

The CΔG and Polish causative/anticausative deadjectival verbs

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Abstract. Polish inchoative deadjectival verb forms have been noted in Bobaljik (2012) to exemplify a potentially problematic paradigm for the Comparative-Change-of-State Generalization described within the same work. While Polish causative and anticausative deadjectival verbs formed from adjectives that display suppletion in the comparative form show the expected corresponding suppletion in the verb form as well, the inchoative deadjectival verbs display what appears to be an illicit ABA pattern. We argue that in these cases, Bobaljik’s Generalization can still be upheld, due to the two deadjectival verb types, anticausative and inchoatives, belonging to two different classes of anticausatives (Alexiadou et al. 2015). For the anticausative, belonging to Class A, the root takes the suppletive comparative, leading to the suppletive anticausative form. On the other hand, we argue the inchoative represents a Class B anticausative and the corresponding root does not undergo suppletion. Therefore, the Comparative-Change-of-State Generalization does not apply to the Class B verbs.

Keywords. anticausatives; inchoatives; suppletion; Distributed Morphology; Polish

1. Introduction. Adjectives have been shown to follow systematic patterns in their comparative and superlative forms when it comes to suppletion. As described in Bobaljik (2012) through the Comparative-Superlative Generalization, when the comparative (CMPR) form of a positive adjective (POS) displays root suppletion, the superlative (SPRL) form will either also contain the suppletive root from the comparative, or it will involve a different root alternation. The superlative form, however, is not expected to display the root of the positive adjective form. For these paradigms that involve comparative suppletion, this results in the possibility of an ABB pattern (1a-b) or an ABC pattern (1c), but not ABA.

(1) Examples of the Comparative-Superlative Generalization (Bobaljik 2012: 169)

	<i>POS</i>	<i>CMPR</i>	<i>SPRL</i>	
a. English	good	bett-er	be-st	
b. English	bad	worse	wor-st	
c. Latin	bon-us	mel-ior	opt-imus	‘good’

Within the framework of Distributive Morphology (as in Embick 2010), Bobaljik suggests the Containment Hypothesis to account for these patterns. In short, the obligation of suppletion in the superlative forms is attributed to the comparative degree being contained within the larger structure of the superlative. In the same work, Bobaljik proposes an additional generalization, the Comparative-Change-of-State Generalization (henceforth, CΔG) to account for patterns of suppletion in deadjectival change-of-state verbs. Comparable to what is found with the superla-

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tive forms, Bobaljik further observes that when the adjective base of these verb forms takes a suppletive comparative form, the change-of-state verb, akin to the superlative forms in (1), must also be suppletive (2a-b). Again, an ABA paradigm is not attested (2c).

(2) Examples of the Comparative-Change-of-State Generalization (Bobaljik 2012: 170–171)

	<i>POS</i>	<i>CMPR</i>	<i>VERB</i>
a.	good	bett-er	bett-er
b.	bad	worse	wors-en
c.	bad	worse	*bad-den

Despite many examples displaying this paradigm cross-linguistically, Bobaljik also notes that Polish displays patterns that appear problematic for the CΔG. In Polish, there are two types of intransitive/non-causative deadjectival verb forms, frequently classified as anticausatives and inchoatives. While the causative and anticausative forms (3a-b) behave as predicted by the CΔG, displaying suppletive roots in the paradigms that contain suppletive comparative adjectives, the inchoative forms show other patterns. Despite there being a suppletive comparative, the inchoative form appears to instead contain the root of the positive adjective, resulting in an apparent ABA pattern (3c).

(3) Polish causative-anticausative-inchoative paradigm of *dobry* ‘good’

	<i>POS</i>	<i>CMPR</i>	<i>VERB</i>	
a.	dobr-y	lep-szy	u-lep-szy-ć	(causative)
b.	dobr-y	lep-szy	po-lep-szy-ć się	(anticausative)
c.	dobr-y	lep-szy	dobrzeć	(inchoative)

In this paper, we explore these Polish anticausative and inchoative patterns in greater detail and suggest an analysis in which, the roots of both forms are structurally distinct. Accordingly, we argue that while the anticausatives contain a suppletive comparative, the inchoative root does not undergo suppletion. Lacking this suppletive comparative form, the CΔG should therefore not be applied to the inchoative forms, and thus there is no violation of the generalization, and the Polish patterns are unproblematic. The structure of the paper is as follows. After reviewing the relevant background on morphological aspects of these structures in Section 2, we proceed to outline the Polish deadjectival verbs in greater detail in Section 3. Following, in Section 4, we review Alexiadou et al.’s (2015) analysis of classes of anticausatives. In Section 5 we present our analysis of the Polish anticausative structures that differ in suppletion patterns. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Allomorphy, comparative morphology, (anti-)causatives, and locality. In this section, we provide a brief overview of allomorphy and locality. We then present Bobaljik’s (2012) extension of these concepts to comparative morphology and a further extension to deadjectival (anti-)causative verbs.

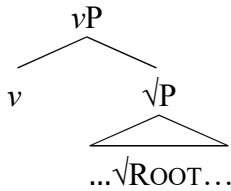
2.1. CONTEXTUAL ALLOMORPHY AND LOCALITY: AN OVERVIEW. Allomorphy, in the broadest sense, is variation in the surface form of a given morpheme. As Bobaljik (2012) highlights, morphemes interact with one another in various complex ways. One specific interaction is when a morpheme’s shape is determined based on the context in which it appears (e.g., the context of a neighboring morpheme) – this is referred to as contextual allomorphy.

Embick (2010) suggests that contextual allomorphy is determined by two locality constraints, which are presented in (4).

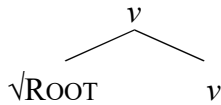
- (4) a. *Locality Constraint 1*: Contextual allomorphy is possible if Vocabulary Insertion occurs when one node can see another. It is only possible when concatenation of those two nodes takes place, creating the most local linear relationship possible.
 b. *Locality Constraint 2*: As Chomsky (2000, 2001) posits, phases are cyclic in syntactic derivation. This means, during PF computation, there are restrictions on potential allomorphic interactions due to the amount of information available during that cycle.

Furthermore, phases have been defined by category defining heads (Embick 2010; Marantz 2007; Marantz & Embick 2008). Thus, contextual allomorphy takes place when category defining heads categorize the elements to which they attach, as is demonstrated in (5) and (6).

- (5) *v Merged with $\sqrt{P}$ (Embick 2010: 13)*



- (6) *Complex head (Embick 2010:13)*



Since category defining heads are cyclic under this assumption, in (6), *v* is Merged with the root and spell-out is triggered.

A category defining head like that in (6) can also be combined with another category defining head. This is demonstrated with (7), in which the root $\sqrt{walk}$ is combined with *v*, and this is combined with an adjective head *a* yielding *walkable*.

- (7)
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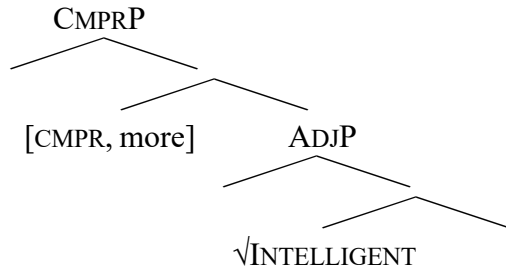
In the case of (7), *v* is considered the inner domain, whereas *a* is the outer domain. Following Embick & Marantz (2008), we assume the inner domain plays a special role in both phonology and semantics:

- (8) *Cyclic generalizations (Embick 2010: 14)*
- Allomorphy: For Root-attached *x*, special allomorphy for *x* may be determined by properties of the Root. A cyclic head *x* in the outer domain is not in a local relationship with the root and thus cannot have its allomorphy determined by the Root.
 - Interpretation: The combination of Root-attached *x* and the Root might yield a special interpretation. When attached in the outer domain, the cyclic *x* heads yield predictable interpretations.

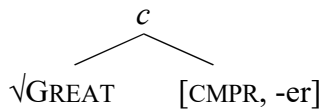
Therefore, allomorphy is proposed to only be found with Root-attached cyclic heads.

2.2. COMPARATIVE MORPHOLOGY AND LOCALITY. We see allomorphy within the domain of comparative morphology – take, for example, English *good* – *better*, where properties of the root *good* determine special allomorphy in the form of the suppletive comparative form. As Bobaljik (2012) notes, some languages possess a Merger in the comparative structure. English is an example, in which comparatives can be derived without Merge (9a) or with Merge (9b).

(9) a. *English comparative without Merge (periphrastic structure)*



b. *English comparative with Merge*



Following the assumption that allomorphy can only be found with Root-attached cyclic heads, suppletion is only possible with comparatives in which Merge has taken place (9b).

Furthermore, Bobaljik's (2012) work presents an interesting generalization concerning a relationship between allomorphy, locality, and the comparative-superlative structure:

(10) *Comparative-Superlative Generalization (Bobaljik 2012: 29-30):*

- a. If the comparative degree of an adjective is suppletive, the superlative is suppletive.
- b. If the superlative degree of an adjective is suppletive, then the comparative is also suppletive.

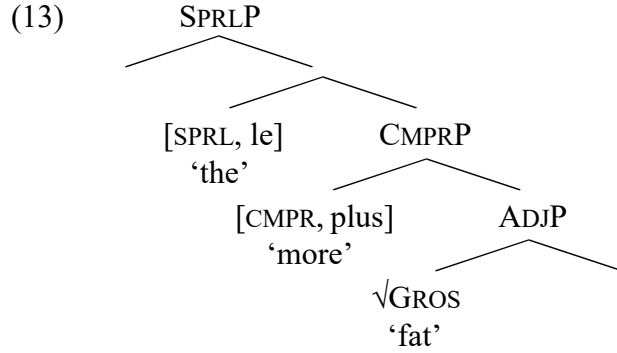
The Comparative-Superlative Generalization (CSG) generates attested patterns of suppletion. ABB (*good* – *better* – *best*) and ABC (*bonus* 'good' – *melior* 'better' – *optimus*). Additionally, it does not generate unattested patterns of suppletion, ABA (*good* – *better* – **goodest*) and AAB (*good* – **gooder* – *best*).

Following the CSG, Bobaljik (2012) proposes the containment hypothesis, which suggests that the superlative degree contains the comparative degree – as is represented by (11). Thus, the superlative is not Root-attached, as is demonstrated by (12).

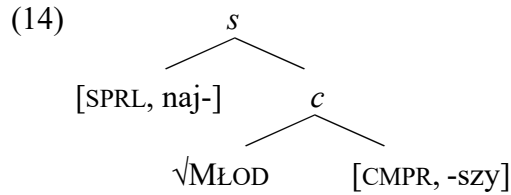
(11) [[[ADJECTIVE] COMPARATIVE] SUPERLATIVE]

(12) *[[[ADJECTIVE] SUPERLATIVE]

Cross-linguistically, there is transparent evidence of such containment. Take for example the periphrastic superlative in French (13).



In (13), we see that the comparative *plus* ‘more’ is used in conjunction with the superlative *le* ‘the’ to form the superlative *le plus gros* ‘the fattest’. Likewise, there are also transparent examples of containment in synthetic forms of the suppletive cross-linguistically. This is demonstrated with the Polish superlative in (14).



In (14), we see that Polish adds the superlative prefix *naj-* to the comparative form of the adjective *młod-szy* ‘younger’.

2.3. COMPARATIVE CONTAINMENT IN DEADJECTIVAL CHANGE-OF-STATE VERBS. Bobaljik (2012) extends the notion of comparative containment to deadjectival change-of-state verbs (e.g., *worsen* in English). In previous work, Dowty (1979) argues that deadjectival verbs are derived via a covert operator, BECOME. Thus, inchoatives and causatives are structured as follows in (15).

- (15) a. [BECOME] X COOL]] (inchoatives)
 b. [CAUSE [BECOME [X COOL]]] (causatives)
- (Dowty 1979)

Bobaljik (2012), however, notes that the suppletive comparative adjectives are often used in deadjectival verbs cross-linguistically, as in (16).

(16)

	POS	CMPR	VERB	
a. English	good	bett-er	bett-er	
b. English	bad	worse	wors-en	
c. German	gut	bess-er	ver-bess-er-n	‘good’
d. Russian	plox-oj	xuž-e	u-xud-š-at	‘bad’
e. Finnish	hyvä	pare-mpi	para-ntaa	‘good’
f. Georgian	cud-I	u-ar-es-I	a-u-ar-es-ebs	‘bad’
g. (late) Latin	bon-us	mel-ior	mel-iōr-o	‘good’

(Bobaljik 2012: 170)

Drawing from the data in (16), Bobaljik posits the Comparative Change-of-State Generalization (CΔG):

(17) *Comparative Change-of-State Generalization (CΔG)*

If the comparative degree of an adjective is suppletive, the corresponding change-of-state verb is also suppletive (i.e. with respect to the positive adjective).

The CΔG permits ABB patterns such as *bad – worse – worsen* (16b) and predicts, as desired, the lack of AAB and ABA patterns, respectively.

However, in the context of (15) from Dowty (1979), the CΔG is a bit surprising. If [BECOME [COOL]] is a possible verb, built with the positive form of the adjective, why do other positive forms of adjectives like [BECOME [BAD]] not lead to the verbal form, but would instead be derived from the comparative form [BECOME [WORSE]]? As a way to overcome this problematic aspect of a ‘become-operator’, Bobaljik (2012) offers that the CΔG is formally isomorphic to the CSG. Thus, the deadjectival change-of-state verb contains the comparative, even when the relationship is not morphologically transparent. Instead of (15), Bobaljik posits (18a) in opposition of (18b).

- (18) a. [[[ADJECTIVE] COMPARATIVE] V_Δ]
b. *[[ADJECTIVE] V_Δ]

The structure of deadjectival change-of-state verbs may resemble (18), but according to Bobaljik (2012), the BECOME operator must be replaced. In this case, V_Δ is the deadjectival verbalizing operator and is internally complex containing the comparative (cf. Hay, Kennedy, and Levin’s (1999) INCREASE operator or Kennedy and Levin’s (2008) differential measure function m_Δ). Therefore, (18a) is represented as (19a), whereas (18b) is represented as (19b).

- (19) a.
b.

3. Polish comparatives and deadjectival change-of-state verbs. Polish has both periphrastic and synthetic comparatives, the latter of which follow the suppletion patterns described in Bobaljik’s (2012) Comparative-Superlative Generalization.¹ A subset of the synthetic comparatives are suppletive, as shown in (20) and (21).

- (20) a. *dobr-y*
good-NOM.SG.M
‘good’

¹ Some adjectives only allow the periphrastic comparative.

- b. lep-szy
good-CMPR
'better'
- (21) a. mały
small-NOM.SG.M
'small'
- b. mniej-szy
small-CMPR
'smaller'

Polish superlatives, following from the structure of the comparative, can likewise be periphrastic or synthetic. The synthetic superlative is formed by prefixation of the corresponding comparative. Thus, the superlative forms in (22) and (23), corresponding to the adjectives in (20) and (21), are transparent examples of Bobaljik's (2012) Containment Hypothesis.

- (22) naj-lep-szy
SPRL-good- CMPR
'best'
- (23) naj-mniej-szy
SPRL-small- CMPR
'smallest'

Where Polish begins to appear problematic for Bobaljik's (2012) analysis are the change-of-state verbs that correspond to these adjectives. Per the CΔG, we would expect deadjectival change-of-state verbs to behave like the suppletive superlatives, taking the suppletive comparative as the base. This is what is found with the causative (24a), (25a) and anticausative (24b), (25b) deadjectival change-of-state verbs. Like the superlatives do for the CSG, these examples also transparently follow Bobaljik's (2012) CΔG.

- (24) a. u-lep-szy-ć
CAUS-good-CMPR-INFOS
'to make something better'
- b. u-lep-szy-ć się
CAUS-good-CMPR-INF REFL
'to get better'
- (25) a. z-mniej-szy-ć
CAUS-small-CMPR-INF
'to make something smaller'
- b. z-mniej-szy-ć się
CAUS-small-CMPR-INF REFL
'to get smaller'

However, Polish has two forms of anticausative deadjectival verbs (i.e. Jabłońska 2007). In addition to the (anti)-causative forms in (24) and (25), some adjectives also correspond with a second anticausative deadjectival verb, generally referred to as the inchoative in the literature. The inchoative form, as seen in (26) and (27), does not seem to contain the suppletive comparative. Rather, the positive form of the adjective surfaces. This generates an ABA pattern that seemingly violates Bobaljik's (2012) CΔG.

- (26) *dobrz-eć*
 good-INF
 ‘to get better’
- (27) *mal-eć*
 bad-INF
 ‘to get smaller’

From these patterns, a question emerges: Does the CΔG predict a form to be unavailable that is, in fact, attested? If no modification to the CΔG is motivated, then how do we explain the lack of suppletion in inchoative deadjectival verbs such as those shown in (26) and (27)? To answer these questions, we adopt the CΔG as stated in Bobaljik (2012), and in the next section we propose an analysis of these Polish verb forms as exemplifying two different classes of anticausatives which in turn select for differing morphology.

4. Distributional classes of anticausatives. Alexiadou et al. (2015) describe three distributional classes of anticausative verb forms. The distributional classes are claimed to not correspond to any apparent semantic classification of an individual verb (as the same verb could be Class A in one language and Class B in another) and the sizes of the classes vary across languages, as well. Note that while not all languages necessarily contain forms belonging to all three classes, many languages do contain anticausatives representing different classes (including Greek, French, Italian, German, among others). Given the presence of all three classes in Greek, this language will be used for the examples in this section.

To begin, the first class, Class A, contains those anticausative forms that are morphologically marked with either non-active morphology (as in Greek) or with a reflexive morphology (as in Germanic and Romance languages).

- (28) Greek Class A Anticausative (Alexiadou et al. 2015: 62)
- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| I | <i>supa</i> | <i>kaikē</i> |
| The soup.NOM | <i>burnt.NACT</i> | |
| ‘The soup burnt.’ | | |

Syntactically, Alexiadou et al. analyze this class of anticausative as containing a Voice projection, as in (29).²

- (29) Class A: [VoiceP [vP [Root/ResultP]]]

As is generally expected of anticausative structures, this class of verbs fail diagnostics for agentivity and lack any evidence of an implicit external argument. Nevertheless, other properties lead Alexiadou et al. to suggest the presence of an expletive Voice projection (following Schäfer 2008). For one, in other analyses of verb forms with similar morphology (e.g., passives and reflexives), these morphemes are analyzed as the spell-out of Voice (as in Embick 1998, 2004).

Given the desire to maintain syncretism in Distributed Morphology, Alexiadou et al. propose that there is reason to believe that these structures, which contain similar morphology,

² While generally following Kratzer’s (1996) use of Voice as the phrase that introduces the external argument, here Alexiadou et al. adopt the notion, following Schäfer (2008), that Voice is the locus of semantic and syntactic transitivity, but that those notions do not necessarily coincide. An anticausative structure thus may be syntactically transitive by having a filled Spec, VoiceP, but semantically intransitive due to the lack of a thematic external argument.

also project Voice. Another argument in favor of the presence of Voice is the transitive-like syntax—yet lack of semantic external argument—displayed by Class A anticausatives in German (and potentially in Romance as well). Given these motivations, the analysis proposes that Voice is present with Class A anticausatives, albeit with an expletive specifier and no external argument. The non active morphology characteristic of these forms is argued to be semantically expletive and abstractly related to the casualness of the verb (Alexiadou et al.: 81).

The second class of anticausatives, the Class B anticausatives, in contrast, are characterized by the lack of marked morphology, as demonstrated in (30).

(30) *Greek Class B Anticausative (Alexiadou et al. 2015: 64)*

I sakula adiase.
the bag.NOM emptied.ACT
'The bag emptied.'

The Class B anticausatives are argued to be distinguished syntactically from the Class A forms. Specifically, the proposal is that this class of verbs lacks the presence of a Voice layer, shown in (31). Like the Class A forms, Class B anticausatives also lack an explicit or implicit external argument. However, with these forms, there is no indication of a Voice projection, unlike the properties described for Class A. This difference in Voice projection between the two classes is attributed to a property of the root. While the Class A root is lexically encoded to select Voice, the Class B root is not.

(31) Class B: [vP [Root/ResultP]]

Finally, there are also verbs that can optionally display active or non-active morphology. These are classified as belonging to Class C, as in (32). According to Alexiadou et al., this class of verbs is smaller across languages, and the classification of their exact class may vary by individual speakers.

(32) *Greek Class C Anticausative (Alexiadou et al. 2015: 64)*

to trapexomandilo leroise/lerothike.
the tablecloth.NOM dirtied.ACT/.NACT
'The tablecloth got dirty.'

Returning now to the Polish deadjectival anticausative and inchoative forms focused on in the present discussion, we argue that these verbs represent two different classes. We classify the Polish anticausatives as belonging to Class A, which is also consistent with what is proposed in Bondurak (2021). In accordance with the attributes of this distributional class, the Polish anticausatives display marked morphology, in the form of a reflexive *się*. On the other hand, we propose that the Polish inchoative forms represent Class B anticausatives. Recall that in these forms, there is no marked morphology or *się* present.

The resulting alternation found in Polish presents an interesting case within the larger context of Alexiadou et al.'s proposal. Unlike the cases presented in Greek, where the verbs exemplifying each class are entirely distinct in meaning, in Polish, it seems to be the case that two quite semantically similar verbs belong to two different classes. However, this division is consistent with the discussion and expectations Alexiadou et al. present. For one, they argue that the classification of anticausative verbs is not determined by the semantics of the verb. Thus, the observation of the interpretative similarities alone between the Polish anticausatives and inchoatives would not predict them to necessarily be in the same class. Moreover, there are also contexts in Polish in which only one of the forms (either the anticausative or the inchoative) has

been claimed to be grammatical. Observe one such case in (33), where either the anticausative or inchoative form of *get red* is licensed when the theme is *apples*. However, in (34), when the theme is changed to *the wall*, only the inchoative form is licensed.³

- (33) a. jabłka czerwieniły się
Apples reddened_{ANTICAUS} REFL
'The apples were reddening'
b. jabłka czerwieniały
apples reddened_{INCH}
'The apples were getting red' (Rościńska-Frankowska 2012: 25)
- (34) a. ściana czerwieniła się
wall reddened_{ANTICAUS} REFL
Intended: 'The wall was reddening.'
b. *ściana czerwieniała
wall reddened_{INCH}
Intended: 'The wall was getting red.' (Rościńska-Frankowska 2012: 25)

These patterns suggest to us that despite lexical similarity and semantic overlap, there is motivation for arguing that these forms exemplify two different anticausative classes that have different structures and licensing requirements.

For the remainder of this paper, to distinguish these two Polish deadjectival verb forms, we will refer to them as Class A or Class B anticausatives. The structures we propose for these two classes, corresponding to Alexiadou et al.'s analysis, are presented in (35). Given that the presence or absence of Voice is analyzed as a feature of the root, we represent these structures as having two different roots.

- (35) a. Class A (Polish anticausative, *polepszyć się*): [VoiceP [vP [Root_{Class A}]]]
b. Class B (Polish inchoative, *dobrzeć*): [vP [Root_{Class B}]]

5. Returning to Polish and the CΔG. In this section, we return to the Polish data from Section 3 and argue, on the basis of Alexiadou et al. (2015), they are not problematic for Bobaljik's (2012) CΔG.

5.1. THE CΔG AND TWO MEANINGS OF "BAD". Bobaljik (2012) demonstrates that two different senses of the English word *bad* are associated with two different forms of deadjectival change-of-state verbs. The 'standard' paradigm for English *bad* contains a suppletive comparative and a suppletive change-of-state, showing an ABB pattern.

- (36) a. The new album **worsened** the singer's reputation.
b. Bad (ADJ) → Worse (CMPR) → Worsen (V_Δ)

However, the sense of *bad* in (36) is not the only one that exists. In (37), a different sense of *bad* is used in English to mean "formidable, good, hip, or impressibly tough." This paradigm lacks suppletion in the comparative and change-of-state verb. It displays an AAA pattern.

- (37) a. The new album **baddened** up the singer's reputation.
b. Bad (ADJ) → Badder (CMPR) → Badden (up) (V_Δ)

³ Note that the examples in (33) and (34) do not contain an inchoative/anticausative alternation in which the root forms are non-homophonous, like in (24) and (26). Nevertheless, this example highlights the grammatical differences that can arise between the anticausative and inchoative forms.

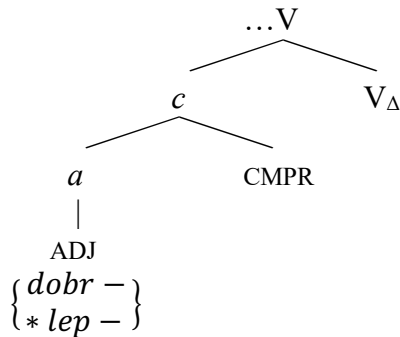
The *bad* from (36) and the *bad* from (37) have two distinct senses and two distinct morphological patterns. The *bad* from (36) corresponds to an ABB pattern and the ‘bad’ from (37) corresponds to an AAA pattern. The roots are homophonous but distinguished by their semantics.

5.2. POLISH CLASS A AND CLASS B ANTICAUSATIVES. Based on our adoption of Alexiadou et al. (2015), we argue that there is a parallel between the *bad* example and the Polish Class A and Class B anticausatives. In both cases, there are homophonous roots distinguished by their semantics corresponding to two different morphological patterns. The roots are expressed by different comparative allomorphs and, consequently, different change-of-state forms. Likewise, in both cases, the two different roots show semantic differences.

Therefore, we propose that the roots of the two anticausative classes, being different vocabulary items, differ not only in their lexical requirements of occurring (or not) in the context of Voice (as proposed in Alexiadou et al.), but also in that they condition environments for different allomorphs of the comparative exponent. For the Polish Class B anticausatives (inchoatives), we argue that the Class B root does not condition suppletion in the context of the comparative within the change-of-state verb. That is, as exemplified in (38) and (39), the Class B root *dobr-* becomes *dobr-* in the context of the comparative.

(38) $\sqrt{\text{dobr}_{\text{CLASSB}}} \rightarrow \text{dobr-} / __] \text{CMPR}]^4$

(39) Class A Root:

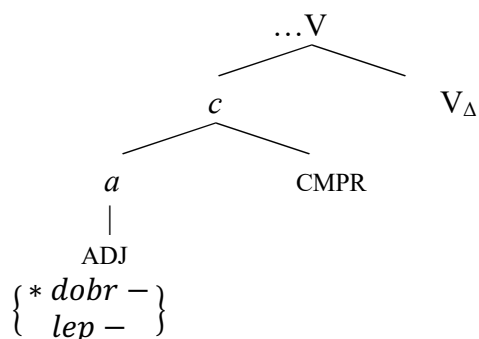


Whereas, for the Class A anticausatives, we argue that the Class A root does condition suppletion in the context of the comparative within the change-of-state structure. Thus, the root *dobr-* undergoes suppletion and becomes *lep-* in the context of the comparative, as shown in (40) and (41).

(40) $\sqrt{\text{dobr}_{\text{CLASSA}}} \rightarrow \text{lep-} / __] \text{CMPR}]$

⁴ Why can the comparative form of this root not be realized (i.e., a form akin to *gooder)? – We argue that this is not an anomaly: this is comparable to what is found in the English paradigm of *perfect* (adj) – **perfecter* – *to perfect*. A synthetic comparative form is ungrammatical despite the deadjectival change-of-state verb being well-formed. Nevertheless, these patterns may also be influenced by prosodic constraints, see McCarthy and Prince (1993), but also Matushansky (2013) for more discussion and potential counterexamples.

(41) Class A Root:



Based on this analysis of the two roots, the Class B anticausative corresponds to an AAA pattern, and the Class A anticausative corresponds to an ABB pattern [cf. the two senses of *bad* in (36) and (37)].

5.3. RETURNING TO BOBALJIK'S CΔG. As was presented in Section 3, Polish (anti-)causatives seeming present an issue for Bobaljik's (2012) CΔG. However, as we have argued in Section 4 and Section 5 the variation we see in allomorphy among Polish Class A and Class B anticausatives is a result of two distinct Vocabulary Items (the inchoative/Class B Root, and the anticausative/Class A Root). The Class A root has a suppletive comparative form and thus corresponds with a suppletive change-of-state verb, resulting in an ABB pattern. On the other hand, the Class B Root is non-suppletive and thus corresponds with a non-suppletive change-of-state verb, resulting in an AAA pattern.

Therefore, the Polish Class A anticausatives are consistent with the claims made by the CΔG. However, since the CΔG seeks to explain the distribution of the suppletive forms, we argue that the generalization does not apply to the Polish Class B anticausatives, in which the Class B root does not undergo suppletion. Despite being previously suggested to present an issue for the CΔG, we have concluded that the Class B anticausatives do not fall within the domain of the generalization.

6. Conclusions. The goal of this paper was to focus on a set of data involving two classes of Polish anticausatives that, due to an apparent ABA pattern, have previously raised a question within the discussion of comparative morphology and the CΔG posited in Bobaljik (2012). We have argued for structural differences that underlie these two classes of anticausatives, following the classification presented in Alexiadou et al. (2015). By analyzing only one of these classes (Class A) as containing the suppletive comparative morpheme, we have suggested that Bobaljik's analysis would not apply to the other previously problematic class (Class B), as the Class B root does not undergo suppletion.

In terms of future directions, one way to further distinguish between the Class A and Class B anticausatives is through their frequency of use. There is evidence of some of the Class B anticausative forms in Polish falling out of popular use, which could be consistent with the idea that these anticausatives form two classes (with separate vocabulary items) in Polish. Lexicographical data from mid-20th century dictionary entries (Doroszewski 1958-1969) shows that some Class B anticausatives have officially been labeled defunct while their Class A equivalents remain in use as in *zwązać się – wężec* 'to become narrow', *czyścić się – czyścić* 'to become clean', *zwiększać się – więźec* 'to become big'. These historical examples show inchoative forms (42a) where in modern standard Polish we would likely see either the closely related Class A form (42b) or an entirely unrelated Class B anticausative (42c).

- (42) a. słońce się zdaje wielką dla dusz bramą – większeje.
 sun REFL seems giant for souls gate becomes.big_{INCH}
 ‘The sun seems a giant gate for souls – it becomes bigger.’
 b. słońce się zdaje wielką dla dusz bramą – powiększa się.
 sun REFL seems giant for souls gate becomes.big_{ANTICAUS}
 ‘The sun seems a giant gate for souls – it becomes bigger.’
 c. słońce się zdaje wielką dla dusz bramą – rośnie.
 sun REFL seems giant for souls gate grow_{INCH}
 ‘The sun seems a giant gate for souls – it grows.’

There is also evidence of a greater diversity of deadjectival verbs, including inchoative forms, in southern Masovian dialects compared to standard Polish (Ejsmut 2008). Whether that diversity was once more widely present warrants investigation. Next steps for such an analysis include a deeper investigation of Polish corpora, and perhaps dialectology studies.

In addition to further distinguishing the Class A and Class B roots, we also seek to provide an explanation for why the Class B anticausatives lack any overt comparative morphology (43a), whereas the Class A anticausatives have overt comparative morphology (43b).

- (43) a. do**brz**-eć
 good-INF
 ‘to get better’
 b. u-lep-**szy**-ć się
 CAUS-good-CMPR-INF REFL
 ‘to get better’

We leave these concepts to future research but maintain that there are many exciting and interesting directions this topic can go.

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