

Czech pseudo-deverbal nominals are deverbal

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<https://sites.google.com/view/multifunctionalityinmorphology>

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Outline

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Theoretical background
- 3 Previous work
- 4 Corpus study
- 5 Discussion
- 6 Summary

The productive verbalizer *-ova-*

Czech productively forms verbs from nouns (and other bases) using the suffix *-ova-*:

- | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------------|
| (1) | plán | plán-ova-t |
| | plan | plan-OVA-INF |
| | ‘plan’ | ‘to plan’ |
| (2) | hlas | hlas-ova-t |
| | vote | vote-OVA-INF |
| | ‘vote’ | ‘to vote’ |
| (3) | dávk-a | dávk-ova-t |
| | dose-NOM.SG | dose-OVA-INF |
| | ‘dose’ | ‘to dose’ |

Deverbal affixes

These verbs, like others, can then serve as a base of further derivation:

(1')	plán plan 'plan'	plán-ova-t plan-OVA-INF 'to plan'	plán-ova-n-ý plan-OVA-PASS.PTCP-M.NOM.SG 'planned'
(2')	hlas vote 'vote'	hlas-ova-t vote-OVA-INF 'to vote'	hlas-ová-ní vote-OVA-NMLZ 'voting'
(3')	dávk-a dose-NOM.SG 'dose'	dávk-ova-t dose-OVA-INF 'to dose'	dávk-ova-č dose-OVA-Č 'dispenser'

Deverbal affixes

These verbs, like others, can then serve as a base of further derivation:

(1') plánovat plánovaný
'to plan' 'planned'

(2') hlasovat hlasování
'to vote' 'voting'

(3') dávkovat dávkovač
'to dose' 'dispenser'

(4) nakrájet nakrájený
'to slice' 'sliced'

(5) bydlet bydlení
'to reside' 'housing'

(6) spouštět spouštěč
'to trigger' 'trigger'

Pseudo-deverbals

We look at what we call *pseudo-deverbals*: nouns and adjectives that appear to be derived from *-ovat* verbs, but these verbs (at least at first glance) do not exist.

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| (7) | kytička
'flower' | kytičkovaný
'floral-patterned' | *kytičkovat |
| (8) | planžeta
'pick' | planžetování
'lock picking' | *planžetovat |
| (9) | sadba
'seedlings' | sadbovač
'seedling tray' | *sadbovat |

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- In a corpus search, we show that many of the “missing” verbs do exist, but are very rare
- We conclude that pseudo-deverbals are actually just deverbals – that is, they are derived directly from verbs

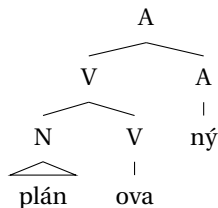
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Two analyses of pseudo-deverbals

The structure of regular deverbals is clear (oversimplified here):

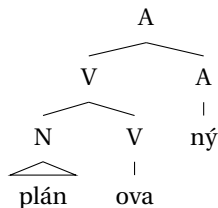
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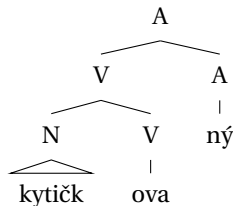
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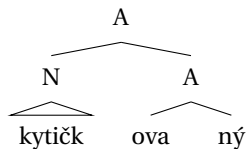
Two possibilities for pseudo-deverbals:

(11) kytíčkováný
'flower-patterned'

a.



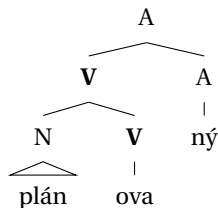
b.



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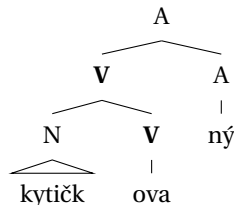


❶ Pseudo-deverbals contain a verb, just like regular deverbals

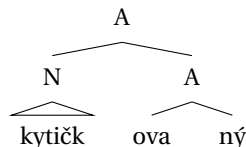
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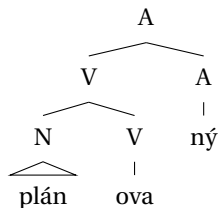
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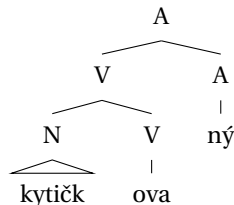


- 1 Pseudo-deverbals contain a verb, just like regular deverbals
- 2 Pseudo-deverbals are built directly from nouns, with no verbal structure intervening

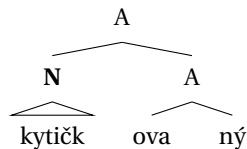
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Potential verbs

Deverbals and pseudo-deverbals differ by the lexicon of their base (Allen, 1978; Bloch-Trajnar, 2011; Malicka-Kleparska, 1985, 1987)

- A Czech word formation rule productively derives verbs from nouns with *-ova-*
- Existent denominal verbs are in the Permanent Lexicon
- Non-existent denominal verbs are in the Conditional Lexicon
- Words in both Lexicons can serve as the base of further derivation

Predictions:

- Differences between deverbals and pseudo-deverbals are *gappy* and *unsystematic*
- Potential verbs may have multiple derivatives, including in clusters

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DM and friends: intermediate forms are marked [–lexical insertion]
(see Halle, 1973)

Complex suffixes

Pseudo-deverbal suffixes have been reanalyzed through *affix telescoping* (Haspelmath, 1995; Stump, 2022)

- These new suffixes attach directly to nouns, with no verb in the middle
- They may add or take away meanings present in the original structures
- Each pseudo-deverbal suffix is fully independent of the others

Predictions:

- Differences between deverbals and pseudo-deverbals are *systematic*
- Clusters of multiple pseudo-deverbal derivatives built from a single base are rare

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Predictions:

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DM and friends: *-ova-* merges with deverbal suffixes to form a complex suffix that attaches to nouns (cf. Matushansky, 2025)

These competing analyses can be evaluated through empirical study:

- Are the ostensible verbs of apparent pseudo-deverbals actually non-existent?
 - We must distinguish the non-existent from the merely very rare
- Are there systematic differences in meaning between deverbals and pseudo-deverbals?
 - If so, this is evidence for complex affix formation
- Are there clusters of pseudo-deverbals derived from a single base?
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Empirical questions

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To answer these questions, we conduct a corpus study.

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-*ovaný*_A as a distinct suffix

Šimandl (2017): dictionary of affixes grounded in corpus study

- -*ovat* is listed with eight denominal meanings characterizing the relationship between verbs and their nominal bases (e.g. *plánovat* ‘to plan’ involves creation of the base)
- -*ovaný*_A, the adjectival passive of -*ovat* verbs, is listed as a separate affix with three similar meanings:

category	noun	adjective	meaning
pattern	zebra	zebrovaný	‘zebra-striped’
clothing	uniforma	uniformovaný	‘uniformed’
quality	talent	talentovaný	‘talented’

The latter two meanings mostly have foreign nouns as bases and are probably often calqued (cf. Klégr & Bozděchová, 2022).

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- “Even for adjectives motivated primarily by nouns, one cannot rule out formal support in verbal forms, albeit merely potential ones” (tr. GT)

-ovaný_A as part of a cluster of derivatives

Šimandl (2017) do not mention that pattern adjectives with *-ovaný_A* often have nominal analogues in *-ování_N* (examples from SYN2020 corpus):

- (12) malý mlž s typicky trojhrannou **zebrovanou** schránkou: slávička
small bivalve with typically triangular zebra-striped case mussel.DIM
mnohotvárná
many-formed
'a small bivalve with a typically triangular zebra-striped shell: the zebra mussel'
- (13) koně mají černobílou hřívu, úhoří pruh a **zebrování** na nohou
horses have black-and-white mane eel's stripe and zebra-striping on legs
'the horses have a black and white mane, a dorsal stripe, and zebra-striping on their legs'

Supports the claim that these are both built from the same (potential) verb *zebrovat*

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Corpus study

To study the structure of pseudo-deverbals, we look at two corpora of the Czech National Corpus

- SYN2020 (Křen et al., 2020): 100 million words, balanced by genre
- SYNv12 (Křen et al., 2022): 5.2 billion words (including SYN2020 and large amounts of periodicals)

105 nouns with 5+ tokens of *-ovaný_A*, *-ován_N*, etc. and 0 of *-ovat* verb forms in SYN2020 – two possibilities:

- The verb exists but is used much more rarely than its derivative(s) → it should appear in SYNv12
- The verb does not exist at all → it will not appear in SYNv12

False positives (e.g. typos) of verb tokens in SYNv12 (but not SYN2020) checked and filtered out manually

Pseudo-deverbal suffixes

suffix	count	base		derivative	
long (adj.) passive	79	komora	‘chamber’	komorovaný	‘placed into a chamber’
short (vb.) passive	12			komorován	
verbal noun	73	dýně	‘pumpkin’	dýňování	‘pumpkin festival’
purpose adjective	15	skript	‘script’	skriptovací	‘scripting’
other	18	zmrzlina	‘ice cream’	zmrzlinovač	‘ice cream maker’

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Some pseudo-deverbals only
appear with one suffix ...

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...while others show suffixes
clustering together

suffix	count
ovaný	23
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suffixes	count
ovaný + ování	34
ovaný + ování + ován	7
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Pseudo-deverbal meanings

meaning	count	base	derivative
shape	25	zoubek ‘tooth (dim.)’	zoubkovaný ‘serrated’
coating	19	zinek ‘zinc’	zinkování ‘zinc coating’
pattern	15	tygr ‘tiger’	tygrovaný ‘tiger-striped’
clothing	3	kroj ‘(folk) costume’	krojovaný ‘in a (folk) costume’
quality	3	talent ‘talent’	talentovaný ‘talented’
food	7	jogurt ‘yogurt’	jogurtovač ‘frozen yogurt maker’
package	3	paleta ‘pallet’	paletovaný ‘packed onto pallets’
celebration	3	polévka ‘soup’	polévkování ‘soup festival’
title	3	rektor ‘rector’	rektorování ‘period as rector’
other	22	práh ‘threshold’	prahování ‘thresholding’

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One big cluster with passives and (often) verbal nouns

Corpus comparison

meaning	no verb in SYN2020	verb in SYNv12		verb in SYNv12 including metalinguistic usage	
shape	25	21	84%	22	88%
coating	19	17	89%	19	100%
pattern	15	7	47%	10	67%
clothing	3	0	0%	0	0%
quality	3	1	33%	1	33%
food	7	5	71%	6	86%
package	5	4	80%	4	80%
celebration	3	2	67%	2	67%
title	3	3	100%	3	100%
other	22	17	77%	18	82%
	105	77	73%	85	81%

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shape	25	21 84%	22 88%
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pattern	15	7 47%	10 67%
clothing	3	0 0%	0 0%
quality	3	1 33%	1 33%
food	7	5 71%	6 86%
package	5	4 80%	4 80%
celebration	3	2 67%	2 67%
title	3	3 100%	3 100%
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	105	77 73%	85 81%

- Most “missing” verbs exist in the larger corpus – they’re just rare!

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- Some of the verbs only appear in quotation marks, poetic usages, ad copy, etc. – possible back-formation
- Possible systematic gaps: categories identified by Šimandl (2017)

Quality

meaning	no verb in SYN2020	verb in SYNvI2	verb in SYNvI2 including metalinguistic usage
pattern	15	7 47%	10 67%
clothing	3	0 0%	0 0%
quality	3	1 33%	1 33%

These all have foreign bases and have presumably calqued the affix:

(I4) renomé renomovaný
'renown' 'renowned'

(I5) talent talentovaný
'talent' 'talented'

(I6) afekt afektovaný
'affect' 'affected'

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- (I4) renomé renomovaný
 ‘renown’ ‘renowned’

A rare attestation:

- (I7) ‘The first editing of my text was done by my friend Vilma
 Klímova-Kadlečková, who, many years ago,’
 než **se** **renomovala** jako drsná sci-fi spisovatelka, ...
 before REFL.ACC renowned as harsh sci-fi author
 ‘before she gained renown as a bad-ass sci-fi author, ...’

Clothing

meaning	no verb in SYN2020	verb in SYNv12	verb in SYNv12 including metalinguistic usage
pattern	15	7 47%	10 67%
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One native base:

- (20) kroj krojovaný
 ‘(folk) costume’ ‘wearing a (folk) costume’

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One native base:

- (20) *kroj* *krojovaný*
 ‘(folk) costume’ ‘wearing a (folk) costume’

Though *krojovat* isn't in either corpus, it is attested elsewhere:

- (21) každý člen, který složí stanovený slib[,] je povinen **se**
 every member who takes established oath is required REFL.ACC
krojovat a udržovat kroj v náležitém stavu
 costume.INF and maintain.INF costume in proper state
 “every member who takes the established oath is required to wear their cos-
 tume and maintain it in a proper state”

(<https://www.vltavan-praha.cz/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Vnitřní-předpis-spolku.pdf>)

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One native base:

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 ‘(folk) costume’ ‘wearing a (folk) costume’

Clothing and quality forms usually just have *-ovaný_A*, but *krojování* does appear in SYNv12:

- (21) ‘From the beginning [DTJ] was a distinctive component of [Scouting] in its conception of scouting unions with their own activity,’
 ale i **krojováním**.
 but also costuming.INS
 ‘but also in its costuming.’

Pattern

meaning	no verb in SYN2020	verb in SYNV12	verb in SYNv12 including metalinguistic usage
pattern	15	7 47%	10 67%
clothing	3	0 0%	0 0%
quality	3	1 33%	1 33%

Some of the more outré patterns only appear highly metaphorically (cf. *zebrovaný* ‘zebra-striped’):

- (22) Když vykročili mezi staleté buky a měsíční světlo
 when stepped out.M.PL among centuries.ADJ beeches and lunar light
 je **zebrovalo** vápennými pruhy a skvrnami ...
 them.ACC zebra-striped lime.ADJ stripes.INS and patches.INS
 ‘When they stepped out towards the centuries-old beeches and the moon-
 light zebra-striped them with whitewash-like stripes and patches ...’

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Many of the more “regular” patterns have natural verb uses (cf. *puntikovaný* ‘polka-dotted’):

- (23) Mezi ně jsem pak ještě **puntíkovala** světle růžovým
 between them PST.ISG then still polka-dotted lightly pink.INS
 lakem na nehty.
 varnish for nails
 ‘Between them I then also polka-dotted with light pink nail polish.’

Are the ostensible verbal bases of apparent pseudo-deverbals actually non-existent?

- They usually are attested in the larger corpus, suggesting that they are accessible to speakers but rarely used

Evidence that pseudo-deverbals contain verbs

Empirical answers: systematic differences

Are there systematic differences in meaning between deverbals and pseudo-deverbals?

- Verbs are markedly rarer for certain meanings: pattern, clothing, quality
- However, even in these cases we see some evidence that the verbs are used when appropriate

No strong evidence that there is a subclass of pseudo-deverbals not containing verbs – the truly non-existent verbs are unsystematic, as expected if we allow potential verbs

Empirical answers: clusters of derived forms

Are there clusters of pseudo-deverbals derived from a single base?

- Quite common, especially *-ovaný_A* and *-ování_N*
- The pattern, clothing, and quality forms show mixed behavior:
 - Patterns: both *-ovaný_A* and *-ování_N* are very common
 - Clothing and (especially) quality: almost exclusively *-ovaný_A*, *-ování_N* very rare
 - Result nominals in these cases plausibly blocked by base noun (*talentování* \approx *talent*)
 - Many are calques, which could yield *non-systematic* gaps

Evidence that all pseudo-deverbals are built from verbs

Outline

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Theoretical background
- 3 Previous work
- 4 Corpus study
- 5 Discussion**
- 6 Summary

Remaining questions

If suffixes like *-ovaný_A* are always derived from verbal *-ova-*, we have two questions:

- 1 Why are the pseudo-deverbals lexicalized through verbs?
- 2 Why are the verbs so much rarer than forms derived from them?

We suggest the following (speculative) answers:

- 1 They are closely tied with *events*
- 2 Usually: results are referenced much more often than processes

Lexicalization as verbs

Main cluster of pseudo-deverbals: shape, coating, pattern, clothing, quality

- Most have the same relation of noun to verb: a transitive (or reflexive) expressing provision of the noun to the patient
- When we see a toothed gear, a striped shirt, etc., the *event* of adding teeth or stripes (even if notional) is salient

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Cross-linguistic variation in lexicalization:

category	Czech	English	Hungarian
pattern	pruhovaný	striped	csíkos
clothing	uniformovaný	uniformed	egyenruhás
quality	talentovaný	talented	tehetséges

English, like Czech, uses (what looks like) the passive participle (Nevins & Myler, 2014; Pesetsky, 1995; Tsujioka, 2002), Hungarian uses the general adjectivizer *-s* (Kiefer & Ladányi, 2000)

The deverbals of provision verbs most often represent *result states*:

- Resultative adjectives (*The shirt is striped*)
- Result nouns (*the striping on the shirt*)

These, in particular, are more salient/actual than their notional causing events

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Overall summary

- Previous and current corpus-based work in Czech identifies “pseudo-deverbals” that look like they are derived from nouns through verbs that seem not to exist
- In fact, most of the intermediate verbs are simply very rare, suggesting that pseudo-deverbals do contain verbs (potential forms, not affix telescoping)
- The nested corpus structure gives us a good way to find verbs that are very rare, both absolutely and relative to their derived nouns and adjectives
- Next step: compare with derivatives of regularly attested denominal verbs

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