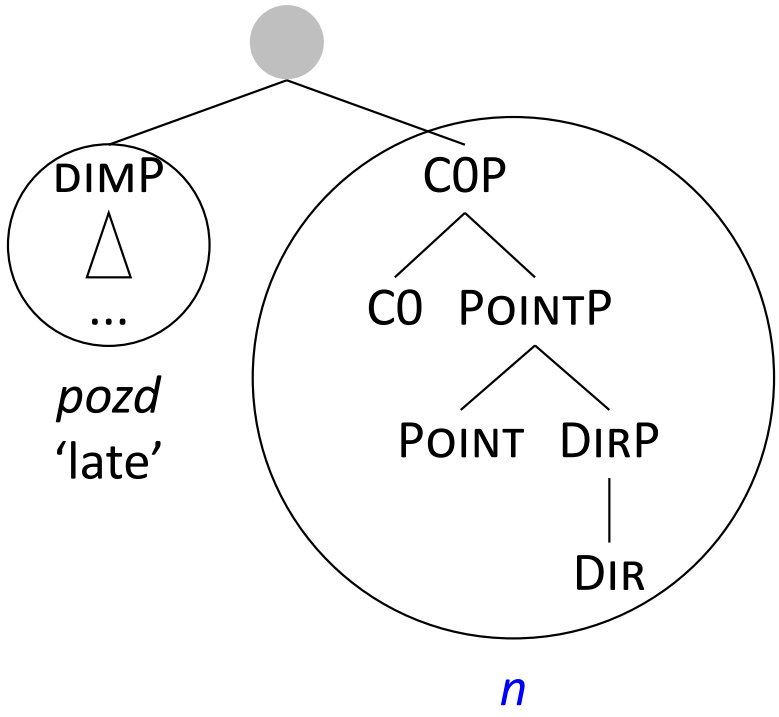

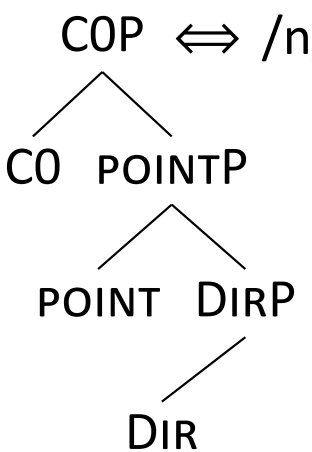

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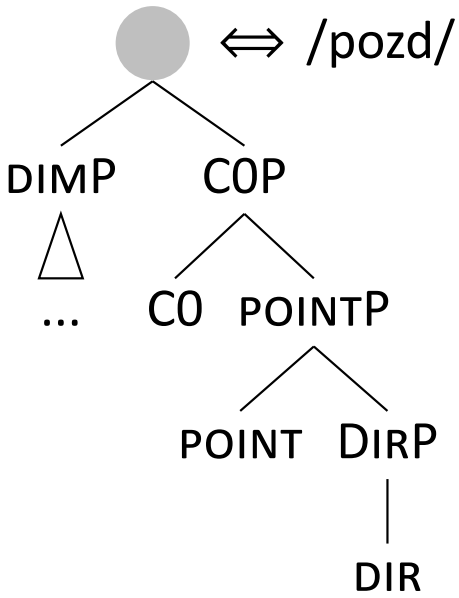

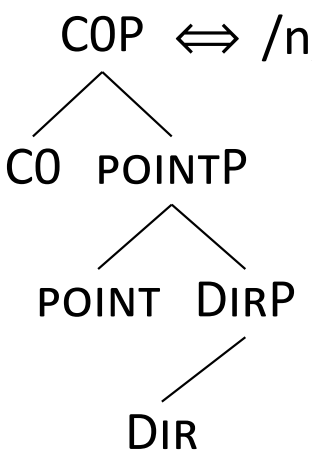

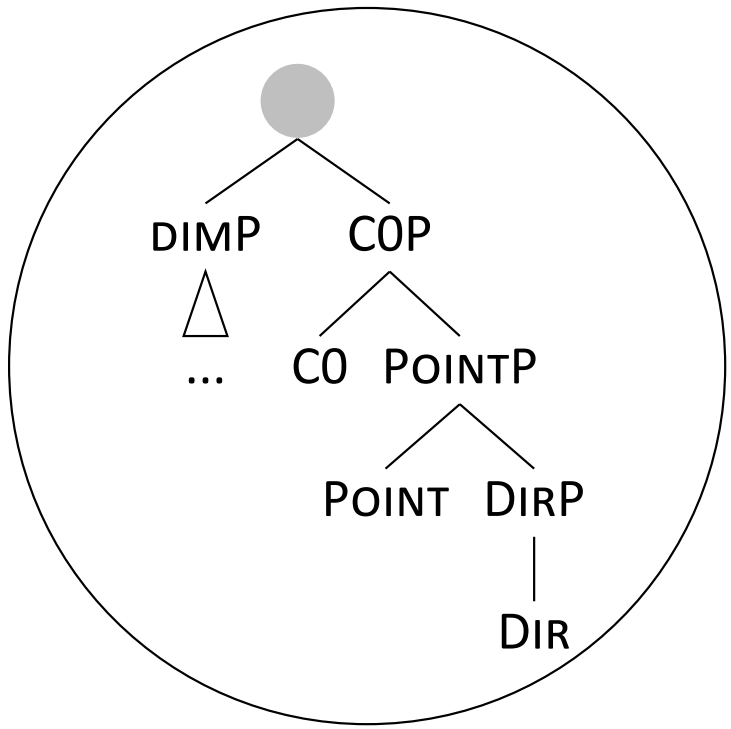

pozd
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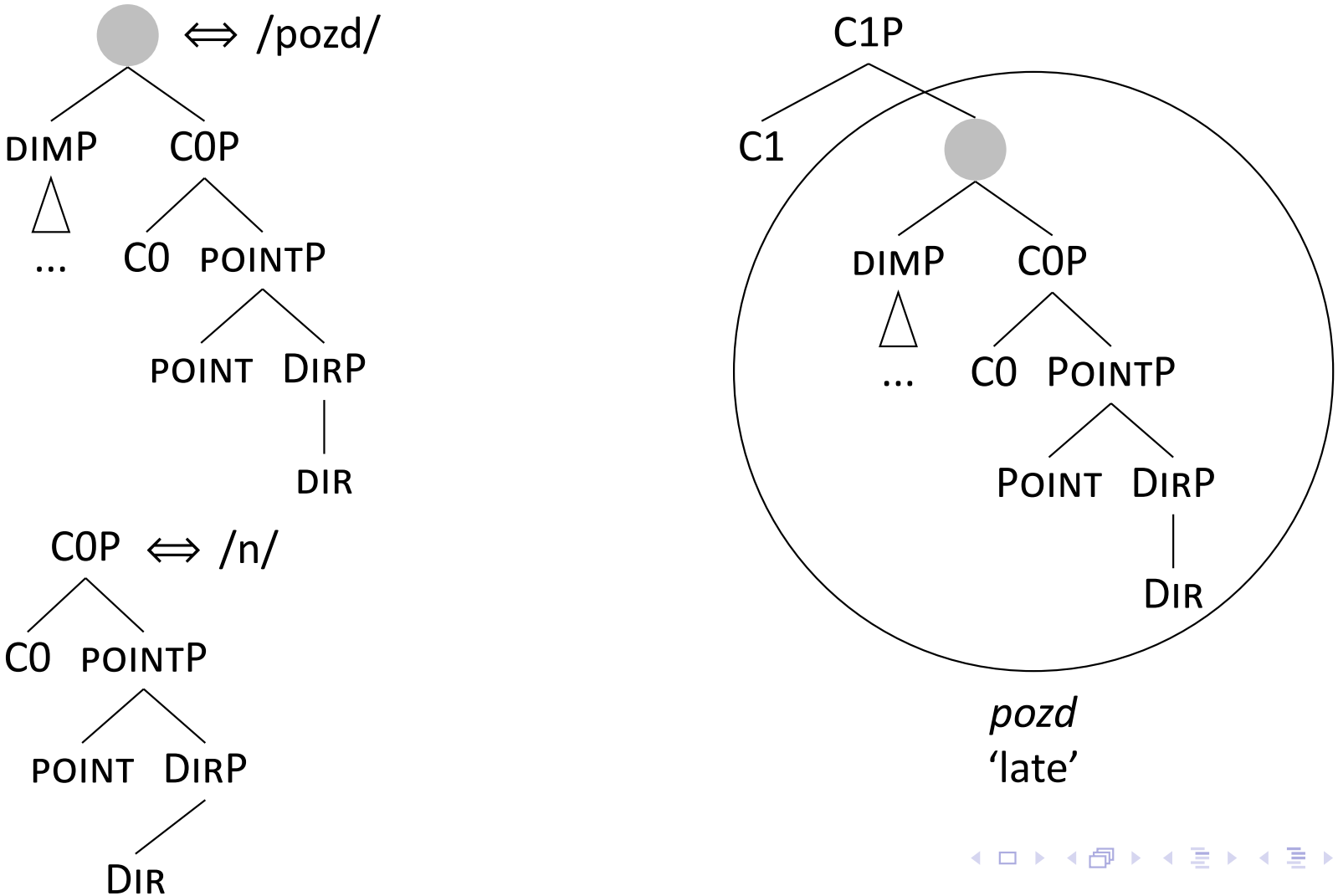
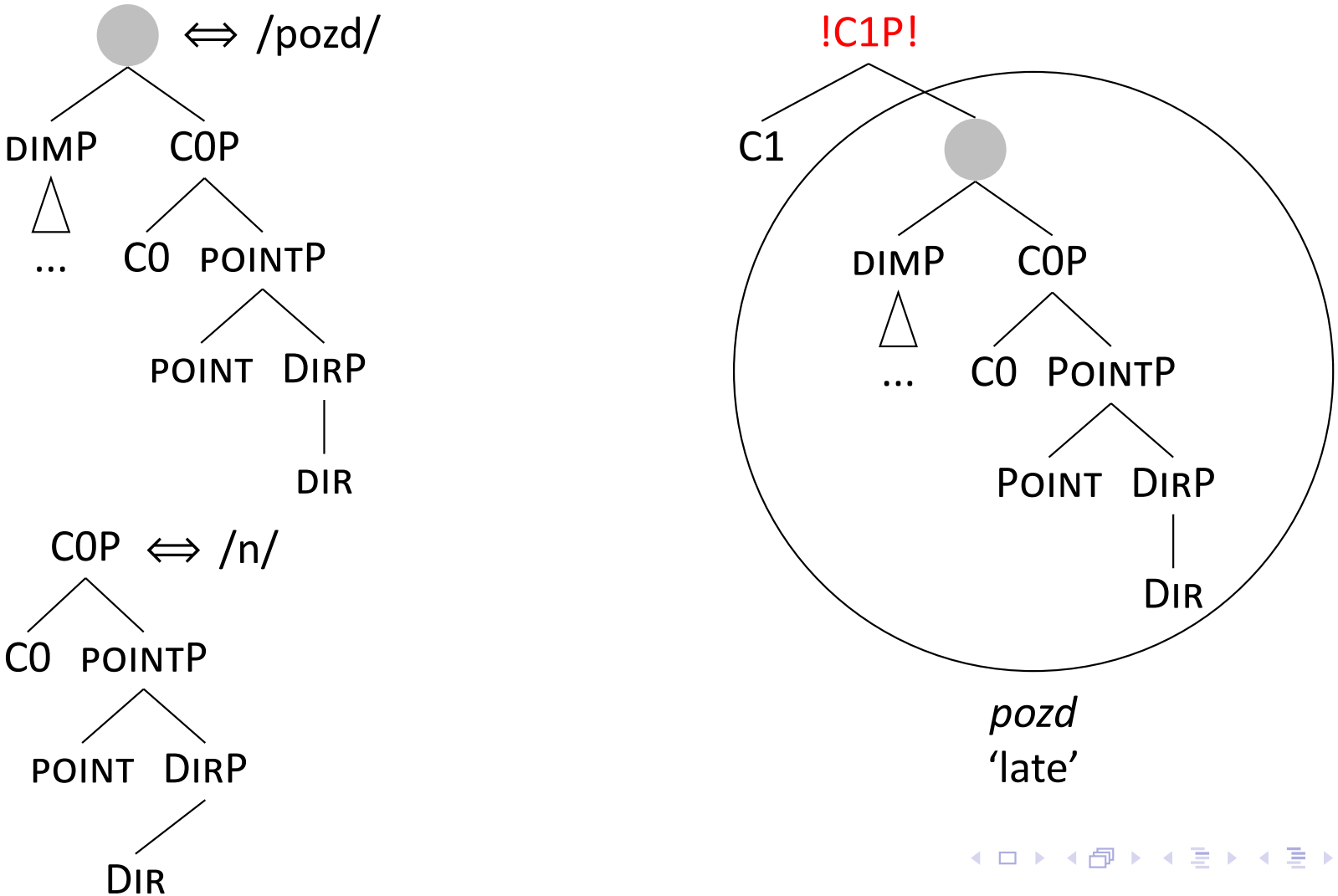


Movement Containing Trees (Blix 2021)

(44) pozd-n-í ~ pozd **-ěj-š-**í
late-N-AGR late-CMPR-CMPR-AGR
'late ~ later'



pozd
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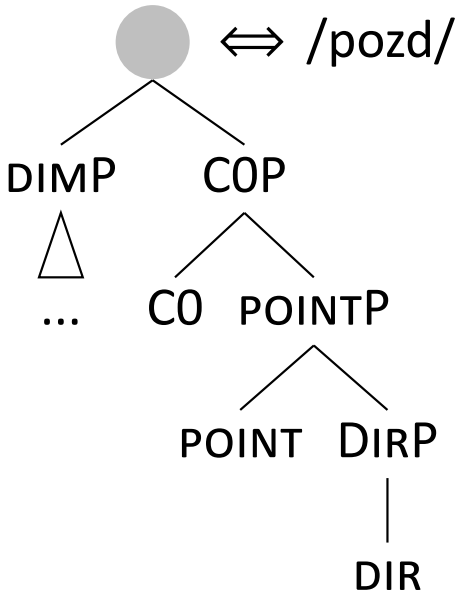

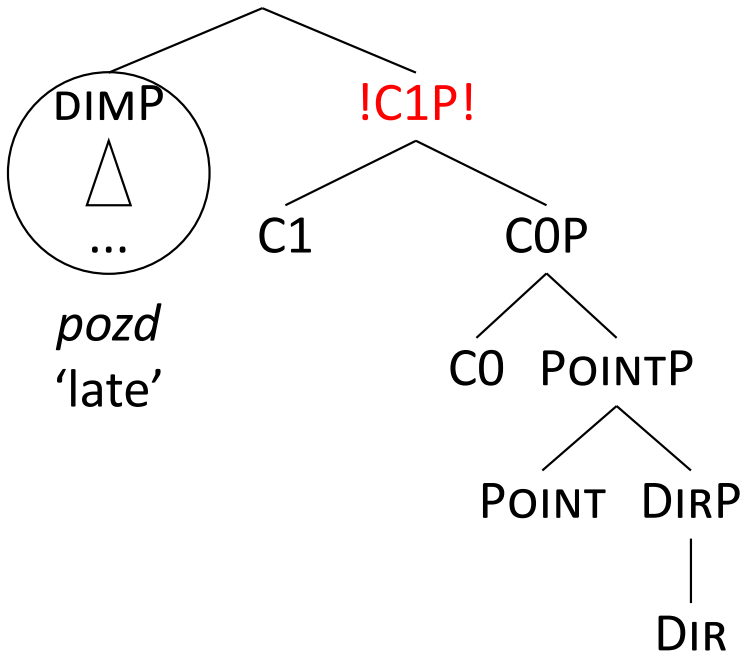

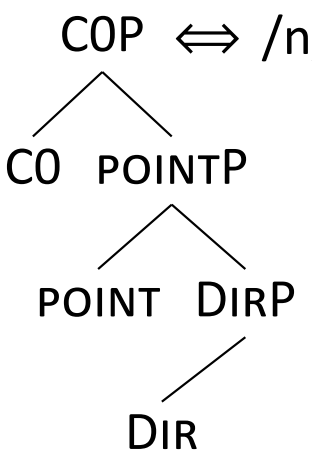

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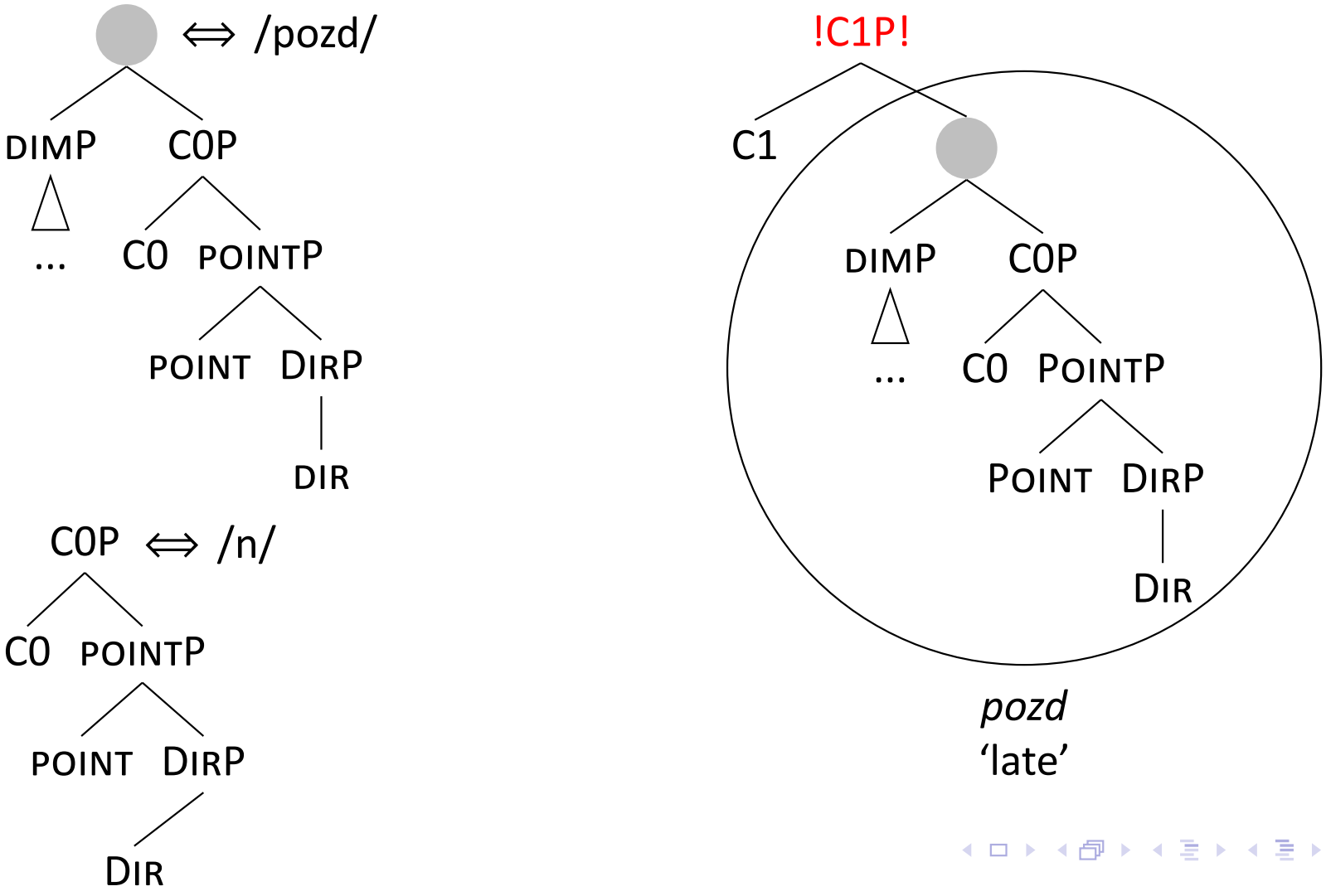

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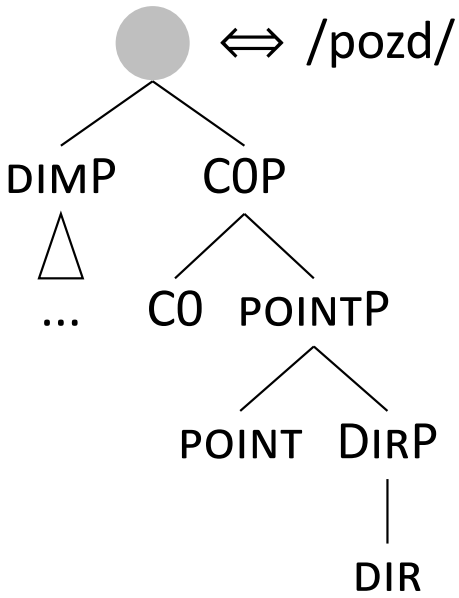

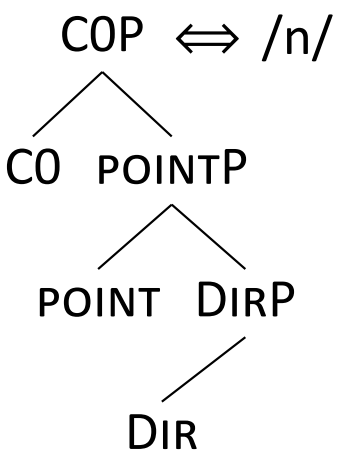

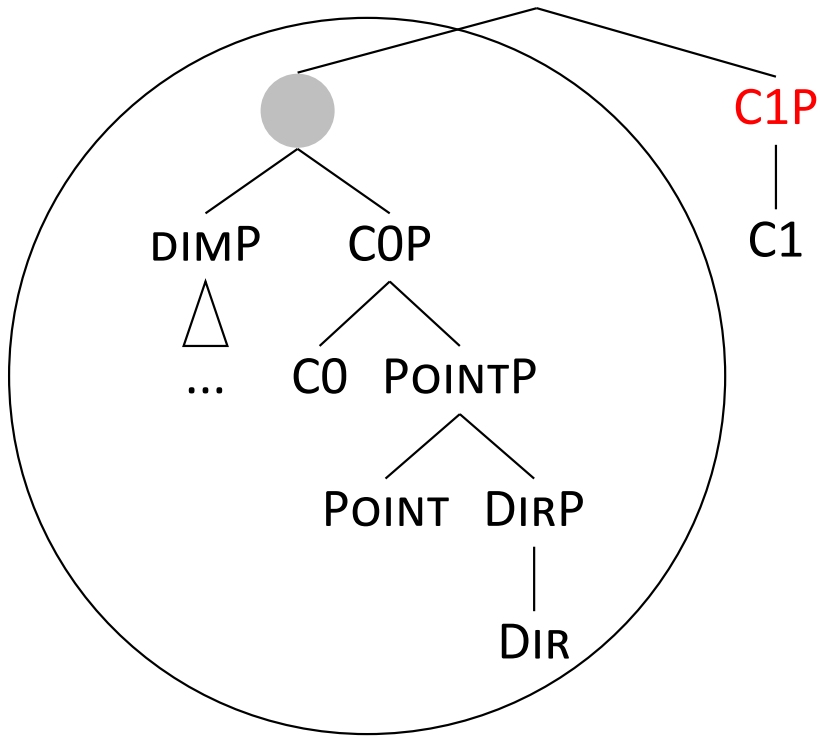

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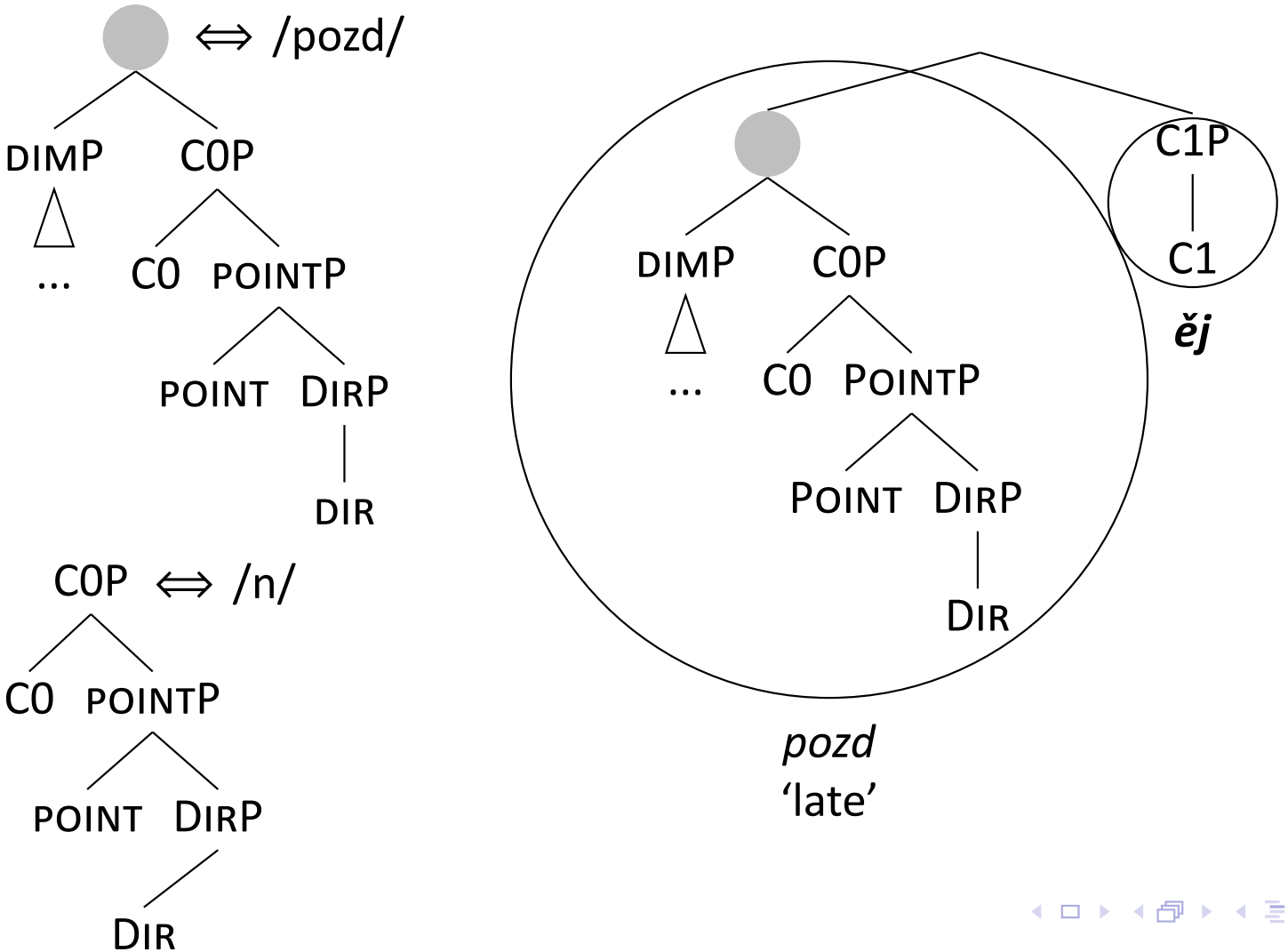

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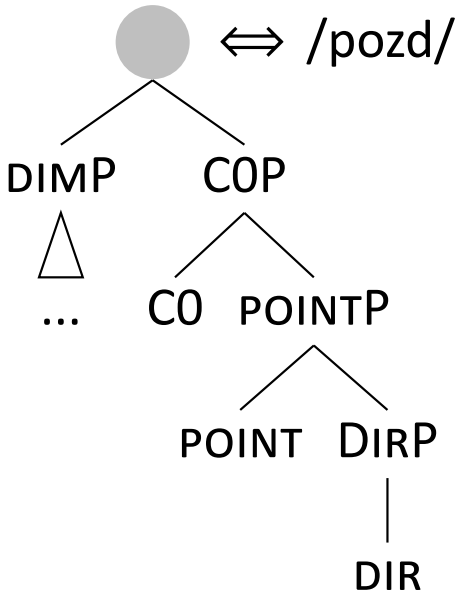

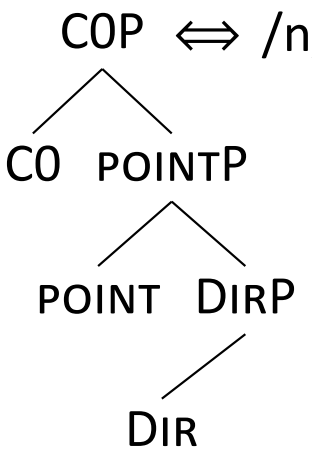

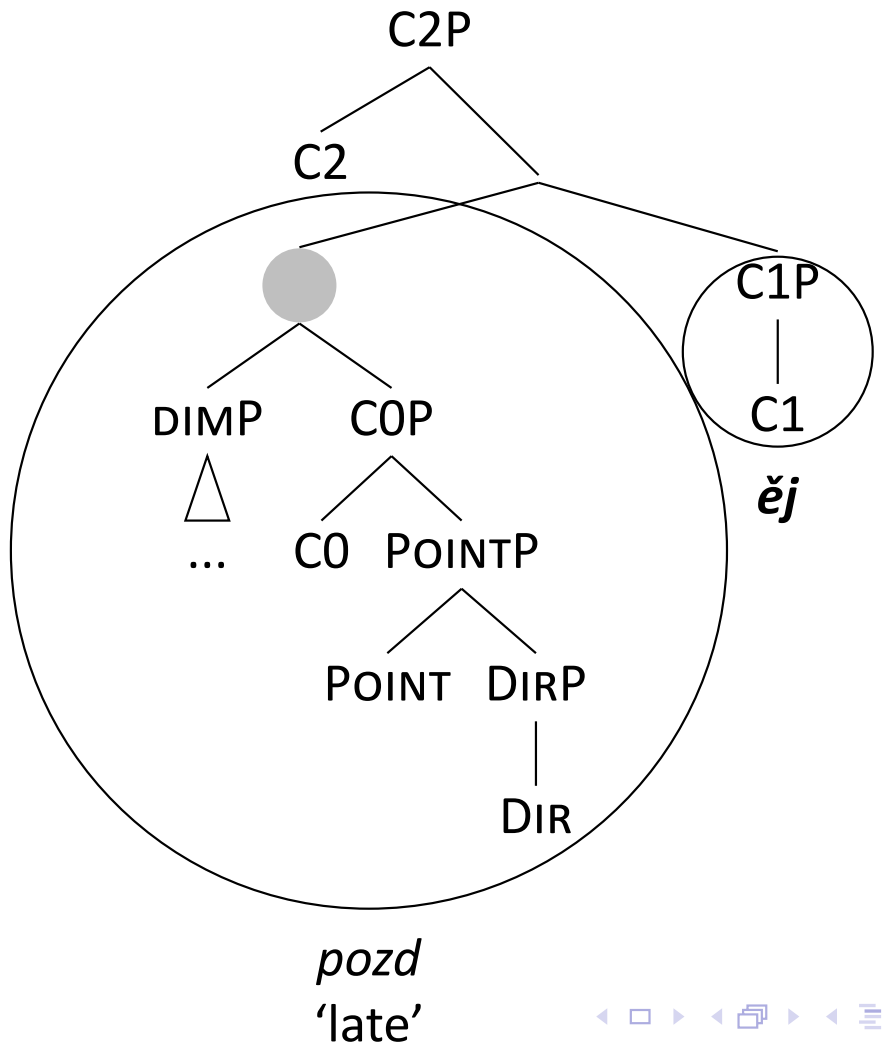

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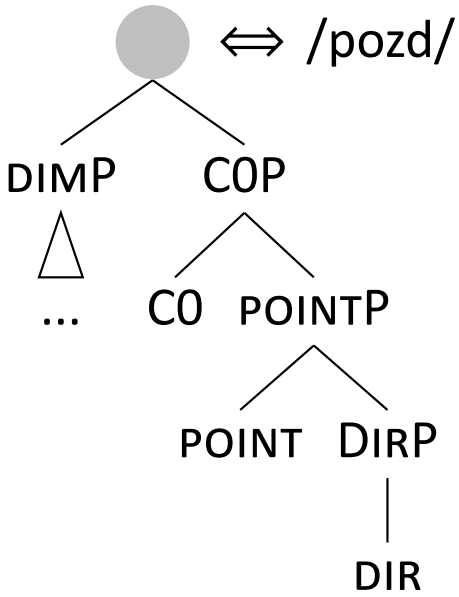

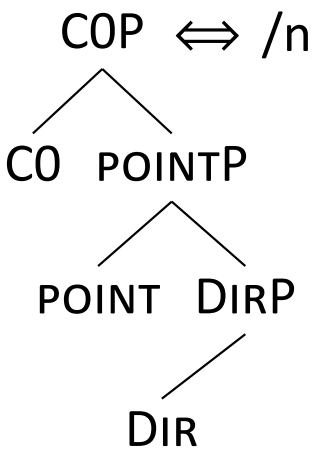

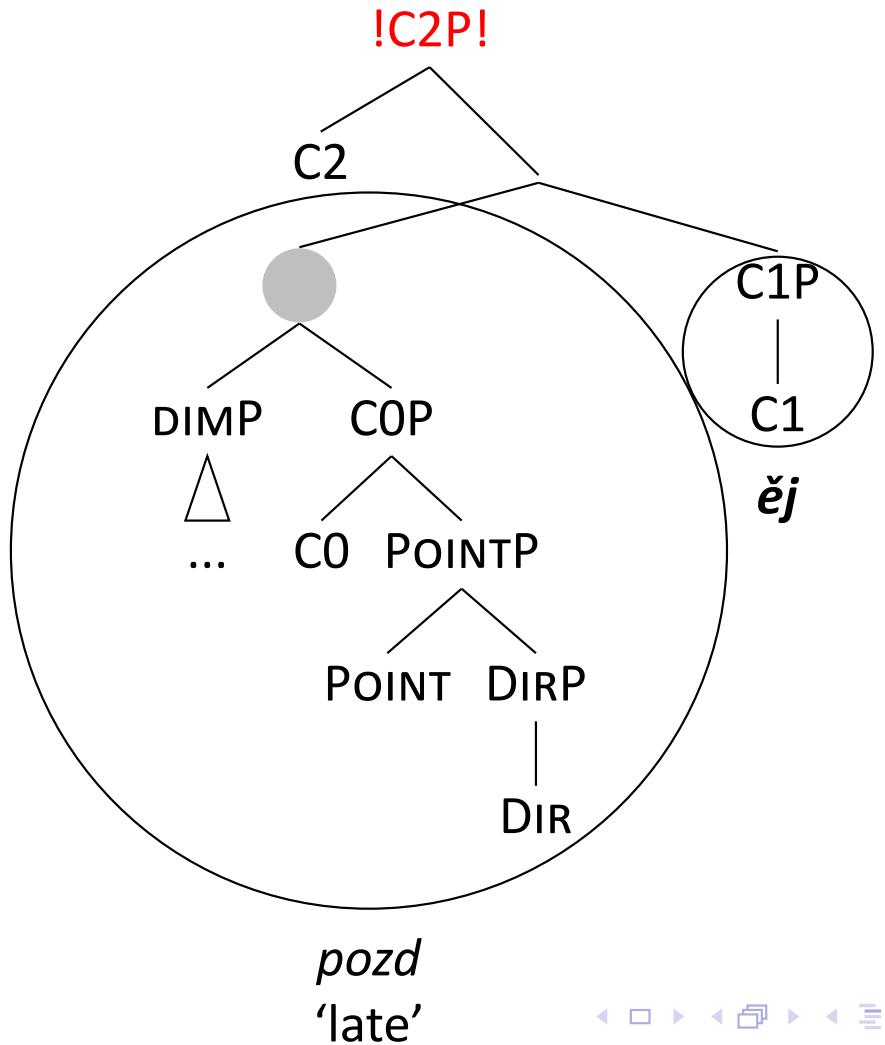

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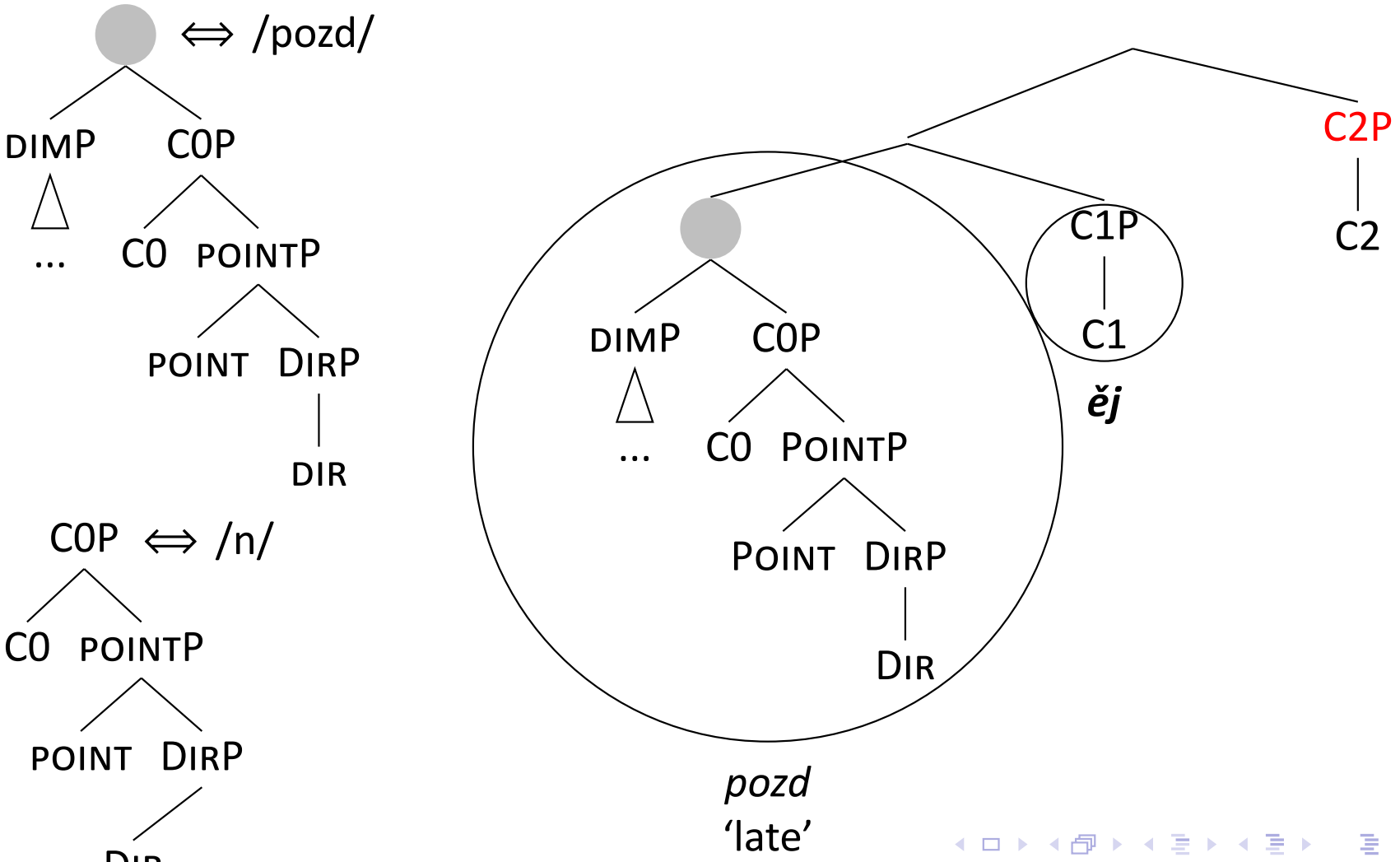

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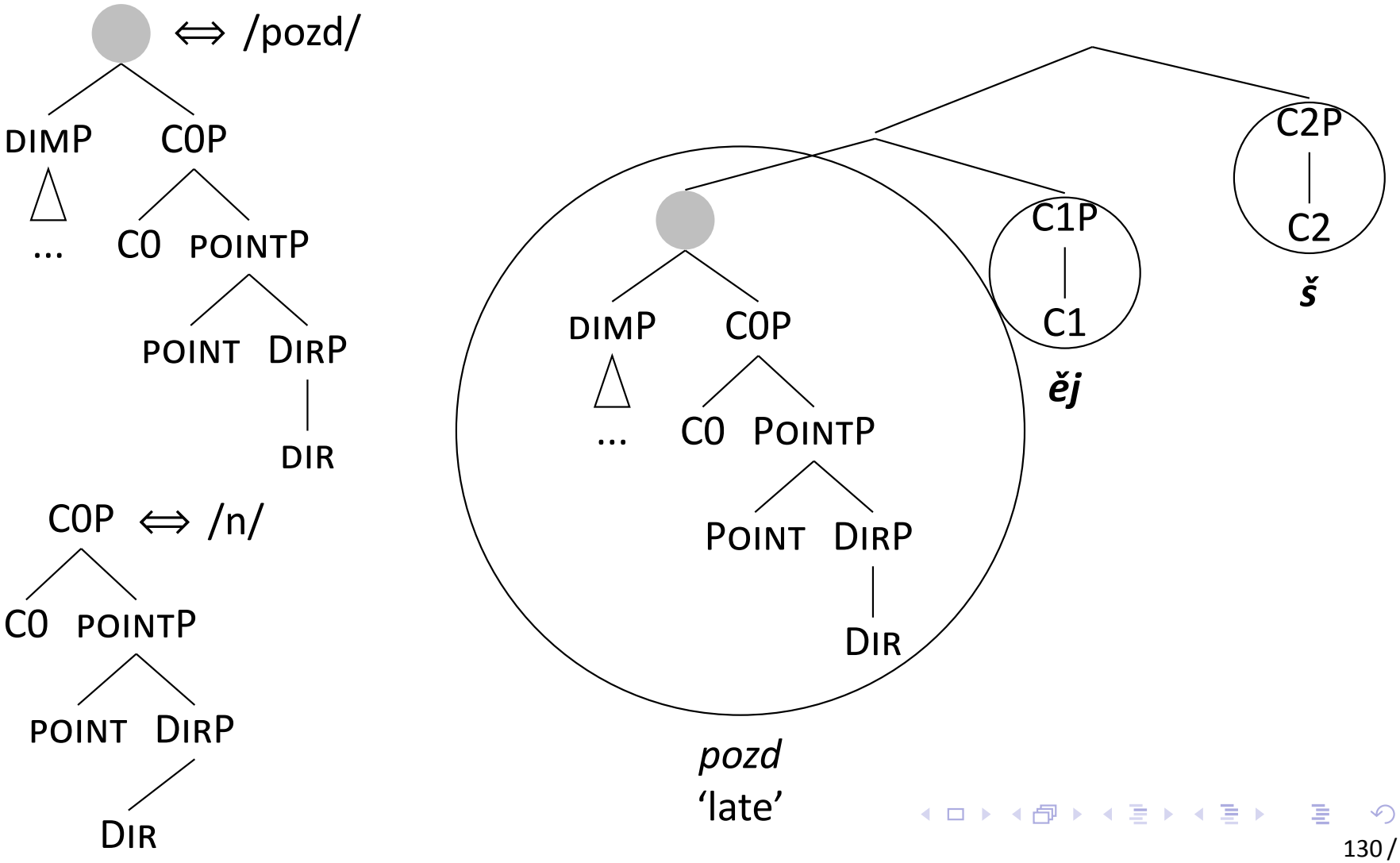

Outline

Conclusions

- Three types of positive degree: $\text{ø} \sim \text{n} \sim \text{k}$

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- Three types of positive degree: ø ∼ n ∼ k
- Different structural height revealed by diminutives

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Thank you!

References

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