

UDC 81-116

DOI: 10.31558/1815-3070.2025.49.3

**ВАРІАТИВНІСТЬ У СИНТАКСИСІ ТА СЕМАНТИЦІ ФРАЗИ МІРИ:
ДАНІ З УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ МОВИ**

В українській мові існує багато синтаксичних способів побудови фрази міри типу “2 метри заввишки”, і при цьому прикметник ніколи не поєднується безпосередньо з мірою, як в англійській мові (“6 feet tall”); натомість міра поєднується з прислівниками, прийменниковими фразами, іменниками або вживається в посесивних конструкціях. В статті проаналізований кожен із цих типів, і на основі аналізу встановлено, що вони мають подібну семантику; їхня варіативність зумовлена синтаксично-морфологічними обмеженнями мови. Дослідження також порушує питання визначення категорій прикметника і прислівника та їхньої диференціації.

Ключові слова: *фраза міри, українська мова, прикметник, прислівник, прийменникова фраза, посесив.*

**VARIATION IN SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF DEGREE PHRASE:
EVIDENCE FROM UKRAINIAN**

In Ukrainian, there are many syntactic ways of constructing a measure phrase such as ‘2 metres tall’, and the adjective is never directly combined with the measure, as in English (‘6 feet tall’); instead, the measure is combined with adverbs, prepositional phrases, nouns or used in possessive constructions. The article analyses each of these types and shows that they have similar semantics; their variability is due to the syntactic and morphological limitations of the language. The study also raises the issue of defining the categories of adjective and adverb and their differentiation.

Keywords: *Degree phrase, measure, Ukrainian, adjective, adverb, possessed properties.*

Introduction. Degree operator analysis is a common approach to measure phrase and adjective semantics; in *previous research* degrees are interpreted as measures of some properties, and adjectives denote a relation between individuals and degrees: that is, they denote measure functions: functions from individuals to degrees (Creswell; von Stechow; Heim; Kennedy, to name only a few). Degree operator theories treat gradable adjectives such as *tall* as denoting a relation between individuals and degrees rather than property and are of type $\langle d, et \rangle$ (Morzycki). However, not all adjectives combine with measure phrases (“5 meters long” vs. * “50 kg heavy”); besides, the syntactic and semantic combinability of gradable adjectives varies from one language to another. So does the degree approach to adjectives and measure phrases suffice? As further discussion and analysis will show, it might.

Problem statement. In Ukrainian, measure phrases do not combine with adjectives. There are a few ways in which phrases analogous to the Degree Phrase (DegP) with measures of the type “six feet tall” can be constructed in Ukrainian,

which are shown in examples (1)-(5). Some of them contain an adverb (1), some are possessive structures with 'have', and the measure combines with the noun (2), some construct possessive-like meanings with the help of dative or genitive case (3), and in some the measure combines with the noun in instrumental case or a prepositional phrase (4)-(5).

(1) (a) Будинок був п'ять метрів заввишки.

(b) Він був п'ятиметровий заввишки.

(2) (a) Він має два метри зросту.

(b) Тунель має довжину 10 метрів.

(c) Він має вісім років.

(3) (a) Йому (є) вісім років.

(b) В нього/в ньому було два метри зросту.

(c) В нього зріст два метри.

(4) Він був два метри зростом.

(5) Він був два метри на зріст.

All of these constructions with measures, which are the **object** of this study, are found in modern Ukrainian, some of them being more common than others. In a small survey of mine, 25 native speakers were asked to rank the variants of the sentence with meaning '*Ivan is two meters tall*' in Ukrainian following the types of construction in (1)-(5) from the one they consider the most likely to appear in their speech to the least likely one. Sentences of the type in (1) and (5) were ranked first by eight speakers each; other types ranked as the most likely choice were (3) and (2). The type of the sentence ranked as the least likely choice was (4). The types were ranked in different ways by the participants and do not seem to follow any consistent pattern. What this shows is that all of these grammatical forms co-exist in Ukrainian at present. **The purpose** of the current paper is to conduct syntactic and semantic analysis of these structures to test if the degree approach to adjectives and measure phrases is also applicable to the phrases with measures in Ukrainian. This is a typological study, which compares Ukrainian to other Slavic and non Slavic languages and describes the variation both within Ukrainian and across different languages. **Methods** of syntactic and formal semantic analysis are applied. The structure of the paper is as follows: first it discusses the measure phrases combined with adverbs and their semantic composition; then we turn to the MP combined with an adverbial Prepositional phrase and nouns in the instrumental case and show how their part in the DegP projection resembles that of the one with an adverb; the next section deals with possessive semantics of phrases with MPs; the last part of the paper considers the variation hypothesis and draws the conclusion.

Measure phrase combined with an adverb. Let us first look at the degree phrases like those in (1), in which a measure phrase combines with an adverb. There is a special class of adverbs in Ukrainian which appear with measure phrases. These include: *заввишки* (*zavvyshky*, meaning *tall*), *завдовжки* (*zavdovzhky* – *long*), *завширишки* (*zavshyrshky* – *wide*), *завглибишки* (*zavhlybshky* – *deep*), *завтовшишки/завгзрубшишки* (*zavtovshky/zavhrubshky* – *thick*), *завбільшишки*

(*zavbil'shky* – big), *завдальшки* (*zavdal'shky* – far), *завстаршки* (*zavstarshky* – old), *завважки* *zavvazhky* – heavy), *завгарячішки* (*zavhariachishky* – hot). All of them are formed with a prefix *-za* and *-v* and suffix *-shky* / *-zhky*, added to the root morpheme, and this seems to be their exhaustive list. There is another one with similar morphology, *za- ihrashky/zavvyhrashky*, meaning ‘easily’, but *-sh* in the variants of this word belongs to the root, unlike in the adverbs listed above, where it is a suffix, as can be illustrated with the words of other categories derived from the same roots. Measure phrases with adverbs are not found in closely related Slavic languages, such as Polish (6) or Russian (7), which build degree phrases with *nous* and possessives, similarly to examples (2) – (4), to which we will turn later.

(6) On ma dwa metry.

(7) Он был два метра ростом.

In Ukrainian too, they have become less frequent (presumably due to Russian influence), and while some of them are still widely used, such as *завдовжки*, *завширки*, *заввишки*, *завбільшки*, others can mainly be found either in old or highbrow texts. What kind of adverbs these are is a separate question. In cartographic terms, they are not evaluative, epistemic, subject-oriented, or negative, and they seem to be most closely related to the manner adverbs (Cinque, “Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective”). On the other hand, they appear to be a very specific lexical item, licensed only by an MP.

It should be noted that there is no problem with combining adjectives with other degrees, such as *very*, *a little*, *extremely*, etc., and also that comparatives allow for adjectives, as in (8)-(9):

(8) Карпо був дуже високий.

(9) Карпо був вищий від Лавріна на п'ятнадцять сантиметрів.

In a comparative though, the adjective does not have to combine with the measure phrase directly, but with the prepositional phrase. Besides, in Ukrainian the question “*Is he tall*” can be answered with a short answer “*2 meters*”, as in (10), i.e. adjectives can compose meaning with measure phrases unless they have to come into direct grammatical contact. This leads to our proposal: adjectives cannot modify other adjectives (measure phrase like *two meters* in Ukrainian can form an adjective *двометровий*) or measure phrases in a way that would give the expected meaning for DegP, so the language has to seek out for other ways of expression, and in Ukrainian it finds it, among others, in adverbials.

(10) Він високий? - Два метри.

Let us try to place an adjective in Ukrainian instead of an adverb following the adjectival measure phrase. The sentence would be like the one in (11), which could only be made grammatical if we put a comma between *dvometrovyyj* and *vysokyj*. As adjectives agree with a noun in case, number, and gender, both of them would modify *Karpo* on equal terms as homogeneous elements since adjectives do not modify adjectives in Ukrainian. Then, *Karpo* is the only noun in the sentence to agree with, yielding something like *Karpo was 2-meter & tall*, and such phrase would fail to put together *2-meter* and *tall* as one referring to the other and to deliver the meaning that his height was two meters. Now, let us look at

sentences with not an adjective but the number *two* plus the noun *meters*. We will leave out of our discussion whether *two meters* is a number/numeral phrase or a noun phrase in Ukrainian. No matter what we decide it to be, in Ukrainian the adjective normally appears either before this whole phrase or between the numeral and the noun, and then it agrees in person, number, and case with that numeral/noun phrase, which is the closest one in the sentence. So the sentence we get would be either the one in (12) or (13), and the meaning we would get is not that *Karpo is tall*, but *two meters are tall*, which simply makes no sense.

(11) *Карпо був двометровий високий.

(12) *Карпо був високий два метри.

(13) *Карпо був високі два метри.

The same would be true of some other Slavic languages with concord, so they had to make use of other ways to construct meaning when measures are involved. One of such ways is an adverbial degree phrase we find in Ukrainian. So how do pieces come together in this kind of DegP?

Previous research. One common view on the denotation of gradable adjectives such as *tall* is the one in (14), and they denote relations between individuals and degrees, where degrees are values that provide a basis for ordering objects relative to some dimension (Morzycki).

(14) $[[tall]] = \lambda d \lambda x. height(x) \geq d$

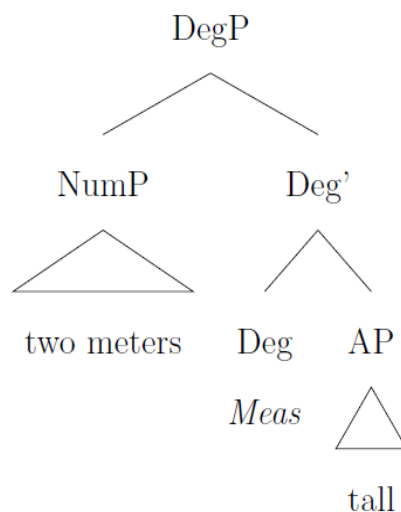
$[[2meters]] = 2m$

$[[tall]]([[2meters]]) = \lambda x. height(x) \geq d$

Svenonius & Kennedy (2005) propose that the measure phrase in English and Norwegian is introduced by a Deg head which they call *Meas* and suggest that *Meas* is constrained to combine only with adjectives that denote functions that map their arguments onto measurable degrees denotation in (15), so that the structure of English DegP would be the one in (16).

(15) $[[_{Deg}Meas]] = \lambda g : g \text{ is a function from objects to measurable degrees}$
 $\lambda d. \lambda x. g(x) \geq d$

(16)



Grano & Kennedy in their analysis of the Mandarin comparative structures suggest that this Deg head (*Meas*) may be filled with lexical suffix, which in Mandarin assigns case. Normally comparative construction in Mandarin Chinese involves the morpheme *bi*, but it is also possible in certain cases to express comparisons with what they call, after Erlewine (2007), transitive comparative, in which *bi* is absent. There are two conditions of well-formedness of the transitive comparative: (1) the structure must contain an appropriate differential term or an appropriate measure phrase, and (2) the gradable predicate must be one that uses a scale for which a conventional measurement system is defined. In sentences where *bi* is absent the case is assigned by μ (*Meas*), which is an unpronounced lexical affix on the adjective, and unlike in English and Norwegian μ does not head its own functional projection, but attaches as a suffix to an adjective, deriving a new head, which selects for a measure phrase (Grano & Kennedy).

Analysis & discussion. This reminds of the Ukrainian DegP in that that when there is a defined measurement system involved, and when the sentence contains an appropriate measure phrase, a special kind of structure is allowed. So we could try to adopt a similar approach for the structure in the sentence in (17).

(17) Карпо був два метри заввишки.

(18) Карпо був два метри.

(19) *Карпо був заввишки.

(19) is ungrammatical, and (18), although grammatical, does not give us enough information. So a measure phrase and an adverb need to combine to both satisfy syntax and to construct meaning. However, (19) is ungrammatical not because an adverb cannot appear in the predicative position in Ukrainian. E.g. look at (20).

(20) Карпо був високо.

This is a perfectly grammatical sentence with an adverb in the same position as in (19). The only difference is that it is a different class of an adverb. It does not define the dimensional value of some measure, but locates the subject's position in space. And there is this special class of adverbs in Ukrainian, which combine with measures, and whose formal overt feature is the suffix *-shky/zhky*. One may notice that they also share suffixes *za-* and *v-*, but their distribution is not limited to measure phrases (e.g. *задарма* 'for free', *вгору* 'upwards', etc). What they do have in common and what is compatible only with measures is the suffix¹. So, I suggest that the use of the adverbs with this suffix is licensed by the measure phrase (along some conventional measurement system), and it is this suffix that occupies the Measure (Deg) head. Then, the position canonically occupied by an adjective can also be occupied by an adverb of a special class. It seems that what really matters here is the entity being mapped onto a certain scale in terms of ascribing it a property of a certain height, and the concept of height does not necessarily need to be syntactically represented with an adjective, but also can be

¹ There are some adverbs, though, which at first sight appear to challenge this analysis. One of them *навколішки* ('on one's knees/kneeling') and *навпрошки* ('straight'/'straight forward' – about direction). Our account for these is that they are colloquial short forms for *навколішках* and *навпростець* respectively. Another counterexample could be *самотужки* ('by oneself'), but we argue that the suffix in this case is *-ки* (similarly to *залюбки* 'eagerly'), and *-ж* belongs to the root as other morphological forms of this word suggest. It should be noted that in the adverbs under discussion *-и* and *-ж* clearly do not belong to the root.

expressed by the words of other categories allowed by the grammatical system of the language. This also leads to another conclusion: adverbs are not necessarily modifiers of events, but also some a default category, which appears in positions where nothing else can.

This discussion may draw attention to the DegP with measure in English. Considering everything previously mentioned, the question might be not why adverbs appear with measures in Ukrainian, but why adjectives do in English, and whether they can be considered as adverbs. The answer to this question is already complicated by the fact that the categories of the adjective and adverb are difficult to define.

First thing to notice is that such adjectives are not many. Second, in English NumPs or DPs are not modifiers or arguments of adjectives. Similarly to Ukrainian adjective *двометровий*, English MP like *six feet*, just as well as the adjective *tall* can appear in a prenominal modifier position to a noun, where it functions quite similarly to an adjective, so how do adjective-like modifiers in the English phrase *six feet tall* modify one another? And can there be found other environments in English where an adjective would appear within the same phrase with a DP/NumP with the linear order in which it follows it? In English adjectives normally appear in prenominal position, with a few exceptions, such as adjectives derived from the verbs and participles (Alexiadou; Cinque, “The syntax of adjectives”). The adverb though can do so both with a DP and a NumP, e.g. adverbs *here* and *above* in (21) and (22), respectively (which could also be *two clouds above*). The number of the adjectives which can combine with MPs is very limited, to such as *tall, long, wide, deep, old*. But could we think of adverbial uses of these lexical items? There are some examples in (23)-(35). Besides, not all adverbs in English are derived with *-ly* suffix, e.g. local adverbs *above, behind, here*, temporal *soon, just, always*, degree *very*, and *deep, open* and *long* can be viewed as adverbs derived from adjectives via a \emptyset -suffix.² Also, the *-ly* suffix is not always indicative of an adverb, e.g. *womanly, cowardly*.

(21) The fight here was fierce.

(22) The light began to come through the clouds above.

(23) The submarine sailed deep under the ice cap.

(24) His eyes were wide open.

(25) I haven't seen you for so long.

It may not be appealing to view phonetically identical items as two distinct categories, but still, it is entirely acceptable in other cases. As Dixon points out (1982), words in English can belong to more than one part of speech, e.g. *laugh* is

² Similarly, Schäfer (2015) discusses whether German adverbs in sentences like (i)

(i) Sie laufen schnell

are adjectives in adverbial use or adverbs derived from adjectives; the proponents of the adjectival interpretation compare the use of *schnell* in (i) to the one in (ii), in both cases it is something like a short form of an adjective.

(ii) Er ist schnell.

On the other hand, the proponents of the adverbial approach say there is cross-linguistic morphological evidence that these two uses of *schnell* are distinct items.

both a noun and a verb, so some words could similarly be adjectives and adverbs. *Tall*, in its turn, could be thought of as an adverb in the expressions like *stand tall* or *walk tall*. One may think that *she stands tall* is a depictive secondary predicate as in *she drives drunk*. However, in Ukrainian with richer morphology we can see the distinction between the structures of this kind. When there is an adjective, the meaning is $\exists(e)$ [drunk (she) & drive (she)], when an adverb, $\exists(e)$ [drunk (e) & driving (she)]. That is, this phrase cannot be dismissed, but maybe needs further analysis. What could be used as a counter-example though is *old*; at least it is difficult to think of its adverbial use.

The fact that only some adjectives are allowed with measure phrases is sometimes explained with lexical-selectional restriction on some adjectives (Schwarzschild, “Measure Phrases as Modifiers of Adjectives”, “Measure Phrases as Modifiers of Adjectives”), but we could think of them this way: adjectives in English are not allowed with measure phrases, so there was some repair needed for DegP with measures as well, and what we see with some of them are adverbs derived from adjectives by conversion, which is easier to see in Ukrainian for morphological reasons. So those adjectives that can be put together with measures are not lexically different, but they changed the class of words. The idea that measures do not naturally combine with adjectives in English may also be supported by the fact that English, just like many Slavic languages, finds another way of speaking about measures with nouns: as in *he was 6 feet in height/his height was 6 feet*; moreover, the prepositional phrase *in height* can be viewed as adverbial too (we will turn to adverbial PPs in the next section). Schwarzschild (“Measure Phrases as Modifiers of Adjectives”) points out that we also need an explanation for why the main stress is on *tall* in *five feet tall*, when the general rule in English is that in neutral contexts a predicate is less stressed than its argument, and though it is not his explanation, we suggest it is so because technically what works as a predicate here is measure phrase, which can do so unlike other degrees such as *very*, while *tall* specifies its spacial dimension.

This structure also raises a question of difference between the categories of the adjective and the adverb, and whether there is any difference besides morphological one. Well, while adjectives modify DPs, adverbs modify DPs and VPs. The difference lies in the way they modify the DP, or the linear order to be more precise: the adverb modifying the noun appears in postposition to it, while the adjective modifying it proceeds it. Also, not all adverbs can combine with nouns and modify DPs, only a certain class.

Measures combined with PP’s and instrumental case of the noun. Another way to speak of measured properties in Ukrainian is with prepositional phrases (sentence 5, repeated here in (26)). I suggest that the role of the PP in the DegP is similar to that of the adverb: PPs are viewed as adverbials and are considered to be governed by the same rules as adverbs (Ernst 2014). Then, the would be PP the grammatical expression of Deg’ projection, and the preposition – of the Deg head. The

On the other hand, the proponents of the adverbial approach say there is cross-linguistic morphological evidence that these two uses of *schnell* are distinct items.

role of the preposition in this sentence is the same as that as of the adverbial suffix. I also suggest that sentences of the kind in (4), repeated here in (27), in which the measure is combined with the noun in the instrumental case, are built following the same pattern of semantic composition. Normally the numeral phrase in Ukrainian assigns the genitive case to the noun it combines with (see examples in (28)).

(26) Він був два метри на зріст.

(27) Він був два метри зростом.

(28) (a) Розхід був сім літрів дизелю.

(b) Вона купила два кілограми черешень.

We suggest that in the sentences like (27) the Deg head is occupied with an unpronounced lexical affix, which assigns the instrumental case.³

This being said, it appears that the adverb such as *заввишки*, PP such as *на зріст* and the noun in instrumental case all point to the dimension of the measurement; grammatically the Deg head and Deg' can be realized in a number of ways, but this does not change the meaning of the maximal projection of the DegP.

Possessive semantics for measured properties. Previous research. Francez & Koontz-Garboden (“Semantic variation and the grammar of property concepts”; “Semantics and morphosyntactic variation”) note that some languages employ a different kind of semantics for property concepts. They discuss two kinds of predication with properties – canonical and possessive, the latter relating individuals to portions of substances that they have. The variation between these two kinds of predication is observed both cross-linguistically and within some languages, and so it can be observed in Ukrainian in sentences where the predicative property is combined with an MP, as in (29a)-(29b):

(29) (a) Карпо має два метри зросту.

(b) В Карпа був зріст два метри.

It should be noted here (and we will turn to this later) that the possessive predication in such cases is allowed only in positive, not comparative sentences:

(30) (a) * Він ма на п'ять сантиметрів більше зросту.

(b) * В нього було ільше зросту.

But:

31) (a) Він був на п'ять сантиметрів вищий.

(b) Він був вищий.

According to Francez and Koontz-Garboden (“Semantic variation and the grammar of property concepts”), such possessive strategies are semantically motivated. Specifically, they are employed when we deal with substance denoting expressions (where substance is an abstract mass entity), which denote the set of all “portions” of the relevant substance. Within this approach there is a possession relation between individuals and substances, such that for any individual *a* and

³ In Ukrainian, the instrumental case on the noun also has adverbial meaning in other contexts, e.g. (iii)

(iii) Vin khodyv kolamy

In (iv), an adverb is interchangeable with an adjective in the instrumental case.

(iv) Vona vyglyadala nalyakano/nalyakanoyu.

substance P, a has P iff $\exists p [P(p) \ \& \ \pi(a,p)]$ (where p is a portion of P) (Francez & Koontz-Garboden, “Semantic variation and the grammar of property concepts”).

Analysis. Following Francez and Koontz-Garboden’s semantics for possession-denoting morpheme in Ulwa I suggest the following denotation for the V-head *має* and the PP *в Карпа* for examples (29a)-(29b):

(32) $\lambda P \lambda x \lambda D. \exists D_z [P(z) \ \& \ \pi(x,z)]$

Another similar structure for ascribing measured properties is the one in (33).

(33) В Карпові було два метри зросту.

That is, the locative is also possible in such instances where normally genitive is used for possession, as in (29b) and (29b). The sentences with the locative like the one in (33) are a typical existential construction in Ukrainian. Some examples of Ukrainian existentials can be seen in (34). The existential construction, following Freeze (2001), is “a sentence in which some entity (the theme argument) is associated with some location (the location argument)” (Freeze: 941). In Ukrainian, the subject of the existential is a locative phrase. So, the only difference between possessive proper and locative structures is the case – genitive vs. locative. Both are equally possible with measured properties in Ukrainian, as in (35).

(34) (a) В місті був театр. V misti buv teatr.

(b) В будинку було три кімнати.

(35) В нього/ньому було два метри зросту.

As Freeze shows, both kinds of sentences contain the same constituents: a locative argument, a theme argument, and a copula, which also appear in the same order. He also links the locative/possessive distinction in such sentences to the $[\pm \text{human}]$ feature, which has some cross-linguistic evidence (see Freeze for detail): in existential, locative is $[-\text{human}]$, the theme is $[-\text{definite}]$, while in possessive the location is $[\text{+human}]$, with the (a) theme $[\pm \text{definite}]$. In addition, Freeze and Koontz-Garboden (“Semantic variation and the grammar of property concepts”) with reference to Newman (2000) also show that existential constructions may have possessive property meaning, as in Hausa.

Similarly, in Ukrainian existential sentences may have property meaning:

(36) В ньому нема нічого доброго.

Another argument for the link between Ukrainian existential and possessive phrases is the following set of sentences:

(37) (a) В вазі нічого немає.

(b) В мене нічого немає.

(c) Я нічого не маю.

The copula in Ukrainian negative existential sentences is derived from the verb *мати* “to have” spelled as one word with the negative particle *не* in the default third person singular form of the verb. The same is used in sentence (37b) with obvious possessive meaning, which can be paraphrased as (37c), both being equally grammatical.

Taking all of the above into account, we may say that Ukrainian sentences of the type in the examples (33) are possessive by nature.

What we might add here is that the portion part is a crucial piece in Ukrainian for the possessive semantics to work with property ascription. Let us consider the sentences in (38) (it should be noted here, that the property of height can be used both in the nominative case preceding the measure phrase, as in (38b), or in genitive following the MP, as in (38b)). But despite the difference of the structure (in the first sentence the MP modifies the noun, in the second one the noun modifies the MP), the meaning of the sentence as a whole is the same in both sentences, so what matters is the denotation of the highest projection of the DegP again.

(38) (a) Він має зріст два метри.

(b) Він має два метри зросту.

(c) *Він має зріст.

What matters here is that the denotation of height is not compatible with possession semantics in Ukrainian (see 38c), it is only possible when the property is combined with an MP. Possessed properties are not a common structure in Ukrainian unless they appear with measures (portions). However, though marginal, they are not completely absent from the language: e.g. *має красу* 'is beautiful', *має розум* 'is smart' are possible although not common; but in most cases an MP is required for the grammatical possessive structure; the vital part of an MP in this kind of structure can also be backed up by sentences about age, as in (39), where the sentence is grammatical with the MP *eight years* alone, while adding *of age* makes it ungrammatical. Also, for sentences in (38a)-(38b), (54) is acceptable, while (38c) is not.

(39) Він має вісім років (віку).

(40) Він має два метри.

Besides, the possessive structures where the noun precedes the MP are only grammatical with property concepts; otherwise, the nouns cannot appear with MPs in such structures (41):

(41) *Він має вино дві літри.

The only unsolved part so far remains the structure in (3a), repeated here in (42) with the dative argument in the specifier position. It is only possible with an MP when we speak of age, otherwise this structure is used for sentences where the dative argument is a patient of the action expressed by the predicate, as in (43). Intuitively, being dative, it might be possessive too, but we are going to leave this question unresolved here.

(42) Йому (є) вісім років.

(43) Йому (є) сумно.

As an Experiencer is known to have semantics similar to that of locatives, and Experiencers are claimed to be mental locations, also marked with the dative case in other languages (Hashimoto; Jackendoff), I suggest that the composition of these sentences is similar to that of the sentences like (33), but I will leave the detailed analysis of this type of sentences out of the scope of this paper.

Conclusion. Traditionally, adjectives are viewed as denoting a relation between the individual and degree. However, evidence from Ukrainian suggests that this function can be carried out by adverbs too, which due to syntactic-morphological

reasons can step in a DegP in place of the adjective. This, on the one hand, raises the issue of the definition of the categories of the adjective and adverb and their distinction, which, in certain cases at least, appears to be rather morphological than semantic. On the other hand, we need to reconsider the syntax and semantics of DegPs ascribing properties, which cannot be associated with adjectives only, as the meaning we get at the top of their maximal projection can be realized through syntactically various heads inside their architecture. I propose that this kind of variation is syntactic-semantic by nature. That is, when syntactically canonical predication is not allowed, the language employs the possessive one because it is accessible in the language elsewhere.

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List of Abbreviations

AP – Adjective Phrase
 Deg – Degree
 DegP – Degree Phrase
 Meas – Measure
 MP – Measure Phrase
 NumP – Numeral Phrase
 PP – Prepositional Phrase
 VP – Verb Phrase

VARIATION IN SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF DEGREE PHRASE: EVIDENCE FROM UKRAINIAN

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Abstract

Background: Degree operator analysis is a common approach to measure phrase and adjective semantics, with degrees being measures of some properties, and adjectives denoting a relation between individuals and degrees. However, not all adjectives combine with measure phrases; besides, the syntactic and semantic combinability of gradable adjectives varies from one language to another. For example, in Ukrainian, measure phrases do not combine with adjectives; instead, measures appear with adverbs, prepositional phrases, nouns, or in possessive structures.

Purpose: The aim of the current paper is to conduct syntactic and semantic analysis of these structures to test if the degree approach to adjectives and measure phrases is also applicable to the phrases with measures in Ukrainian. This is a typological study, which compares Ukrainian to other Slavic and non Slavic languages and describes the variation both within Ukrainian and across different languages.

Results: Degree phrases which include adverbs, prepositional phrases, and nouns in the instrumental case all bear similar semantics. Their variation is motivated by syntactic-morphological limitations of the language, as well as in the case of possessive structures, which we here explore in terms of possessive strategies of predication.

Discussion: Traditionally, adjectives are viewed as denoting a relation between the individual and degree. However, evidence from Ukrainian suggests that this function can be carried out by adverbs too, which due to syntactic-morphological reasons can step in a DegP in place of the adjective. The meaning we get at the top of the maximal projection of the DegP can be realized through syntactically various heads inside their architecture, such as adverbial suffix -шки/жки, preposition, or case assigner, for example. Grammatically the Deg head can be realized in a number of ways, but this does not change the meaning of the maximal projection of the DegP.

Keywords: Degree phrase, measure, Ukrainian, adjective, adverb, possessed properties.

Vitae

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Надійшла до редакції 07 лютого 2025 року
 Рекомендована до друку 25 лютого 2025 року