

## TWO TYPES OF UNACCUSATIVES: EVIDENCE FROM SLAVIC DEGREE ACHIEVEMENTS

Deadjectival pairs like (1) can be found in many if not all Slavic languages, raising the question of what the connection between them might be. Three logical options are possible: the transitive can be derived from the intransitive (cf. Ramchand 2008:91 for English degree achievements, Caha et al. 2023 for Czech), the intransitive can be derived from the transitive (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1994, 1995, Reinhart 2016, Chierchia 2004; Simonović & Mišmaš 2022 for Slovenian), or the two can be derived independently from the same stem (Harley 1995, 2008, 2012, Doron 2003a, b). We will argue that *e-/i*-pairs motivate two underlying structures for deadjectival degree achievements (cf. Alexiadou 2010 for Greek, Labelle & Doron 2010 for French, among others). Our main evidence comes from SE-marked decausative counterparts of deadjectival *i*-verbs (2–3), which clearly demonstrate the presence of additional structure in decausatives (2b–3b), strongly suggesting the direction of derivation.

- (1) a. pjaneti ‘to become inebriated’/pjaniti ‘to inebriate’ Russian  
 b. otupeti ‘to become blunt, numb’/otupiti ‘to make blunt’ Serbo-Croatian  
 c. rumeneti ‘to become yellow’/rumeniti ‘to make yellow’ Slovenian (Marvin 2002:100)
- (2) a. Tristram je osušio cveće. Serbo-Croatian  
 Tristram AUX dry.PFV.PAST.MSG flowers.COLL.NSG  
 ‘Tristram dried up the flowers.’  
 b. Cveće se osušilo.  
 flower.COLL.NSG REFL dry.PFV.PAST.NSG  
 ‘The flowers have dried up’
- (3) a. Traktor rasširil dorogu. Russian  
 tractor widen.PFV.PAST.MSG road.ACC  
 ‘The tractor widened the road.’  
 b. Doroga rasširilasi.  
 road.NOM widen.PFV.PAST.FSG.REFL  
 ‘The road widened.’

A second piece of evidence against deriving *i*-verbs from *e*-verbs comes from the fact that most *e/i* pairs differ in meaning (4): while *e*-verbs are incompatible with an (implicit or explicit) external causing event or a causer, *i*-verbs require it. Moreover, *i*-verbs also do not have the semantics of causativized *e*-verbs (cf. Dyachkov 2018, 2021, 2023):

- (4) a. crveneti ‘to become red(der)’, crveniti ‘to color red’ Serbo-Croatian  
 b. crneti ‘to become tanned’, crniti ‘to color black’  
 c. beleti ‘to turn white(r); be white’, beliti ‘to whitewash, color white’ Russian  
 d. tolsteti ‘to become fat(ter)’, tolstiti ‘to make look fat(ter)’

Thirdly, while deadjectival *i*-verbs mostly have either decausative *i*-variants (i.e., reflexive-marked *i*-verbs) or inchoative *e*-counterparts, triplets are possible, often giving rise to different interpretations (5–6) and necessitating two different structures. The structural distinctions we will propose will also deal with the fact that many deadjectival *e*-verbs have no *i*-counterpart and vice versa (cf. Dyachkov 2018, 2021, 2023).

- (5) a. Nož je o-tup-e-o od upotrebe. Serbo-Croatian, inchoative  
 knife is PFX-blunt-THE-PAST.MSG from use  
 ‘The knife got blunt from use.’  
 b. Nož se o-tup-i-o od upotrebe. anticausative  
 knife REFL PFX-blunt-THI-PAST.MSG from use  
 ‘The knife got blunt from use.’

- c. O-tup-e-l-a sam (\*se) od bola. inchoative/\*anticausative  
 PFX-blunt-THI-PAST-FSG am REFL from pain  
 ‘I became numb from pain.’
- (6) a. molodeti ‘to grow younger’<sub>IPFV</sub> Russian, inchoative  
 b. moloditi/omoloditi ‘to make young, make look young’<sub>IPFV/PFV</sub> causative  
 c. moloditi’sia ‘to make oneself look younger’<sub>IPFV</sub> reflexive  
 d. omoloditi’sia ‘to become younger’<sub>PFV</sub> anticausative

The simultaneous existence of inchoative and decausative change-of-state verbs, whether based on the same root or not, has been analyzed in the terms of VoiceP projection, as in (7), from Alexiadou 2010:183 (see Harley 1995, 2008, 2012, 2017, Doron 2003a, b, Labelle & Doron 2010 for similar ideas). The new insights provided by Slavic come from the different thematic vowels in the two classes, as well as from prefixation.

- (7) a.
- b.

Secondly, deadjectival *i*-verbs typically do not appear without a prefix, while deadjectival *e*-verbs generally start out as imperfective (8). Crucially, the default perfectivizing prefixes may differ for *e*- and *i*-verbs, suggesting different event structures: note that with the decausative verb, which is transparently morphologically derived from its causative counterpart, the choice of the prefix stays unaltered (8b–d).

- (8) a. poxudeti/xudeti ‘to become thinner (of an animate)’<sub>PFV/IPFV</sub> Russian  
 b. suziti/\*uziti ‘to make narrower’<sub>PFV/IPFV</sub>  
 c. suziti’sia/\*uziti’sia ‘to become narrower’<sub>PFV/IPFV</sub>  
 d. suziti (se)/\*uziti (se) ‘to make/become narrower’<sub>PFV/IPFV</sub> Serbo-Croatian

We will argue that these two distinctions, the choice of the thematic vowel and the default inner aspect, reflect a deeper distinction than projection and non-projection of Voice and that the two types of Slavic deadjectival degree achievements encode change semantics by different means, with the inchoative VP (9a) lacking the result state unlike the (de)causative one (9b):

- (9) a.
- b.

While the derived nature of decausative *i*-verbs compared to simplex inchoative *e*-verbs could be ascribed to the difference in the lexical semantics of *v* (GO/BECOME vs. CAUSE, respectively, the distinction in their lexical aspect (also discussed for French by Zribi-Hertz 1987, as well as by Labelle 1992 and Legendre & Smolensky 2009) is not expected if both involve a result state (SC). We will argue that while the causative/non-causative distinction is encoded by Voice, process vs. result framing stems from the structure of the VP, with the syntactic representation of the result (9b) necessitating the projection of the prefix in [Spec, VP]. We will further show that the prevalent tradition of projecting the Slavic prefix as the complement of V (Ramchand 2004, Romanova 2004, Svenonius 2004, etc.) cannot account for the Slavic data. Finally, we will discuss the mutative suffix *-nu-*, a verbalizer similar to *-e-*, but not identical to it.

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