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REFERENCE

COMPARISON AND GRADATION

*Edited by Götz Keydana, Wolfgang Hock
and Paul Widmer*

THE MOUTON HANDBOOKS OF
INDO-EUROPEAN TYPOLOGY

Götz Keydana, Wolfgang Hock and Paul Widmer (Eds.)
Comparison and Gradation in Indo-European

The Mouton Handbooks of Indo-European Typology



Edited by
Wolfgang Hock, Götz Keydana and Paul Widmer

Volume 1

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Preface

The present volume, the first in a series of Mouton Handbooks of Indo-European Typology, is an attempt to give an extensive (mostly synchronic) overview of the morphology and the syntax of constructions expressing comparison in ancient Indo-European languages. The volume covers all the major subphyla of the language family. We tried to present each branch as broadly as possible. The only major language missing from our survey is Gothic which had to be omitted due to force majeure.

Abbreviations

1	first person	GEN	genitive	PLUPF	pluperfect
2	second person	GER	gerund(ium)	PM	parameter marker
3	third person	HD	head	POSS	possessive
ABL	ablative	IMP	imperative	POSSIB	possibilitative
ACC	accusative	IMPERS	impersonal	POSTP	postposition
ADV	adverb(ial)	IND	indicative	PREP	preposition
ALL	allative	INDF	indefinite	PRF	perfect
ANIM	animate	INF	infinitive	PRS	present
AOR	aorist	INJ	injunctive	PRV	preverb
ARG	argument	INS	instrumental	PST	past
ART	article	INT	intensive	PTCL	particle
CAUS	causative	IPF	imperfect	PTCP	participle
COND	conditional	IPFV	imperfective	Q	question particle/ marker
CONJ	conjunction	ITER	iterative	QUOT	quotative particle
CONN	connective particle	LOC	locative	REFL	reflexive
CONV	converb	MID	middle	REL	relative
CORREL	correlative	MOD	modifier	RES	resultative
CPD	comparative degree	MULT	multiplier	SBJV	subjunctive
CPREE	comparee	N-ACT	non-active	SG	singular
DAT	dative	NEG	negation, negative	SPD	superlative degree
DEF	definite	NOM	nominative	STAND	standard
DEM	demonstrative	OBJ	object marker	STM	standard marker
DES	desiderative	OPT	optative	SUP	supine
DIFF	difference	PAR	parameter	VOC	vocative
DU	dual	PASS	passive	WK	weak
EMPH	emphatic enclitic	PERL	perlativity		
EQD	equative degree	PFV	perfective		
FUT	future	PL	plural		

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1 Comparison and Gradation in Indo-European: Introduction and Overview

1 The Basics

“Fundamental to cognitive processing and the structuring of experience is our ability to compare events and register any contrast or discrepancy between them” (Langacker 1987: 101). It is hardly a surprise then that all known human languages have ways to express comparisons. What makes comparison such a rewarding topic for typological studies is the fact that it can be expressed by various means ranging from pragmatics to fully grammaticalized constructions.

The most frequent and possibly most fundamental type of comparison (see Jäger 2018: 433 with fns. 424, 425, 434) is one in which the listener/reader is invited to conceptualize one entity in terms of another entity. Typically, the two entities compared belong to fundamentally different ontological categories:

(1) *John is like a lion.*

Comparisons of this type are holistic: While the most salient properties relevant for the comparison may be made explicit or may be inferred from the context, they always evoke the whole concept of the comparandum. Thus, a discourse like the following is felicitous:

(2) A: *John won the heavyweight championships.*
B: *Yes, he is like a lion.*
A: *He hasn't got a mane, though.*

Comparative constructions like the one in (1) are called similitives. They will be discussed in greater detail in section 2.

Other types of comparison aim at specific properties pertaining to the compared individuals. They involve what Langacker (1987: 104) calls ‘selection’ and some type of gradation relative to the selected property. Gradation is the notion of explicitly assigning an entity a position relative to some other contextually relevant value(s) on a predicative scale. Gradation is thus always extent-based (Seuren 1973, von Stechow 1984, Kennedy 2001, Beck 2011). For example, (3) explicitly assigns Peter a value on the scale of body size that is closer to ‘tall’ than to ‘small’.

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(3) *Peter is rather tall.*

According to Sapir “[e]very quantifiable, whether existent (say *house*) or occurrent (say *run*) or quality of existent (say *red*) or quality of occurrent (say *gracefully*), is intrinsically gradable” (1944: 94). Thus *house* is gradable with respect to size, height, number of rooms etc., *running* with respect to speed, excitement of runner, length of time, *red* with respect to intensity or degree of conformity to some accepted standard of redness, and *gracefully* with respect to “activities which may be arranged in a graded series on the score of gracefulness” (ibid.). This implies that gradation is possible with various word classes such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. However, the prototypical comparanda are entities. It is thus not surprising that typologists have stressed the fact that gradation prototypically applies to adjectives (Jensen 1934: 109, Cuzzolin 2011: 563, Dixon 2012: 343) though it is actually attested in IE languages with all the word classes mentioned above.

Not only gradation, but gradability itself necessarily implies comparison. Consider:

(4) *David is smart.*

In (4) (cf. Heine 1997: 109), for instance, a speaker seems to intend nothing apart from ascribing a property to David. This is similar to a sentence like (5), where the adjective denotes a non-gradable property:

(5) *David is dead.*

However, a relative adjective like *smart* necessarily implies a comparative class relative to which the property denoted is evaluated. This class differs depending on the *primum comparationis*: Classifying a human as smart implies a different comparative class and thus a different value on a scale of smartness than doing the same with a cat as in (6):

(6) *This cat is smart.*

Values can be defined as equivalence classes (von Stechow 1984).

Non-gradable properties like *dead*, on the other hand, can be evaluated independently of comparison classes although they can always be coerced into gradient readings:

(7) *The American Dream is even more dead than you thought.* (nymag, 10/07/2016)

As a consequence of gradability, it is not uncommon to consider ungraded expressions like *smart* in (4) as a neutral pattern of grading, dubbed the ‘positive’ (Cuzzolin 2011: 552), or “*implicitly gradable but ungraded*” (Sapir 1944: 94). Since the positive fails to mark grading explicitly, it will be excluded from our survey unless it is used in comparative constructions. However, a caveat is in order: It is easy to come up with contexts in which an ungraded adjective like *smart* in (4) explicitly assigns David a value different from another possible value. In English this may happen when presuppositions and attitudes are being evaluated and compared (often, such a reading is marked by a dedicated intonation pattern):

- (8) *Wow, David is smart! I wasn't aware of that!* [= David is exceedingly smart]
 (9) A: *I have the impression that David is stupid.*
 B: *You are wrong, David is smart!* [= David is smarter than you think].

Acknowledging that the language-specific expression of gradation as defined above is multi-faceted and may interact with pragmatic factors in quite intricate ways, we take a hands-on approach: We focus on the explicit morphosyntactic and -phonological realization of gradation that sets gradation apart from expressions that are neutral in this respect. This approach is reasonable since in the kind of extinct corpus languages we are concerned with here it is often impossible to detect the subtleties of pragmatic inference in the first place. But it goes without saying that if in a given language some type of grading is systematically encoded exactly like the respective ungraded category, this type of comparison is documented.

With extent comparisons, two basic types can be distinguished (see already Small 1929: 12–13), namely comparisons of equality and comparisons of inequality. Concerning the latter, we can differentiate between comparisons of majority (or superior comparatives) and comparisons of minority (or inferior comparatives). As Cuzzolin (2011: 552) observes, the existence of formal means expressing the latter implies the existence of formal means expressing the former.

The following fundamental relations are possible in extent comparisons: Comparison involves two entities x and y (or sets of entities X and Y , the comparison class). The properties P and Q are attributed to x and y (or the members of X and Y), respectively, and the values of $P(x)$ and $Q(y)$ are compared relative to a scale. The entities x and y may constitute different referents ($x \neq y$) or they may be coreferent ($x = y$). The properties may differ ($P \neq Q$) or not ($P = Q$). If they differ, they are conceptualized as

commensurable in a given context.¹ Throughout this book, *x* is called the comparee (CPREE), *y* the standard (STAND), and the properties compared the parameter(s) (PAR).²

Comparisons of inequality are statements about differing values attributed to one or more entities on a gradable scale with respect to one or more gradable properties. An example of this, the most frequent type of extent comparison, is (10):

(10) *Peter is smarter than David.*

In (11) two properties pertaining to one entity are involved:

(11) *John is more cautious than effective.* (adapted from Cuzzolin 2011: 566)

The existence of this type necessarily entails that of the prototypical one. We are not aware of any language where the types with one entity and/or more than one property differ structurally from the prototype. Thus, *pace* Hahnemann (1999: 2), they will not be addressed separately in the following. However, since comparisons involving only one entity and/or more than one property tend to be rare, we intend to illustrate them if pertinent data are available. In this we follow typological studies in gradation like Ultan (1972: 119) and Dixon (2008: 809, 2012: 367). Beck et al. (2004) point out that comparatives with more than one property are excluded in Japanese. But since the ungrammaticality of a construction cannot be deduced from its absence from a corpus, such conclusions are unattainable for the languages under consideration in this volume.³

Comparisons of equality are statements about values that are considered to be near-identical or identical (presupposing a contextually given granularity). In (12), the values of two dimensions of a three-dimensional space are said to be identical on a scale commonly used to measure three-dimensional extensions.

(12) *The room is as high as it is wide.*

Comparison of equality, though generally recognized as a type of comparison, is cross-linguistically underexplored (Ultan 1972: 134, Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998: 277, Treis & Vanhove 2017: 1).

¹ Cuzzolin (2011: 566) argues that in such cases, e. g. (10) below, “there is no real comparison” and that “the qualities involved are not put on any scale at all, since they are intrinsically of different value.” We reject this argument: In extent comparisons, the compared properties are always conceptualized as comparable relative to some scale, even if this implies coercion.

² Compare below section 3 on the basic constituents of comparative constructions.

³ The restrictions of non-informant corpus languages are also the reason why we cannot address further issues discussed in Beck et al. (2009).

In equality and inequality constructions alike, the standard may either be specific, i. e. referring to individual discourse referents, or generic, i. e. referring to classes. Cf. (13) and (14):

(13) *Peter is as tall as a basketball player.*

(14) *Peter is taller than a basketball player.*

In the following, we give a detailed notional overview of grading constructions (section 2), followed by a detailed classification of construction types realizing these notional patterns and an introduction to the terminology used in this study (section 3). In the last section we give an overview of the morphosyntax, the morphonology, and the syntactic patterns of the basic elements of grading constructions with special attention to the expression of the graded property (section 4).

2 Notional overview

The notional overview given in this chapter is neither hierarchically organized nor exhaustive. It provides the main types of grading and comparison as defined above. The main classification centers around the nature of the comparison between the values on a scale related to one another by the grading construction, the one exception being the similitive. Each type is illustrated by examples. For more data and further subclassification, see section 3.

Similitive

An entity of one category is conceptualized in terms of another category.⁴ As mentioned above, similitives are holistic. Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998: 278, 313) and Vanhove (2017: 196, 199) call them comparisons of manner.⁵ Prototypically, the standard is of a different category than the comparee. Thus, figurative similitives are frequent:

(15) *My father is like a mountain.*

Conceptualizing the comparee in terms of the standard presupposes that the standard be already part of the discourse universe or the common ground. This fact was claimed

⁴ We thank Agnes Jäger and Nina de Kreij for their invaluable input on similitives.

⁵ Cf. the more cautious formulation in Jäger (2018: 13): “... prima facie keine Gradsemantik..., sondern etwa Arten und Weisen.” Jäger (ibid.) opts for the term “Nicht-Grad-Äquativ” and proposes a feature based semantics “[– Ungleichheit, – Grad]” (2018: 433). Others explain similarity as a concept denoting “similar features” (Jenny 2017: 293) or “partial identity” (Haspelmath 2017: 13).

to be a general feature of comparisons by Small (1929: 12). However, while with extent comparisons contexts are conceivable where the standard is not already familiar (see below ex. 27), this is impossible in the case of similatives.

Parameters guiding the conceptualization may be added:

- (16) *My father is tall like a mountain.*
 (17) *Michael Jackson moves like James Brown.*

Degree readings, if they emerge, are epiphenomena of the use of gradable concepts as parameters (e. g. *tall* in ex. 16). They are not intrinsic to the similative construction.⁶ Rather, parameters profile aspects of a holistic concept without ousting others. Thus, the following utterance would be slightly odd since the similative evokes the whole *gestalt* of a mountain, not only its height:

- (18) *#My father is tall like a mountain. He is awfully skinny.*

A noteworthy feature of the similative which sets it apart from the equative is the fact that it always entails the positive of the parameter.⁷

- (19) *#Peter is tall like George. Actually, he is rather small.*

This entailment is a crucial difference between similatives and equatives and can be used as a heuristics distinguishing the two.

Special cases of the similative are sentences like (20), spoken with a pause before the standard marker *like*:

- (20) *Peter is tall, like George.*

Sentences like (20) state that in a given situation two propositions are true, *Peter is tall* and *George is tall*. In other words, this type compares propositions. This type of similative does not imply that the standard is already given.

Another special case of the similative is the hypothetical comparison or simulative (Treis 2018: iii):

- (21) *Michael Jackson moves as if he were James Brown.*

⁶ We assume that this is what Jäger (2018: 13) has in mind when stating that “Nicht-Grad-Äquative besitzen damit [...] keine ausschließlich gradbasierte Semantik, wobei unter Umständen die verglichene Art und Weise auch Grade einer Eigenschaft umfassen kann, grundsätzlich aber eine ganze Reihe von ggf. auch nicht-graduierbaren Eigenschaften eine Rolle spielt.”

⁷ Entailment of the positive is the reason Thurmair (2001: 149) calls similatives ‘polar comparisons’. We find this use of the word *polar* slightly misleading.

This type explicitly highlights the counterfactual nature of the comparison.

With similatives, the following basic relations may hold: $x \neq y$, $x = y$ (if the profiled $P \neq Q$), profiled $P = Q$ and profiled $P \neq Q$. As with equatives, some languages (such as Dutch) distinguish specific and generic similatives. In the languages discussed in this volume, we found no evidence for this distinction.

Equative

The score on a scale of the property (resp. properties) attributed to the compared entities or sets of entities is identical or near-identical within a contextually given granularity. Ex. (22) states that on a scale of body size John's score is identical to the score of George.

(22) *John is as tall as George.*

The following basic relations may hold: $x \neq y$, $x = y$ (if $P \neq Q$), $P = Q$ and $P \neq Q$. The granularity may be made explicit as in (23):

(23) *John is roughly/exactly as tall as a basketball player.*

Equatives do not entail the positive of the parameter. Thus, a sentence like (24) is felicitous:

(24) *John is as tall as George, but actually he is rather small.*

In (23), the standard, to which John is compared, has generic reference, while in (24) the reference is specific. Languages like Lizu, Tibeto-Burman, use different constructions depending on the reference. The languages in our sample do not formally distinguish the two types of reference, although there are tendencies to prefer certain constructions over others in generic contexts in Latin (see Ittzés, this volume). A difference between predicative and adjunct uses of equatives is attested in Greek (de Kreij, this volume).

Equative semantics are also attested with comparatives. This is the case of the correlative conditional or correlative diptych in the sense of Cuzzolin (2011: 639):

(25) *The more, the merrier!*

Similarly, comparatives with standards conceptualized as the endpoint of a scale are often classified as equatives. Cf. ex. (26):

(26) *The dentist's teeth are whiter than snow.*

Hyperboles like this are widely attested in our sample. Their exact semantics is contested; see most recently Ittzés (fthc.) as well as the contributions of de Kreij and Ittzés to this volume.

As with other extent comparisons, the standard is typically part of the discourse universe. Other than with similatives, however, givenness is not a necessary condition on standards:

- (27) A: *Peter is smaller than his parents.*
 B: *At least he is taller than his brother!*

This discourse is felicitous even in contexts where the fact that Peter has a brother is new to the hearer.

Depending on the language, the formal means of expressing equatives and similatives may differ, as in e. g. Albanian, Classical Armenian, and the Insular Celtic languages (the latter with designated morphemes to mark equatives). If they do not differ, as in the other languages in our sample, the exact demarcation between both types of comparison is sometimes impossible to draw. In such cases, entailment of the positive is a crucial criterion. But this, too, has its limits: One comes from the fact that we are dealing with non-informant languages. Testing for entailment is therefore next to impossible. The other is more fundamental: While entailment is a necessary property of similatives, the opposite, namely that equatives never entail the positive, is not true. Compare the following examples:

- (28) *#John's teeth are white like milk. Actually, they are yellow.*
 (29) *#John's teeth are as white as milk. Actually, they are yellow.*

(28) is a similative, and the entailment relation is as expected. The utterance is therefore odd. However, the same is true of (29), an equative. Equatives entail the positive if it is known from the context or from world knowledge that the positive is true for the standard. This is clearly the case of milk in (29), but not in the case of (24) above.

Comparative

The score of the property (resp. properties) attributed to the comparee is different from that of the same or a commensurable property attributed to the standard, as exemplified by (30)–(32):

- (30) *John is smarter than George.*
 (31) *John is less smart than George.*
 (32) *John is dumber than George.*

The score of the property attributed to the comparee may be higher on the scale or lower on the scale. Thus, we may distinguish a comparative of superiority/majority and a comparative of inferiority/minority. To our knowledge, the latter is never expressed by a construction which, apart from the morphemes used, differs from that of the former. Note, however, that the parameter marker in inferiority constructions is never a bound morpheme. Inferiority may also be expressed lexically by use of a polar adjective, as in (32).

The difference on the scale can be made explicit as in (33):

(33) *John is taller than George by 5cm.*

This type was labeled ‘differential comparative’ by Beck (2011: 1383 et passim).

As noted above, with comparatives it is possible to compare a comparee and a standard relative to two parameters which are conceptualized as commensurable. See (34) as well as (11) above:

(34) *John is taller than George is broad.*

This type is called subcomparative by Bresnan (1973) and Beck (2011: 1342). In languages like Japanese, subcomparatives are blocked (Beck et al. 2004: 290). We are not aware of any such blocking in the languages in our sample.

Finally, the standard may be introduced by a clause:

(35) *Peter is taller than George is broad.*

(36) *Peter is taller than I had expected.*

We follow Beck et al. (2012: 149) in calling this type the clausal comparative. In some languages, comparatives are negative polarity contexts. In our sample, there is no evidence for this pattern.

With comparatives, all possible relations may hold: $x \neq y$, $x = y$, $P = Q$ and $P \neq Q$.

Superlative

The score of a property attributed to the comparee differs from that of the same property attributed to the standard. The latter, being the comparison class, is necessarily a set with cardinality ≥ 2 (cf. Gorshenin 2012: 59 f.). The score attributed to the comparee is necessarily an endpoint relative to the values scored by the comparison class.

(37) *John is the smartest (of all people in attendance).*

(38) *John is the least smart (of all/us).*

(39) *John is the dumbest (of us all).*

The score of the property attributed to the comparee may be a maximum (superlative of superiority/majority) or a minimum (superlative of inferiority/minority). As with comparatives, the latter is never expressed by a construction distinct from that of the former. Again, inferiority may be expressed lexically by use of a polar adjective, see (39). Superlatives are negative polarity contexts in some languages. The data in our samples are inconclusive as to this matter.

A special case worth mentioning is what Sapir (1944:113) calls the “unconditioned superlative” or “absolute superlative”, as in:

(40) *John is the smartest man possible.*

Here, the comparee is compared to every entity conceivable as a member of the standard.

With superlatives, necessarily $P=Q$. Further, the comparee is an element or a proper subset of the standard: $x \in Y$ or $X \subset Y$. The comparee x is compared to every $y \in Y$.

Both in comparatives and superlatives, the standard may be omitted. As it can always be inferred from the context, we follow Beck et al. (2012: 148) in labeling this pattern contextual comparatives/superlatives.

Elative

The score of the property attributed to the comparee is different from the average in the comparison class. Typically, the deviation is to the upper end of the scale. However, the opposite is possible as well, as in Latin *subacidus* ‘slightly acid’ or German *leidlich brauchbar* ‘moderately useful’. The deviation may be specified using various kinds of expression such as *very*, *rather*, *quite* or *extremely*, as in:

(41) *John is very/rather/quite/extremely smart.*

Excessive

The score of the property attributed to the comparee exceeds some contextually defined value.

(42) *John is too smart.*

In some languages, the excessive is a negative polarity context. The corpora investigated for this volume are inconclusive in this respect.

The excessive is not the only construction which is used to rate the score of the property attributed to the comparee. Cf. (43), where the score of the property attributed to the comparee equals some contextually defined lower limit:

(43) *John is smart enough.*

Relations between the notional types

Some of the construction types discussed here can stand in for others. Thus, comparatives and superlatives can be used to denote elatives:

(44) *He had a most pleasing personality.*

(45) *Input from the private sector and civil society is most welcome.*

Also, in some of the languages presented here, comparatives may be used in superlative constructions. See 4.4 below and the individual chapters.

3 Constructions expressing gradation

For expository reasons, most examples in the following survey illustrate predicative constructions expressing gradation. We are aware of the fact that grading may also occur in attributive constructions and with other word classes like adverbs (see above):

(46) *The smartest man wins the prize.*

(47) *John runs faster than George.*

With rare exceptions, we do not use constructions like these as illustrations since attributive and adverbial constructions usually do not differ substantially from predicative constructions. Rather, for any given language the spectrum of attributive and adverbial constructions attested is always a proper subset of the attested predicative constructions. If differences occur, they are noted in the following chapters.

In the literature on comparison and gradation, terminology varies considerably; cf. the discussions in Cuzzolin (2011: 555) and Stolz (2013: 9). The labels of the constituents appearing in constructions expressing gradation used in this book are similar to those of Ultan (1972: 126).

We identify five primary constituents essential to any predicative comparative construction. In accordance with the ontology developed above and following Ultan we take four of these to be primitives (the abbreviations used in the following are given in parentheses):

(I) The *comparee* (CPREE), i. e. the entity which is set into a relation with or against some standard of comparison:

(48) *Peter is as tall as George.*

(49) *George is as tall as Peter.*

Since (48) and (49) have the same truth conditions, selection of the comparee is due to topichood or profiling.

(II) The *standard* (STAND) against which the CPREE is compared. *Standards* do not necessarily have to be expressed, as they may be inferred from the context. Standards can also be introduced as scopes, i. e. as the set of entities from which the standard is taken. The difference can be seen from the following example:

(50) *Peter is smarter than most of his friends in class.*

While *most of his friends* is the standard to which Peter's smartness is compared, *in class* gives the set from which the standard is drawn. Scope may be expressed independently of standard:

(51) *Peter is the smartest student in class.*

(52) *Peter is the smartest of all students.*

As outlined above and evinced by (51) and (52), with superlatives the comparee is always a member of the reference set. In the glosses throughout this book, we only distinguish between proper standards and scopes in cases where both occur in one and the same example. Else, standard and scope are glossed uniformly by STAND.

Standards may either be introduced as phrases (phrasal comparison, e. g. ex. 50 above) or as clauses (clausal comparison):

(53) *Peter is the smarter than anyone thought possible.*

As discussed above, the standard is typically part of the discourse universe. With similatives, this is a necessary condition.

(III) The *parameter* (PAR), i. e. the property relative to which the CPREE is compared to the STAND. Due to their holistic nature, parameters are not obligatory (and never exclusive) with similatives,

(IV) The *parameter marker* (PM), which typically marks the value of the parameter attributed to the comparee relative to the standard. In cases where no degree is involved in the comparison, the *parameter marker* simply identifies the parameter. *Parameter marker* and *parameter* always form a constituent. The *parameter marker* does not necessarily have to be present as the parameter may be identified by its syntactic role and as the degree may be inferred from the context.

The last label is not derived from the semantics of comparison, but it is an essential element of comparative constructions:

(V) The *standard marker* (STM) identifies the *standard*. It always forms a constituent with the latter. Absence of a *standard* necessarily implies absence of a *standard marker*. *Standard markers* may be specific to grading constructions, as with the dative of comparison in Old High German (see Jaeger & Walkden, this volume). More frequently, they are non-specific. Many languages make use of simple noun phrase syntax (genitives), locative constructions, instrumental constructions, or separative constructions. Case may also be selected by adjectives of comparison like *similar* or verbs like *to excel*. As mentioned above, superlatives always pick an entity or subset from a reference set. Thus, STM with superlatives is never a designated marker introducing standards (or scopes), but rather a partitive case *vel sim*. Throughout this book, all standard markers, be they designated or not, are glossed as STM in the examples.

Optional additional constituents are multipliers (MULT) as in (54) and scores (SCORE) as in (55). Also, the difference on a scale (DIFF) may be made explicit, as in (56):

(54) *Peter is twice as smart as George.*

(55) *Peter is by far the smartest guy around.*

(56) *Peter is taller than John by 20cm.*

Various taxonomies of comparison constructions have been proposed in the literature. Cuzzolin (2011: 575 f.) provides a brief overview of the classifications proposed by Stassen (1985), Heine (1997), Ultan (1972) and Cherberman (1999). To these may be added Hahnemann (1999), Dixon (2008, 2012), Gorshenin (2012) and Stolz (2013) as well as Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) and Haspelmath (2017) with regard to equative and simulative constructions. The most recent review of the literature can be found in Treis (2018: iv–xviii).

In the present sketch we classify the constructions used to express comparison and gradation along two dimensions, STM and PM. Thus:

Table 1: Taxonomy of constructions

PM	BM	FM	exceed/equate	–
STM				
flag	1. flag / BM	2. flag / FM	3. flag / E	4. flag / –
ptcl	5. ptcl / BM	6. ptcl / FM	7. ptcl / E	8. ptcl / –
–	9. – / BM	10. – / FM	11. – / E	

Abbreviations used:

FM = free morpheme.

BM = bound morpheme.

We acknowledge that free morphemes and bound morphemes may be conceived of as end points of a cline; bound morphemes with word-like features (like the superlative marker *-tama-* in Avestan) should be noted.

E = exceed/equate-Type. Verbs, adjectives or adverbs with varying valency are attested as degree markers. If the comparee is an element of the standard, the exceed type necessarily has a superlative reading. If it is not an element of standard, a comparative reading results.

ptcl = the standard may be marked by a particle (which is either specific to grading constructions or has a broader scope, like Vedic *yád*). We use the term particle to denote any indeclinable STM, be it morphologically complex (like Latin *tamquam*) or not (like Vedic *ná*).

flag = the standard is marked on the dependent by case or adposition (which, again, is either construction specific or has broader scope, like e. g. the genitive). We acknowledge the fact that case-marker and adposition are endpoints on a cline.

If attested, further subtypes will be listed without grouping them hierarchically. Note that all types are typically classified according to their semantics, not according to possible inferences. Thus, the semantics of a sentence like

(57) *John is not more clever than George.*

is that of a comparative (of inferiority). The fact that the negative polarity invites an inference as to the fact that John is either less clever or equal in cleverness to George (John \leq George) is pragmatic and will be mostly ignored in the following survey. Data such as (57) are relevant only if such a construction were the sole, or at least the preferred, way of expressing inferiority (see e. g. Itzès, this volume, on Latin).

In the following short overview, we present prototypical examples of the main patterns attested in the languages surveyed in this volume. We restrict ourselves to examples for structurally distinct constructions. Thus, except for the correlative diptych, comparisons with more than one parameter are not illustrated. Similarly for equatives and comparatives where CPREE and STAND are coreferential, and for superlatives and comparatives of inferiority/minority. For details, we refer to the contributions on individual languages.

3.1 Similitive

Similitives, being the most basic type of comparison, are attested in all ancient IE languages except for those attested in exceedingly small and/or fragmented corpora.

The most basic pattern of similitives corresponds to type 4 or 8 of our taxonomy, since no parameter is involved:

- (58) Vedic (RV 3.36.8)
- | | | | |
|--------------|------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| <i>hradá</i> | <i>iva</i> | <i>kukṣáyaḥ</i> | <i>somadhánāḥ</i> |
| lake.NOM.PL | like | cheek.NOM.PL | holding-Soma.NOM.PL |
| STAND- | STM | CPREE | -STAND |
- ‘His cheeks are like lakes of Soma.’

This pattern is common throughout the languages documented in this volume, either with a particle or a flag as STM. In Hittite, an affix deriving denominal adverbs is attested as STM. See Molina, this volume. Frequently, a parameter profiled in the otherwise holistic comparison is given explicitly. The most common pattern is seen in (59), where the STM is a particle:

- (59) Ancient Greek (Homer, *Iliad* 14.185)
- | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|------------|---------------|------------|
| <i>leukòn</i> | <i>d’</i> | <i>ēn</i> | <i>ēēlios</i> | <i>hós</i> |
| white.NOM | but | be.IPF.3SG | sun.NOM | like |
| PAR | | [CPREE] | STAND | STM |
- ‘white was it like the sun’

In the languages documented in this volume, designated case markers for standards in similitives are not attested. (But see Milizia, this volume, on Ossetic.) Frequently, the parameter marker (PM) is expressed by a verb or an adjective. The standard is then flagged by a case selected by the governing verb or adjective:

- (60) Vedic (RV 1.52.11; Zeilfelder 2001: 128)
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>te ...</i> | <i>sáho</i> | <i>dyám</i> | <i>ánu</i> | <i>śávasā</i> | <i>barháñā</i> |
| 2SG.DAT | might.NOM | heaven.ACC | towards | majesty.INS | power.INS |
| | CPREE | STAND.STM | PM- | PAR | PAR |
- bhuvat*
be.INJ.3SG
-PM
- ‘your might ... was equal to heaven in majesty and power’

Compounding, not covered by our taxonomy, is another pattern frequently attested for expressing similitives (or equatives):

- (61) Ancient Greek (Homer, Hesiod,
- passim*
-)

rhodo-dáktylos

rose-finger

STAND CPREE

‘having fingers like roses’

3.2 Equative

As mentioned above, similitives and equatives are hardly distinguishable in non-informant languages. Various types are attested. The most frequent ones are those where the STM is a particle. They occur either with or without a PM, as seen in (62) and (63) respectively:

- (62) Latin (Cic.
- de orat.*
- 1.251)

Quid est oratori tam necessarium quam

what.NOM be.PRS.3SG orator.DAT as necessary.NOM as

CPREE

PM PAR

STM

vox?

intonation.NOM

STAND

‘What is so essential to an orator as intonation?’

- (63) Vedic (RV 1.8.5; Zeilfelder 2001: 129)

dyaúr ná prathiná śávaḥ

heaven.NOM like width.INS power.NOM

STAND

STM PAR

CPREE

‘wide as the heaven extends his power’

In Breton, PAR and PM can be repeated for comparee and standard:

- (64) (Early) Modern Breton (HMSB: 50)

an tri ferson=ze zo ker koz ha ker koz

ART 3 person-DEM is EQD old and EQD old

CPREE.STAND

PM PAR

PM PAR

‘those three persons are equally old’

As with similitives, verbs or adjectives are also frequent PMS. The following Greek example (65) illustrates the pattern. The relevant verb is notably construed with two datives; thus *Pérsēisi* may be licensed either by *plēthei* or by the infinitive *mákhesthai*, its second instantiation being elided under identity.

- (65) Ancient Greek (Herodotus 7.103.4)

kaì anisōthéntas pléthei ... Hállēnas Pársēisi móúnoisi
 and equal.AOR.PASS.PTCP.ACC.PL number.DAT H.ACC.PL P.DAT alone.DAT
 PM PAR CPREE STAND.STM
mákhesthai
 fight.INF
 ‘even if the Greeks were equal in numbers [to the Persians] to fight with just the Persians’

Only in the Insular Celtic languages is the parameter marked by a bound morpheme, the equative degree (EQD). Cf. (66), with an adposition as the STM:

- (66) Middle Irish (Corm. 36)

comdhub fri héc a drech
 EQD.dark to death his face
 PM.PAR STM STAND CPREE
 ‘his face is as dark as death’

On the correlative diptych, which is also widely attested in ancient IE languages, see (25) above; on comparatives in equative constructions, see (26) above.

Equatives can be used as exclamatives. This pattern is attested e. g. in Classical Armenian. It is grammaticalized in Middle Breton (see Nurmio & Russell, this volume).

3.3 Comparative

In most ancient IE languages with the notable exception of Anatolian and the Tocharian languages, the parameter is marked by a degree marker, be it an affix or an unbound morpheme. In all the languages in our corpus which make use of bound PMs, constructions with free ones are also attested; cf. the following Latin examples:

- (67) Latin (Cic.
- Catil.*
- 1.11)

patria, quae mihi vita mea multo
 native-land.NOM which.NOM 1SG.DAT life.ABL mine.ABL much
 CPREE STAND.STM
est carior
 be.PRS.3SG dear.CPD.NOM
 PAR.PM
 ‘my native land, which is much more dear than my life’

(68) Latin (Verg. *Aen.* 5.724 f.)

<i>Nate,</i>	<i>mihi</i>	<i>vita ...</i>	<i>care</i>	<i>magis</i>
born.VOC	1SG.DAT	life.ABL	dear.VOC	more
CPREE		STAND.STM	PAR	PM

‘my son, more dear than life’

The data suggest that in languages where both types are attested, the distribution is essentially free, though there seem to be preferences for one or the other type in some languages (see e.g. Ittzés, this volume, on Latin). In Tocharian as in Anatolian, ungraded adjectives are used throughout in comparative constructions, as PMS marking degree do not exist:

(69) Tocharian B (THT 496a2)

(<i>wno</i>) <i>lme ...</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>cisa</i>	<i>lāre</i>	<i>māsketār=ñ</i>
being.NOM ...	not	2sg.PERL	dear.NOM	be.PRS.3SG-1SG
CPREE		STAND.STM	PAR	

‘there is no one dearer to me than you’

Ungraded adjectives in comparative constructions are also attested in Epic Sanskrit (see Kulikov, this volume).

Two basic ways of introducing the standard are attested in our corpus, either by case or adposition or by use of a comparative particle. The cases or adpositions used as STMs else typically denote spacial relations, be it separation or location, as in:

(70) Ancient Greek (Homer, *Iliad* 1.186; Cuzzolin 2014: 332)

<i>hósson</i>	<i>phérterós</i>	<i>eimi</i>	<i>séthen</i>
how much	strong.CPD.NOM	be.PRS.1SG	2SG.from
	PAR.PM	[CPREE]	STAND.STM

‘how much stronger I am than you’

While case marking of STMs is typically restricted to just one case (with rare exceptions e.g. in Latin or Old Lithuanian), this does not hold for adpositions, as e.g. Greek and Latin attest a variety of different tokens in this function. There is no evidence for allatives as STMs in ancient IE languages. Cross-linguistically, this is hardly surprising since “the goal schema is relatively uncommon globally” (Stolz 2013: 80), whereas separatives and locatives are frequent throughout the world. Notably, even in languages with rich case systems, adpositions are also used in this function – an exception being Old Indo-Aryan.

Non-local cases are rare as STMs: The Germanic languages mark the standard by dative case (see Jäger & Walkden, this volume):

(71) Gothic (1 Cor. 10.22)

ibai swinþozans imma sium?
 Q strong.CPD.NOM he.DAT be.PRS.1PL
 PAR.PM STAND.STM [CPREE]
 ‘are we stronger than he?’

In other languages, different non-local cases may be attested, though they are never prototypical for comparative constructions. See (72) for an instrumental in this function:

(72) Old Lithuanian (Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblia* 1580: VII. 141r_{21f.}, Luke 12.24; Fraenkel 1928: 181)

A ius io daugefneis efte ieis?
 and 2PL.NOM so much much.CPD.INS.PL be.PRS.2PL they.INS
 CPREE PAR.PM STAND.STM
 ‘Of how much more value are you than they!’

The instrumental is also attested as STM in Epic Sanskrit (see Kulikov, this volume).

Particles are equally frequent as STMs as cases and adpositions in our corpus. Often, as in the following example from Vedic, they stand in free distribution with case or adpositions.

(73) Vedic (AB 3,29,6; Delbrück 1888: 196)

ūrdhvāḥ puruṣasya bhūyāṃsaḥ prāṇā yac
 upper.NOM.PL man.GEN numerous.CPD.NOM.PL organ.NOM.PL than
 CPREE PAR.PM CPREE STM
cāvāñcaḥ
 and.lower.NOM.PL
 STAND
 ‘the upper organs of the human body are more numerous than the lower ones’

Here, the particle used is the most general Vedic subordinator, *yád*. Most other languages in our corpus make use of particles with a much more restricted scope. This is the case of Armenian, one of the languages in our corpus which only use particles as STMs:

(74) Classical Armenian (Matt. 3.11; Zeilfelder 1996: 179)

or zknin im gay hzawragoyñ k’an zis
 REL.NOM after 1SG.GEN come.PRS.3SG mighty.CPD.NOM than ACC.1SG
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘he who is coming after me is mightier than I’

Verbs or adjectives can be used as PMS in most of the languages in our corpus, though this construction is nowhere prototypical. An example from Latin is (75):

(75) Latin (Tac., *dial.* 26.6)

<i>ipsarum</i>	<i>virium</i>	<i>robore</i>	<i>multum</i>	<i>ceteros</i>
itself.GEN.PL	strength.GEN.PL	solidity.ABL	much	the other.ACC.PL
		PAR		STAND.STM

superat

PM.[CPREE]

surpass.PRS.3SG

‘he is far superior to all in the solidity of his very strength’

In all ancient IE languages, standards are not obligatory if they can be inferred from the context. Constructions omitting the standard, however, always presuppose constructions with standards.

3.4 Superlative

The existence of designated superlative constructions presupposes that of comparatives. The standard with superlatives is always properly speaking its scope (see above regarding exx. 51 and 52), i. e. a set with cardinality ≥ 2 of which the CPREE is a member. Thus, it is always quantificational. With designated superlatives particles as standard markers are not attested in the languages in our sample. Like in the case of comparatives, STMS with superlatives may be bound or unbound morphemes, as seen below in (76) and (77) respectively. The distribution is identical to that attested with comparatives.

(76) Latin (Cic., *fam.* 7.17)

..., <i>quod</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>alienissimum</i>	<i>est</i> ,
what.NOM	from	2SG.ABL	alien.SPD.NOM	be.PRS.3SG
CPREE	STM	STAND	PAR.PM	

subimpudens

videbare

somewhat-shameless.NOM seem.IPF.PASS.2SG

‘what is most alien to you, [namely] that you seemed somewhat shameless’

(77) Latin (Plaut., *Capt.* 1.1)

<i>nunc</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>occepit</i>		<i>quaestum</i>	<i>hunc</i>	<i>fili</i>
now	this.NOM	commence.PRF.3SG		acquisition.ACC	this.ACC	son.GEN
				CPREE		
<i>gratia</i>	<i>inhonestum</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>maxime</i>	<i>alienum</i>	<i>ingenio</i>	
for	dishonorable.ACC	and	most	alien.ACC	inclination.DAT	
			PM	PAR	STAND.STM	

suo

OWN.DAT

‘Now, for the sake of his son, has he commenced this dishonorable traffic, most alien to his own inclination.’

In languages like post-Homeric Greek, where determiners are obligatory, the parameter is always definite (see de Kreijl, this volume). Remarkably, even in languages with PMs explicitly marking superlatives, morphological comparatives are frequent in superlative constructions. The superlative reading is a logical consequence of negated existential quantification, as in (78):

(78) Vedic (RV 2.33.10; Zeilfelder 2001: 156)

<i>ná</i>	<i>vá</i>	<i>óḷīyo</i>	<i>rudra</i>	<i>tvád</i>	<i>asti</i>
NEG	and	mighty.CPD.NOM	R.VOC	2SG.ABL	be.PRS.3SG
		PAR.PM+CPREE		STAND.STM	

‘there is not a mightier than you, Rudra’

However, in some languages, comparative morphology may be used in superlative readings outside negated contexts if the standard contains a universal quantifier:

(79) Old Lithuanian (Konstantynas Sirvydas, *Punktay sakimu* I.177.)

<i>Chriftus ...</i>	<i>ira</i>	<i>ftebuklingiefnis</i>	<i>terp</i>	<i>wifu</i>
Chr.NOM	be.PRS.	wonderful.CPD.NOM	among	all.GEN.PL
CPREE		PAR.PM	STM	STAND

futwerimu

creature.GEN.PL

‘Christ is the most wonderful among all creatures.’

Similar patterns are attested in Classical Armenian (see Kölligan, this volume). In Middle Irish, the formal comparative has ousted the superlative completely (see Griffith, this volume).

As with comparatives, superlatives are not formally marked by a PM in Anatolian and in the Tocharian languages:

- (80) Hittite (KBo III 7 IV 15–17)

DINGIR.MEŠ=naš	ḫūmandas̄	^d Zašḫapunaš	šalliš
god.DAT.PL	all.DAT.PL	Z.NOM	great.NOM
STAND.STM		CPREE	PAR

‘Zašḫapunaš ist the greatest of all gods’

Note that the cross-linguistically frequent type of ungraded adjective plus focal element is not attested in our sample.

In accordance with the semantics outlined above, the STM with superlatives, be it a case or an adposition, prototypically denotes partitivity. This is true of the Ancient Greek genitive in (81) and of the Old Lithuanian adposition in (82):

- (81) Ancient Greek (Homer,
- Iliad*
- 2.673 f.; Ziemer 1884: 55, Zeilfelder 2001: 364)

<i>Nireús,</i>	<i>hòs</i>	<i>kállistos</i>	<i>anèr ...</i>	<i>tōn</i>	<i>állōn</i>
N.NOM	REL.NOM	comely.SPD.NOM	man.NOM	ART.GEN.PL	other.GEN.PL
		CPREE	PAR.PM		STAND.STM

Danaōn
D.GEN.PL
‘Nireus the comeliest man ... of all the Danaans’

- (82) Old Lithuanian (Mikalojus Daukša,
- Postilla Catholica*
- 1599: 181
- _{1,2}
-)

<i>Pękta</i>	<i>žime</i>	<i>didžėufia</i>	<i>vž</i>	<i>wiffās.</i>
fifth.NOM	sign.NOM	big.SPD.NOM	for	all.ACC.PL
		CPREE	PAR.PM	STM STAND

‘The fifth sign is the biggest of all.’

Verbs or adjectives may be used as PMs, but as with comparatives such constructions are never the default pattern. The type is attested e. g. in Ancient Greek:

- (83) Ancient Greek (Homer,
- Iliad*
- 23.742 f.)

<i>autàr</i>	<i>kállei</i>	<i>eníka</i>	<i>pāsan</i>	<i>ep’</i>	<i>aīan</i>
but	beauty.DAT	be superior.IPF.3SG	all.ACC	in	earth.ACC
	PAR	PM.CPREE			

pollón
very much.ADV
‘and in beauty it was far the goodliest in all the earth’

As with the comparative, the standard may be omitted if reconstructible from the context. This type presupposes the existence of related constructions with expressed standard.

3.5 Elative

Elatives, which due to their semantics outlined above are never attested with a standard, come in two flavors. They may be based on morphological superlatives or comparatives, as seen in (84) and (85) respectively:

- (84) Latin (Enn. *ann.* 599; Cuzzolin 2011: 641)
equitatus iit celerissimus
 cavalry.NOM go.PRF.3SG fast.SPD.NOM
 CPREE PAR.PM
 ‘the cavalry went on very fast’

- (85) Ancient Greek (Herodotus 3.53.1)
allá hoi katepháineto eĩnai nōthésteros
 but he.DAT seem.IPF.3SG be.INF stupid.CPD.NOM
 [CPREE] PAR.PM
 ‘(his eldest son,) who seemed to him to be slow-witted’ [~ ‘rather stupid’]

The other, widely attested type is morphological, either with prefixation as in (86) or, much more rarely, with reduplication as in (87):

- (86) Ancient Greek (Appianus Historicus, *BC* 4.4.29)
épaulin héteros eĩkhe perikallē
 country house.ACC other.NOM have.IPF.3SG very handsome.ACC
 [CPREE] [PM].PAR
 ‘another man had a very handsome country-place’

- (87) Epic Sanskrit (DKCar 2,5,24,1; Speyer 1886: 191)
kṣāmakṣāmāpi devatānubhāvād anatikṣiṇavarṇāvakāśā
 quite emaciated=even divinity.dignity.ABL unweakened-colour.place.NOM
 PAR.[PM] CPREE
sīmantiṇī
 woman.NOM
 CPREE
 ‘a woman, who though [of a] rather thin [aspect] had by divine power not too much lost of the brightness of her colour’

Finally, elative semantics can be expressed by a huge variety of intensifiers such as adverbs or parts of compounds as e.g. in German *hundemüde* or *totmüde*, both ‘very tired’ (see 5.2.1 below). An example from Greek is (88):

- (88) Ancient Greek (Homer, *Iliad* 16.46; Schwab 1895: 167)
- | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------------|--|-------------------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>hōs</i> | <i>pháto</i> | | <i>lissómenos</i> | <i>méga</i> | <i>népios</i> |
| so | speek.AOR.MID.3SG | | praying.NOM | very | silly.NOM |
| | [CPREE] | | | PM | PAR |
- ‘so spake he in prayer, fool that he was’ [~ ‘very silly’]

Note that *méga* is otherwise not attested in grading constructions.

3.6 Excessive

Like the relative, the excessive is never attested with a standard. Most frequently, it is based on a morphological comparative.

- (89) Latin (Cato *agr.* 61.1; Cuzzolin 2011: 593)
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>si</i> | <i>male</i> | <i>arabit,</i> | <i>radices</i> | <i>susum</i> | <i>abibunt,</i> |
| if | badly | plow.FUT.3SG | root.NOM.PL | up | go forth.FUT.3PL |
| | | | CPREE | | |
| <i>crassiores</i> | | <i>fient</i> | | | |
| thick.CPD.NOM.PL | | become.FUT.3PL | | | |
| | | PAR.PM | | | |
- ‘while bad plowing will cause the roots to come to the surface and grow too large’

The free morphemes attested as PMS in excessive constructions are typically not related to parameter markers used in other types of gradation. Cf. Ancient Greek:

- (90) Ancient Greek (Aristophanes, *Ach.* 471 f.)
- | | | | | |
|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>kai</i> | <i>gár</i> | <i>eim’</i> | <i>ágan</i> | <i>okhlērós</i> |
| and | for | be.PRS.1SG | too | importunate.NOM |
| | | [CPREE] | PM | PAR |
- ‘I am too importunate’

Rarely, the parameter can be marked by a verb. This type is also attested in Ancient Greek:

(91) Ancient Greek (Euripides, *Ba.* 785)

ou gâr all' huperbállei táde, ei pros gunaikṓn
 NEG for but exceed.PRS.3SG that.ACC if from woman.GEN.PL
 PM.[CPREE]

peisómesth' hà páskhomen
 suffer.FUT.1PL REL.ACC suffer.PRS.1PL

'for it is indeed too much if we suffer what we are suffering at the hands of women'

This concludes our survey of the basic constructions attested to express comparison or grading in the languages presented in this volume. For details we refer to the individual chapters.

4 Formal means of expressing grading and comparison

In this section, morphology is used in a broader sense comprising not only proper word formation processes like prefixing, suffixing, compounding etc., but also modifications of basic concepts by adverbs and grading particles as well as suppletive forms or terms consisting of several words. While the basic terms (Sapir's 'quantifiables') are in principle not linked to a specific part of speech, the overtly graded form as used in comparative constructions is in general an adjective or an adverb. But there are cases of graded nouns as well, e. g. Vedic *sómapāḥ somapávnām* 'the best soma-drinker' (RV 1.30.11) or Old Norse *mør meyja* 'the most beautiful girl' (Jensen 1934: 112). Grading and intensification are hard to distinguish from each other semantically, although not every intensive form can be used in comparative constructions, e. g. German/English *tot/dead* – *mausetot/stone-dead*, but **töter/deader* (Thurmair 2001: 104 fn. 2).

The classification follows the traditional morphological (resp. morphosyntactical) construction types and includes any word form or complex phrase which expresses a higher or lower degree of the corresponding basic notion, provided the graded form can be used in one (or more than one) of the above constructions.

4.1 Affixes

4.1.1 Suffixes

Most Indo-European languages continue in one form or another the competing reconstructed suffixes **-yes-/-yos-* (comparative) / **-is-to-* (superlative) and **(t)ero-* (comparative) / **(th)mo-* (superlative) – the latter suffixes, however, were not restricted to gradation. Some languages developed new suffixes, e.g. Lithuanian. *-iaus-* (superlative). These suffixes occur typically with adjectival bases, but are not restricted to them. Comparative and superlative forms can be made from nouns, e.g. Vedic *vīrātara-/vīrātama-* ‘more/most hero-like’ (*vīrā-* ‘hero’), Ancient Greek *kūnteros/kūntatos* ‘more/most dog-like, shameless’ (*kūōn* ‘dog’), from adverbs, e.g. Vedic *ādharma/adhamā-* ‘lower/lowest’ (*ādha* ‘below’), Ancient Greek *āsson/āgkhistos* ‘nearer/nearest’ (*āgkhi* ‘near’) or verbal bases, e.g. Vedic *yājīyas-/yājīṣṭha-* ‘better/best sacrificer’ (*yaj-* ‘offer, sacrifice’). In any case, the outcome of this process always seems to be an adjective, i. e. these suffixes have a double function of marking degree and word class (Zeilfelder 2001: 28–40). But in Sanskrit there are instances of comparatives to the third person singular of the present, e.g. *sīdatetarām* ‘is more despondent’, *vya-thayatitarām* ‘disturbs more’ (Whitney ²1889: 176, Speyer 1886: 189); corresponding superlatives are taught by Pāṇini (5,3,56): *pacatitamām* ‘cooks exceedingly well, cooks best of all’ and *jalpatitamām* ‘chatters very much, chatters more than all’ (Speyer 1886: 189; *-tarām/-tamām* < *-tara-/-tama-* + *-ām*). Many of these formations do not constitute a whole paradigm; sometimes there is no synchronic base at all, e.g. Ancient Greek *ameinōn* ‘better’ (cf. 4.3 Suppletion). Ancient Greek *-tero-* and Avestan *-tama-*/ Vedic *-tama-* trigger morphonological processes which suggest that similar to parts of compounds these suffixes had word-like status (Wackernagel 1889). Zeilfelder gives a comprehensive overview of the suffixal comparative and superlative formations in Vedic (2001: 224–291) and Homeric Greek (2001: 355–359). It is not unusual to accumulate more than one degree marker, e.g. Sanskrit *papīyastara-* ‘worse’ from the comparative *papīyas-* with the same meaning. Suffixes with equative (similitive) function are attested in Insular Celtic, e.g. Old Irish *dénithir* ‘as swift’ (*dían* ‘swift’), *fíriθir* ‘as true’ (*fír* ‘true’).

4.1.2 Prefixes

Prefixes are widely used for the elative type, e.g. Latin *perbonus* ‘very good’, *super-gloriosus* ‘exceedingly glorious’, *subacidus* ‘somewhat sour, sourish’, Ancient Greek *perikallēs* ‘very beautiful’, *hupérkalos* ‘exceedingly beautiful’, Old Church Slavonic *prēmōdrъ* ‘very wise’. But prefixes can be found as well in comparative and superlative constructions, cf. Old Church Slavonic *nailučbšii* ‘the best’, *naivęšte* adv. ‘most’.

4.1.3 Reduplication

To our knowledge partial reduplication is not attested as a grading device in ancient IE languages. Full reduplication, however, does occur. See (88) above as well as Classical Armenian *mecamec* ‘very big’, *ĵermaĵerm* ‘very warm’, or Sanskrit *dīṇadīṇa-* ‘very wretched or miserable’ (Speyer 1886: 191). Note that in other languages, such as Malagasy, reduplication weakens the meaning of the adjective (Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 38).

4.2 Constructions involving several lexemes

4.2.1 Compounds

Compounds occur in similitives and equatives (see above ex. 61 and the ample documentation in the individual chapters) as well as in elatives, e. g. German *fuchsteufelswild* ‘mad as hell’ (van Os 1989), Vedic *vātajūta-* ‘as swift as the wind’, Sanskrit *paramamahat-* ‘infinitely great’, Ancient Greek *arīpikros* ‘very bitter’, *agaklutós* ‘very famous’.

4.2.2 Lexical degree marker

The higher or lower degree of a property can be expressed analytically by using an adverb or a grading particle. A whole range of intensifiers with adjectives, nouns, and verbs in English is presented in Bolinger’s 1972 study *Degree Words*. Klein (1998: 20–23) proposes a classification of degree adverbs in Dutch, German, and English ranging from I ‘absolute degree’ (*completely, absolutely*) to VIII ‘negative degree’ (*not, not a bit*) including the intermediate stages II ‘approximative’ (*almost, nearly*), III ‘extremely high’ (*extremely, awfully*), IV ‘high’ (*very*), V ‘moderate’ (*rather, pretty*), VI ‘minimal’ (*somewhat, a bit*) and VII ‘quasinegative’ (*little, hardly*). Such adverbs occur in older stages of Indo-European languages as well, e. g. Latin *satis litteratus* ‘of considerable literary culture’, *mire gratus* ‘greatly welcomed’ or *valde longus* ‘very long’, Ancient Greek *telēōs áphrōn* ‘completely insane’, *órthios iskhurōs* ‘exceedingly steep’ or *epieikōs stenós* ‘rather narrow’ (Schwab 1895: 165–199). Whereas degree adverbs of this kind are mostly used in the relative type, the analytic comparative and superlative is usually characterized by adverbs like ‘more/most’ or ‘less/least’, e. g. Latin *magis mirum* ‘more marvelous’ (Cuzzolin 2011: 576). In the languages discussed in this book analytic forms are the only means to express comparatives and superlatives of minority, see e. g. Latin *minus sapiens* ‘less wise’. Other lexical means are used for example in Russian (e. g. *samyj čistyj* ‘the cleanest’), in Latvian (e. g. *pats labais* ‘the best’), and in Rumanian (e. g. *cam incert* ‘rather uncertain’, with *cam* < *quam*). Double marking

is frequent in Late Latin, e. g. *magis fortior* ‘much stronger’ (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 166 f.) and also occurs in Ancient Greek, e. g. *rhēiteroi mǎllon* (Homer, *Iliad* 24.243) ‘much easier’, *ékthistos ... málist’* ‘hateful above all’ (Homer, *Iliad* 2.220; Schwab 1895: 70, Zeilfelder 2001: 363).

4.2.3 Complex phrases

In some languages complex phrases are used to express a certain degree. Constructions with *figura etymologica* to convey the highest degree are widespread: Ancient Greek *agathós pǎsan aretén* ‘good with regard to goodness’ = ‘very good’, *ánax anáktōn* ‘the lord of the lords’ = ‘the greatest lord’ (Schwab 1895: 198 f.), Modern Armenian *vat-er-i vat-ə* ‘the bad of the bad’ = ‘the worst’ (Jensen 1934: 111 f.). In most cases, however, this stylistic device is used to intensify, often connected with already marked comparative or superlative forms: RV 9.97.3 *yaśástaro yaśásām* lit. ‘the more honored among the honored’, RV 2.33.3 *tavástamas tavásām* ‘the strongest of the strong’, Sanskrit *pri-yātpriyatarā-* ‘dearer than dear’ = ‘the very dearest’ (Speyer 1886: 190). ‘Quasielative’ (Reiter 1979: 134) expressions like Modern Greek *krýos mpoúzi* ‘ice-cold’ or Sursilvan *in buontad vin* ‘an excellent wine’ (lit. ‘in goodness wine’) (Lausberg 1972: 94) are not attested in our corpus.

4.3 Suppletion

Gaps in paradigms of comparative and superlative forms are sometimes filled (‘supplied’) by morphologically unrelated forms both in grammars and in actual language usage (cf. Schwyzer & Debrunner 1950: 184). Nearly all Indo-European languages use suppletion in comparison to a certain extent, cf. classical patterns like Latin *bonus – melior – optimus* or Ancient Greek *agathós – beltíōn – béltistos* ‘good – better – best’. Suppletion of the comparative necessarily implies that the superlative is suppletive, too. Either it is based on the stem of the comparative (like in the Greek example), or it has a suppletive stem of its own (as in the Latin example). Dieu (2009) provides a good survey of suppletion in comparison in Indo-European languages with special emphasis on Ancient Greek.

4.4 The syntax of gradation and comparison

Word order in grading constructions follows the general pattern attested in each language. We refer to the individual sections for details and illustrations. Attributive and predicative constructions differ with respect to word order in Classical Armenian

(see Kölligan, this volume). In Old and Middle Irish, graded adjectives are blocked in attributive use (see Griffith, this volume).⁸

Some types of grading constructions are (possible) negative polarity contexts. This is evident for comparatives in the West Germanic languages and Old Lithuanian (the latter probably under German influence). With both comparatives and superlatives Latin makes use of different PMS depending on the polarity (see Itzès, this volume). The connection of grading and negative polarity is also evident from the fact that in Greek, Vedic, and Baltic, the standard marker is or can be based on a negation. See the respective chapters for details.

Constructions omitting the standard do not differ structurally from those with an explicit standard in our corpus. Rather, they are built on the latter.

5 The questionnaire

It is a central aim of this book to present a detailed and exhaustive picture of comparison and gradation for each of the early Indo-European languages or subphyla covered and to ensure cross-linguistic comparability. In accordance with the top-down approach developed here, we thus presented the contributors with a questionnaire covering if not all, then at least the most pertinent constructions expressing the various types of comparison. The questionnaire is based on the general types of comparison distinguished in section 2 and the taxonomy of constructions given in section 3, table 1. Consequently, each of the following chapters is – at least in principle – structured identically.

Each chapter comprises sections on the similitive, the equative, the comparative, the superlative, the relative, and the excessive, in that order. Each of these sections presents the constructions attested in identical fashion across type and across languages or subphyla. Thus, in each of the following chapters all the attested constructions for each type of comparison are discussed and illustrated in the order of the construction types given in table 2.

⁸ The Attributive Comparative Generalization of Pancheva (2009) and Lechner (2017), which states that attributive comparatives in languages like German must be c-commanded by the comparee, cannot be corroborated by the data in our corpus. (It may be noted in passing that in our view the observed patterns are actually due to an adjacency condition.)

Table 2: Construction types

Constructions	1. Simila- tive	2. Equative	3. Compara- tive	4. Superla- tive	5. Elative	6. Excessive
Types						
(STM / PM)						
Type 1 (flag / BM):	1-1	2-1	3-1	4-1		
flag is case	1-1-1	2-1-1	3-1-1	4-1-1		
flag is adpos.	1-1-2	2-1-2	3-1-2	4-1-2		
Type 2 (flag / FM):	1-2	2-2	3-2	4-2		
flag is case	1-2-1	2-2-1	3-2-1	4-2-1		
flag is adpos.	1-2-2	2-2-2	3-2-2	4-2-2		
Type 3 (flag / E):	1-3	2-3	3-3	4-3		
flag is case	1-3-1	2-3-1	3-3-1	4-3-1		
flag is adpos.	1-3-2	2-3-2	3-3-2	4-3-2		
Type 4 (flag / –):	1-4	2-4	3-4	4-4		
flag is case	1-4-1	2-4-1	3-4-1	4-4-1		
flag is adpos.	1-4-2	2-4-2	3-4-2	4-4-2		
Type 5 (ptcl / BM)	1-5	2-5	3-5	4-5		
Type 6 (ptcl / FM)	1-6	2-6	3-6	4-6		
Type 7 (ptcl / E)	1-7	2-7	3-7	4-7		
Type 8 (ptcl / –)	1-8	2-8	3-8	4-8		
Type 9 (– / BM)	1-9	2-9	3-9	4-9	5-9	6-9
Type 10 (– / FM)	1-10	2-10	3-10	4-10	5-10	6-10
Type 11 (– / E)	1-11	2-11	3-11	4-11	5-11	6-11

For each type of comparison, constructions not covered by this taxonomy are given in an additional subsection if necessary. The sections close with surveys of the formal means of expressing the type of comparison under discussion.

Additional data further illustrating the patterns discussed in the chapters of this book are available at <https://gitlab.uzh.ch/paul.widmer/mhiet-vol1-gradation>.

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2 Anatolian

1 Introduction

The Anatolian branch of Indo-European languages includes extinct languages that were spoken in Asia Minor (Ancient Anatolia), among them Hittite, Luwian, Palaic, Lydian, Lycian, Carian, Sidetic, and Pisidian. Of all Anatolian languages Hittite, which was spoken in the 2nd millennium BC (approx. 1800–1200 BC), has the largest corpus of documents, preserved in the form of cuneiform tablets from the royal archives of the Hittite capital Hattusa and other cities of the Hittite Empire (territory of modern Turkey, Central Anatolia). Hittite was the official language of the governmental documents in the palace of Hattusa, and the Hittite corpus is our main source of data concerning Anatolian languages.

Significant linguistic influence in Asia Minor of the 2nd millennium BC was exerted by the Semitic language Akkadian, *lingua franca* of the Near East during the Bronze Age. The very writing system of Hittite, i. e. cuneiform, was adopted from Old Akkadian scribal schools, and many official documents of the Hittite Kingdom were in fact written in Akkadian. Hittite writing, therefore, contains many Akkadian and Sumerian ideograms, sometimes with addition of proper Hittite phonetic complements to aid the reader by making explicit the Hittite cases and verb endings (Hoffner & Melchert 2008; Kudrinski & Yakubovich 2016). The established practice of Hittitologists in transliteration of cuneiform signs is to use lower case for Hittite, upper case for Sumerian, and upper case italics for Akkadian¹.

Another language of the Anatolian family, Luwian, was in widespread use throughout the Hittite Kingdom, including the very heart of it, the city of Hattusa (Melchert 2003). Luwian is also presumed to be the main language of the kingdom of Kizzuwatna (15th–14th c. BC), later absorbed by the Hittite Kingdom. The Luwian dialect of Kizzuwatna displays features that point to Hurrian influence. Later, in the 1st millennium BC, Luwian also became the main written language of most Neo-Hittite states; as Yakubovich (2015) postulates, it is possible that the Luwian speakers were called “Hittites” at that time. The period when Luwian was used in writing covers the period of 1400–700 BC. It was written in two syllabic scripts: an adaptation of Sumerian-Akkadian cuneiform and Anatolian hieroglyphs. The same usage of Sumerian and

¹ Unless indicated otherwise, all examples are taken from Hittite. Fragmented contexts are marked in the following manner: Square brackets mark broken parts and the text restored philologically; round brackets mark the parts restored from copies of the text. Superscript marks determinatives (word class indicators, which were probably not pronounced in reading), subscript digits distinguish homophonous logograms. Since the script developed over time, hittitologists distinguish Old Script (OS), Middle Script (MS) and Neo-script (NS).

Akkadian heterograms and phonetic complements as mentioned for Hittite applies to Luwian texts as well.

One more Anatolian language used regionally in the Hittite Kingdom was Palaic, though only few Palaic formulae can be found embedded in the Hittite religious texts.

Hittite and Luwian express degrees of comparison with a rather limited range of structures (for a thorough overview, cf. Zeilfelder 1998, 2001). As Hoffner & Melchert (2008: 273) put it, “a well-established feature of the Hittite language, which separates it from the better-known ancient Indo-European languages, such as Latin, Greek, or Vedic, is the lack of morphological expression for the comparative and superlative degrees of adjectives”. For the most part, Hittite uses syntactic and pragmatic means to express comparatives and superlatives — indeed, there are no dedicated suffixal markers for expressing comparison that might correspond to Greek *-ίων, -ιστος, -τερος, -τατος*, Latin *-ior, -issimus*, or English *-er, -(e)st*. Yakubovich (2013: 157) shows that, by contrast with Hittite, Luwian has at least one suffix that expresses superlative semantics. The structural differences between Anatolian and the core Indo-European languages (Hoffner & Melchert 2008; Molina 2019) suggest that gradation morphosyntax has been formed independently after the separation of the Anatolian branch (cf. the discussion of Proto-Indo-European in Luján 2019; Szeptynski 2019). The general consensus is that the reconstructable morphosyntax of Indo-European developed after the Indo-Hittite split (the division between Proto-Anatolian and core Indo-European).

Three main Hittite sources have been exploited for the purpose of the present chapter, namely the online corpus of Hittite letters and instructions (Molina 2015 (ACHL)), the corpus of Hittite prayers (Rieken et al. 1), and the corpus of Hittite myths (Rieken et al. 2). All in all, c. 9000 clauses have been analyzed for the present chapter (4984 from Molina 2015, c. 3000 from Rieken et al. 1, 1000 from Rieken et al. 2). Occasionally, examples are taken from Hoffner & Melchert 2008 and CHD.

The Luwian data mainly stem from the well-understood bilingual inscription KARATEPE (following Yakubovich 2013) and the building inscription of Katuwa. In addition, the Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts (ACLT²) has been consulted.

2 Similitive

Similitive semantics in Hittite can be expressed: a. by adjectives (*šani/šaniya-* ‘the same’, cf. Akk. *ŠANŪ*); b. bound morphemes (*-ili*); c. by particles (*iwar* ‘in the manner

² The Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts (ACLT) comprises the Iron Age Luwian texts, most of which are included in the published volumes of the *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (CHLI) by J. David Hawkins, as well as the cuneiform texts of the Bronze Age published in the *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift* (StBoT 30) by Frank Starke.

of, like’; *maḥḥan* ‘as, like’; *mān* ‘as, like’); d. by adverbs (*apeniššan/QATAMMA* ‘the same way, likewise’); e. by verbs (*tak-* ‘to be like’); f. by complex syntactic structures.

The verb *takk-* can be found mostly in rituals from Asia Minor (CTH 412, 461), possibly translated, and a piece of a translated legend “The King of the Battle” (*šar tamḥāri*, CTH 310.1, KBo 22.6 i 26–28), but also in one of the songs from the Kumarbi cycle, whose material is included in my corpus (CTH 345.I.1, KUB 33.93+ iv 36). Though Kloekhorst (2008: 811) compares *tak-* to Greek *δοκεῖ* ‘seems’ and reconstructs PIE **dókʰ-ei* for this root, it may instead be a calque.

The Hieroglyphic Luwian local adverb *a-ah-ha* was considered the counterpart of Hittite *maḥḥan* ‘as, like’ until recently, but Yakubovich (2012: 327) has shown that this word should rather be interpreted as an adverb or preverb.

2.1 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) E (verb/adjective)

2.1.1 Type 1-3-1: flag is case

In ex. (1), Hitt. *takk-* ‘to be like’ provides an example of a verbal PM. Unfortunately, the comparee is represented by the possessive =šši only. Note that the case of NÍ.TE^{MEŠ}, written logographically, is uncertain. But since the verb *ŪL takki* ‘is not similar’ does not agree with NÍ.TE^{MEŠ} ‘bodies’, we can safely postulate that the latter is in fact the standard, which takes accusative case.

- (1) *nu=wa=šši* NÍ.TE^{MEŠ} *ḥu-[...]-ta* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš* *ŪL*
 CONN=QUOT=his body.ACC.PL(?) from god-GEN.PL NEG
 [CPREE] STAND.STM
takki
 be.similar.PRS.3SG
 PM
 ‘His (body) [...] is not like the bodies of gods’ CTH 345.I.1 (NH) KUB 33.93+ iv 36
 (Song of Ullikummi: first tablet)

2.2 Type 1-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

2.2.1 Type 1-4-2: flag is adposition

The Hittite adverbial suffix *-ili* eventually allows for a similitive reading as in ex. (2), cf. Zeilfelder 2001:473.

- (2) *ut-ni-i* UR.GI₇-*li* *wakki[škizzi]*
 land.NOM dog-ADV bite.PRS.3SG
 CPREE STAND-STM PAR
 ‘the land bit[es] like a dog’ CTH 16 KBo 3.41+ i 17’ (Puḫanu chronicle)

2.3 Type 1-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

With correlative *apeniššan* (QATAMMA)³ ‘in the similar way, likewise’ the standard to which the comparee is compared, has to be retrieved from the context, as in ex. (3). The standard clause contains *maḥḥan/mān* ‘as’. According to Zeilfelder (2001:463) this biclausal correlative construction exclusively occurs when states and facts are compared (‘The way STAND is, so is COMPAREE’), but cf. Zeilfelder 2001:468 (*maḥḥan* + *apeniššan* in comparison of degrees).

- (3) *nu* MU-*ti* *mieniyaš* *armalaš* *maḥḥan*
 CONN year-LOC cycle.of.time.GEN sick.NOM as
 ───────────STAND──────────
nu=z(a) *ūkk=a* QATAMMA *kišḥat*
 CONN=REFL 1SG.NOM=and likewise become.PST.1SG
 CPREE PM
 ‘As a sick person is during the whole year, — I became thus’ CTH 373 (MH) KUB 30.10 rev. 15–16 (Kantuzzili’s Prayer to Sun God)

The particle *maḥḥan/mān* ‘as’ standing in the preceding clause along with the standard, functions as a conjunction forming the complex standard. In the following clause, the comparison shows the degree of illness — ‘similar as described above’. The parameter marker is a free morpheme.

When quantities are compared, *mašiwān* ‘as much as’ (CHD: M 207 f.; Zeilfelder 2001:472 ff.) is used instead of *maḥḥan*.

2.4 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

Type 8 is the most frequent Hittite simulative construction; the particles used are *mān*, *maḥḥan*, *iwar*. *Mān* and *maḥḥan* are also used as subordinating conjunctions (*mān*

³ Both phonological and logographic spellings are attested in Hittite documents, in roughly equal proportion.

‘when/if’, *maḥḥan* ‘as soon as/when/how’). *Iwar* occurs at a much lower frequency than *mān* and *maḥḥan* in similitive function, *maḥḥan* being approximately ten times as frequent as *iwar*. It merits mention that *maḥḥan/mān* in similitive function appears to occur in myths and prayers only. Cf. Zeilfelder (2001: 461–471) for an overview.

- (4) *zīg=a=mu=z(a)* DINGIR-YA *attaš* *iwar* *zik*
 you=but=1SG.DAT=REFL god.NOM-my father.NOM like 2SG.NOM
 CPREE STAND STM CPREE
 ‘But you, my God, are like a father to me’ CTH 374 (MH) KBo 52.13+ iii 3’–4’
 (Prayer of the King to Sun God)

- (5) *karū=ya* KUR URU^{KÛ}.BABBAR-ti *IŠTU* ^dUTU URU^{arinna}
 before=and land Hattusa-LOC for Sun.God city.of.Arinna
 CPREE
araḥzenaš ANA KUR.KUR^{HL.A}-TIM UR.MAḤ *mān*
 foreign.ACC.PL to foreign.land-ACC.PL lion as
 STAND STM
šarḥišket
 attack.ITER.PST.3SG
 ‘And before, for Sun Goddess of Arinna, the Land of Hatti used to attack the
 surrounding lands like a lion.’ CTH 376.1 (NH) KUB 24.3 ii 44’–45’ (Hymn and
 Prayer to Sun Goddess of Arinna)

- (6) *nu wātar māḥḥan kuwāpi ar(a)šmi*
 CONN water.NOM as where flow.PRS.1SG
 STAND STM CPREE
 ‘Where I flow like water’ CTH 374 KBo 52.13+ iii 19’ (Prayer of the King to Sun
 God)

2.5 Types not included in the questionnaire

Copredicative nominals may arguably acquire similitive readings in some contexts. This is shown in ex. (7), where *aĩmpuš* can be interpreted as a role (‘as a burden’) or similitive copredicate (‘like a burden’).

- (7) 3 DINGIR^{MES}=*ya=ta=kkān* *ḥatugauš* INA ŠÀ-KA
 three gods.ACC.PL=and=2SG.LOC=LOC dreadful.ACC.PL in heart-your
 CPREE
anda aīmpuš *teḥḥun*
 in burden.ACC.PL put.PST.1SG
 STAND
 ‘And I put three dreadful gods in your inner like/as a burden’ CTH 344 (NH) KUB
 33.120+ i 33–34 (Song of the Origin, or Theogony)

In Luwian, verbs with similitive meaning can be derived from nouns serving as the STAND. See ex. (8):

- (8) Luwian
 TONITRUS-*wa/i-nú-wa/i-tu*
 treat.like.Tarhunt.IPV.3sg
 ‘He shall treat him like Tarhunt’ BOYBEYPINARI 1–2, IIIB 3

2.6 Etymological reference and position of particles in the clause

Maḥḥan is spelled both *ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an* (since OS) and *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an* (since MS). *Mān* is normally spelled *ma-a-an* and was claimed to represent a contracted form of *maḥḥan*. Alternatively, Kloekhorst (2008:538–39) argues that *mān* originates from a PIE pronominal stem **mo-* (reflected in OIr. *ma*, *má* ‘when’), with *maḥḥan* reflecting a petrified compound of the element *mān* and the noun *ḥant(i)-* ‘front, forehead’. He also notes that *iwar*, usually *i-wa-ar* in writing, may have a Sanskrit cognate *iva* ‘in the manner of, like, as’, contrary to earlier suggestions by F. Hrozny (action noun in *-war* from the root *i-* ‘go’) and J. Puhvel (action noun in *-war* from the root *iya-* ‘do, make’). *Iwar* is only exceptionally used as a preposition. Hoffner (1993: 48) suggests that the proposed word order is due to Akkadian logograms in the clause. *Mān* and *maḥḥan* in similitive function usually follow the standard. *Maḥḥan* sometimes occupies second position as in *ammuk maḥḥan* ‘*Mušu-ḥepa* ‘as Musuheba to me’.

Apeniššan is derived from demonstrative pronoun *apā-* ‘that (one)’, with clear cognates in other Anatolian languages, but probably no cognates in broader Indo-European (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 191–192).

3 Equative

Zeilfelder (1998: 480) tentatively suggests a difference between (equative) *mān/mahḥan* ‘exactly as’ (CHD: M-103, 146 f.) and similative *iwar*, but she acknowledges that the difference is by no means clear-cut.

3.1 Type 2-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker is E (verb/adjective)

3.1.1 Type 2-3-1: flag is case

In Hittite at least one adjective can be considered to express equative semantics, i. e. *annauli-/annawali-* ‘of equal rank, peer’, with the genitive case marking the standard. In the corpus the standard against which the quality is compared is normally *ammel* ‘me’. Another equative adjective is *mašiwant-* ‘equal (in size or amount)’ which agrees in case, number, and gender with the standard (Zeilfelder 2001: 472).

- (9) *kinuna=wa=mu* ŠEŠ-YA LUGAL.GAL *ammel* *annauliš*
 now=QUOT=1SG.DAT brother-my Great.King 1SG.GEN equal.NOM
 CPREE STAND+STM PM
IŠPUR
 write.PST.3SG
 ‘But now my brother, a Great King, my equal, has written to me’ CTH 181 (NH)
 KUB 14.3 ii 13–14 (Tawagalawa letter)
- (10) [...] *kuitki* *šalli māl* KUR-*e* *mašiwān*
 INDF.NOM great valour.NOM land-NOM equal.PTCP.NOM
 PAR CPREE STAND PM
 ‘[...]an]y valour is as great as the land’ CTH 344 (NH) KUB 33.120+ rev. iii 35’ (Song of the Origin, or Theogony)

3.2 Types not included in the questionnaire

Structures with two entities and two predicates, rendering equative/similative semantics, are normally built as a parallel construction with the verb/predicate of the same root, but different referents. They are introduced by a particle *mahḥan* (logographic writing GIM-*an*) in the dependent clause serving as a basis for comparison, and *apeniššan/QATAMMA* in the main clause (CPREE). One might add that instances of *katta=ma* (ex. 11) in similar sentences should presumably be read as the Akkadian *QATAMMA*, and not as a proper Hittite complex with an enclitic.

- (11) *maḥḥan taknāš* ⁴UTU-un *irḥāet*
 as earth.GEN Sun.God-ACC treat.in.succession.PRS.3SG
 STM ———— STAND ————
katta=ma šumāš irḥāet
 PRV=but they.ACC.PL treat.in.succession.PRS.3SG
 PM ———— PAR ————
 ‘As he did celebrate for the Sun Goddess of the Earth so he continued to celebrate for them.’ CTH 371.1 (MH) KBo 7.28 rev. 42’ (Prayer to the Sun Goddess of the Earth)
- (12) *nu apāš GIM-an :niwaralleš*
 CONN that.NOM as hostile.NOM
 ———— STAND ————
 KUR.KUR^{MEŠ}=*ya QĀTAMMA :niwarallatta*
 foreign.lands=and likewise become.hostile.PST.3SG
 PAR- PM -PAR
 ‘As that (one) became hostile, the foreign lands, too, thus became hostile’ CTH 343.1 (NH) KBo 51.10 iii 42’ (Myth of the Kingship of God LAMMA)

Luwian features a standard marker on the first occurrence of the parameter, cf. ex. (13).

- (13) Luwian
 [wa-]a-ar-ša ku-wa-ti-i-in ha[-la-]a-al
 water.NOM as pure.NOM
 STAND STM PAR
 [a-](a)ta ha-la-a-al a-aš-du za-a [p]ár-na-an-za
 CONN=he pure.NOM be.IMP.3SG this.NOM house.NOM
 PAR CPREE
 ‘Let this house become as pure as water!’ CTH 758.1.B, KUB 35.54 rev. iii 24–26 (Ritual of Puriyanni)

4 Comparative

As mentioned at the beginning, Hittite lacks dedicated derivational morphology for expressing comparative semantics. Note that in the Hittite corpus, comparatives are scarcely attested, by far outnumbered by similatives/equatives (Zeifelder 2001: 476).

4.1 Type 3-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker is E (verb/adjective)

4.1.1 Type 3-3-1: flag is case

The comparative of superiority/majority in Hittite is usually expressed with an unmodified adjective, the standard taking dative case.

- (14) *namma=kan anziel TI-anni ŪL ŠA BELU-NI TI-tar*
 and=PTCL our life.DAT NEG of lord-1PL life.NOM
 STD.STM CPREE
- nakkī*
 important.NOM
 PAR
- ‘and (if) the life of our lord is not more important than our life’ CTH 260 KUB 31.42 ii 21

4.2 Types not included in the questionnaire

In (15), a presumably comparative reading is induced by the focus marker *imma*.

- (15) *n= aš=mu ŪL imma l̄uḫATÁNU*
 CONN= 3sg.NOM=1SG.DAT NEG EMPH son-in-law
 CPREE PM STAND
- ‘Is he not much more to me than just a son-in-law⁴?’ CTH 181 (NH) KUB 14.3 ii 74–75 (Tawagalawa Letter)

5 Superlative

Hittite relational adjectives in *-zziya-* derived from spatial adverbs and adpositions such as *šarazziya-* ‘upper, superior’ (CHD: S-247 ff.; cf. *šarā* ‘up, above, on top’) are sometimes assumed to be superlatives. According to Yakubovich 2013, they are partly matched by the Luwian PM suffix *-zza-*. If the Luwian formative *-zza-* is indeed a superlative suffix, it represents the only derivational means to express superlative semantics in Anatolian. Etymologically, the suffixes of Luwian and Hittite superlative adjectives are connected to the Proto-Indo-European suffix **-tjo* (following Hajnal 2004:

⁴ Translation suggested by Hoffner 2009.

193), typical for polar adjectives. Luwian *urazza-* ‘greatest’ in ex. (16) often correlates in Hittite prayers with *šarazziya-* ‘the highest, superior’.

- (16) Luwian
 u-ra-az<-za-aš> ^dUTU-az ta-ti-in-zi DINGIR.MEŠ-in-zi
 greatest.NOM Sun.God.NOM fatherly god.NOM.PL
 PAR.PM CPREE
 ‘Greatest Sun God, ancestral gods!’ CTH 757.A, KUB 9.31 ii 30 (cf. Starke 1985:53)

5.1 Type 4-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

5.1.1 Type 4-3-1: flag is case

The standard takes dative or locative case, the parameter is the underived adjective.

- (17) *šallay-aš=kan* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš* *kuiš* *šalliš*
 great-LOC.PL=LOC god-LOC.PL which.NOM great.NOM
 STAND-STM CPREE PAR
 ‘He who among the great gods is the great(est)’ CTH 312.II (LNH) KUB 31.141
 (Hymn to Ištar)

5.2 Type 4-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

5.2.1 Type 4-4-1: flag is case

- (18) [(*nu=za* ^dU *maḥḥa*)]*n* *šarāzziyaš* *šarāzziš* [(*zik*)]
 CONN=REFL Storm.God CONJ upper.GEN.PL upper.NOM 2SG.NOM
 STAND.STM PAR CPREE
 [(*ḥante*)]*zziyaš=a=z* *ḥantezziš* *zi[(k)]*
 first.GEN.PL=but=REFL first.NOM.SG you
 STAND.STM PAR CPREE
 ‘As you, O Storm God, are the highest of the high, and the foremost of the foremost’ CTH 458.11 (NH) KBo 34.34 (Fragment from an incantation)

5.3 Type 4-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

The standard can be marked with the postposition *ištarna*.

- (19) *nu=tta=kkan* ŠUM-*an* *lamnaš* *ištarna* *nakkī*
 CONN=2SG.LOC=LOC name.NOM name.GEN.PL between important.NOM
 CPREE STAND STM PAR
 ‘Your name is most important among the names.’ CTH 376.1 (NH) KUB 24.3 obv.
 i 30’–32’ (Hymn and Prayer to Sun Goddess of Arinna)

The focus particle *=pat* may play a role in inducing a superlative reading, cf. (20) and Molina (2016, 2018) for the functions of foci marked by *=pat*.

- (20) *karūwiliyaš=a=z(a)=kan* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš* *ištarna* *zik=pat*
 previous.GEN.PL=but=REFL=LOC god-GEN.PL between 2SG.NOM=EMPH
 STAND STM CPREE
aššanu-wan-z(a)
 care-PTCP-NOM
 PAR
 ‘Among the ancient gods you are the best cared for (deity)’ CTH 376.1 (NH) KUB
 24.3 i 49’–50’ (Hymn and Prayer to Sun Goddess of Arinna)

5.4 Type 4-9: standard is not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Luwian has arguably grammaticalized the adjective *hantil(i)-* (FRONS-*la/i/u*) ‘first’ as a superlative prefix (Yakubovich 2013: 158).

- (21) Luwian
 *a-wa/i-tà **FRONS-*la/i/u*** ARGENTUM.DARE-*si-ia* *a-sa-tá
 PTCL=PTCL=they.NOM **firstly-** costly be.PST.3SG
 CPREE PM PAR
 ‘They were most costly’ KARKAMIŠ A11a § 17, Hawkins 2000:1, 95

6 Elative

6.1 Type 5-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter (PM) marker is E (verb/adjective)

To express elative semantics, Hittite uses *mekki-* ‘many, much’. It is preposed to the modified adjective (ex. 22) or verb (ex.23, cf. CHD: M-248; Zeilfelder 1998:480).

- (22) *pēdan mekki nakki*
 place.NOM very important.NOM
 CPREE PM PAR
 ‘This place is very important (it is the enemy’s granary)’ CTH 200 (MH/MS)
 ABoT 1.6 obv. 20–21 (Letter to the King from Kassu)

- (23) *n=an mekki damašhāir*
 CONN=it very oppress.PST.3PL
 CPREE PM PAR
 ‘they greatly oppressed it’ KBo iii 460

7 Excessive

7.1 Type 6-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

The only potential Hittite example with excessive meaning in my corpus involves the verb *makkēš-* ‘to be/become many’ (HED M: 122). It is derived from *mekki-* ‘many, much’ by means of the suffix *-ēš* with the meaning ‘become’.

- (24) *kinuna=mu=ššan inan pittuliyāšš=a*
 now=1SG.DAT=LOC illness.NOM anxiety.NOM=and
 CPREE CPREE
makkēšta
 become.excessive.PST.3SG
 PM
 ‘But now illness and anxiety have become (too) much for me’ CTH 373 (MH) KUB
 30.10 rev. 16–17 (Kantuzzili’s Prayer to Sun God)

8 Further remarks

To sum up: Anatolian, and Hittite in particular, heavily relies on contextual inference when expressing degrees of comparison. A broader array of structures is only to be found in similatives/equatives (particles as standard marker, namely *maḥḥan*, *mān*, *iwar*; biclausal correlatives; adverbial suffixes). Comparatives and superlatives are usually not morphosyntactically marked; the parameter is expressed lexically (PM = E (verb/adjective)); the standard is mostly inferred from the context. One superlative construction makes use of an adposition to mark the standard, i. e. *ištarna* ‘between, among’ that introduces the scope of referents (type 3).

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Abbreviated sources

CTH	Catalogue of Hittite Texts (Catalogue des textes hittites)
KBo	Cuneiform texts from Bogazkoy (Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköy)
KUB	Cuneiform documents from Bogazkoy (Keilschrifturkunden aus Boğazköy)
ABoT	Tablets from Archaeological Museum of Ankara (Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Bogazkoy Tabletleri)
IBoT	Tablets from Istanbul Archaeology Museums (Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Bogazkoy Tabletleri)

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3 Classical Armenian

1 Introduction

Armenia and *Armenians* are first recorded in history in the Behistun inscription of the Iranian king Dareios I. from the late 6th/early 5th c. BC as *Armina* and *Arminiya*. The Greek form of this exonym, *Arménioi* [nom.pl], is used a few decades later by the Greek historiographer Herodotus; the etymologies both of this term and of the endonym *Hayk'* [nom.pl.] are unclear. While the presence of speakers of Armenian is thus documented for eastern Anatolia and the southern Caucasus area from the 6th c. BC onward, the first written records of the language are attested nearly a millennium later, starting with inscriptions both in historical Armenia and in Armenian monasteries in Jerusalem from the late 5th c. AD. According to indigenous tradition, in the early 5th c. bishop Mesrop Maštoc' had invented the alphabet –that has been in use ever since– for the translation of the Bible¹. Following this foundational text of what became Classical Armenian, also called *grabar* 'written language' (cf. *grem* 'I write'), a rich literature developed including both translations from Greek and Syriac and original works dealing with theology, philosophy, history, etc. This paper draws on examples from the Bible translation, the historiographers Elišê, Movsêš Kałankatowac'i, and "Faustus of Byzantium" (*Buzandaran Patmowt'iwnk'*), the theologian Eznik of Kołb, and the hagiographical text handed down under the name of Agathangelos.² The texts of this early "golden age" of Armenian literature, ranging roughly from the 5th to the 7th c., are written in a standardized language showing little dialectal and sociolectal variation. For many literary genres, *grabar* remained the normative form of the language until the 19th c., when with the Romanticist movement different registers and dialects were first put to writing. Before this, it was the establishment of an Armenian kingdom in Cilicia (1198–1375 AD) that promoted the written use of Western Armenian as distinct from the classical language based on an eastern dialect.

Armenian is an independent branch of the Indo-European language tree. Due to the massive influence of Iranian visible in borrowed lexemes, derivational affixes, semantic and syntactic calques, Armenian was thought to be part of the Iranian branch until Hübschmann (1875) showed that Armenian phonology and morphology contradict this assumption. In the ensuing discussion about possible closer ties of Armenian to other languages of the Indo-European family Greek, Albanian and Phry-

¹ Unless marked otherwise, Bible translations in double quotes are taken from the *New International Version* (The Holy Bible: New International Version. London; Sydney; Auckland; Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, 1983). Additional abbreviations: IPF = imperfect, AOR = aorist, PREP = preposition; LXX = Rahlfs and Hanhart (2006); MEA = Modern Eastern Armenian.

² Additional examples are available at <https://gitlab.uzh.ch/paul.widmer/mhiet-vol1-gradation>.

gian were favoured by many scholars, be it that they were seen as part of an early genetic sub-branch or (probably the position held by more researchers in the field nowadays) that the similarities they show are due to early language contact.

As for its general features, Classical Armenian is mostly suffixing, fusional, and dependent marking, with no grammatical gender (probably due to Kartvelian influence) and basic VO order. While in principle nouns are marked for the numbers singular and plural and seven cases, syncretism strongly reduces the number of different exponents of paradigmatic cells in most inflexional classes. In adjectives preceding their heads case and number marking is optional. Armenian has an enclitic definite article coming in three flavours (-s, -d, -n) with 1st, 2nd and 3rd person deixis respectively. The proclitic preposition *z-* [z] precedes definite and specific objects (differential object marking, similar to the behaviour of *l-* in Classical Syriac and *ō* in Parthian and Middle Persian). Verbs distinguish an imperfective and a perfective (“aorist”) stem from which imperfective present and past tense forms and perfective past tense forms are derived. The analytic perfect/pluperfect usually describes the state of the subject after a change of state such as ‘dies’ → ‘is/was dead’; it is notable for marking the subject of transitive clauses in the genitive case, comparable to the Old Persian *manā kṛtam*-construction. Beside the moods indicative and imperative, Classical Armenian has a subjunctive built from both the imperfective and the perfective stem denoting probability and future time reference.

Classical Armenian has no obligatory comparative and superlative morphemes on adjectives. In comparative constructions Armenian uses a) the simple adjective without morphological marking (i. e. without parameter marker), b) an originally compound form with the suffixoid *-goyn*, e. g. *mec-a-goyn* ‘quite big, bigger’ (-a- is the Armenian compound vowel), c) a reduplicated adjective, e. g. *mec-a-mec* ‘big-big’, *nor-a-nor* ‘new-new’ (2 Macc. 9.6) which can also have elative meaning (‘very big’, ‘quite new, unheard of’).³ The latter is also expressed by adjectives combined with *amena-* ‘all’ (cf. adj. *amenayn* ‘all’), e. g. *amena-bari* ‘all-good’ = ‘very good’, *amena-č‘ar* ‘very bad’, *amena-sowrb* ‘most holy, very holy’ (cf. type 4-1-2). The unmarked adjective (a) is also used in combination with universal quantification such as *yamenesin* ‘among all’ or *amenec‘own* ‘of all’ in superlative constructions.

Lexical comparatives and superlatives are *krtser* ‘younger/youngest son’, *erêc‘* ‘older/oldest son’ (cf. section 4.8 exx. 46 and 47), and the adverbs meaning ‘more’ *arawel* and *aweli* (cf. Gk. *ophéllō* ‘increase’).⁴ Examples for the latter include:

³ Jensen (1959: 69) also assumes superlative meaning for the reduplicated type, quoting 2 Pet. 1.4 which has elative meaning, cf. 6.1 (ex. 55). See also Minassian (1976: 115): “Ce ne sont pas des superlatifs proprement dits.”

⁴ Cf. de Lamberterie (1992) for a discussion of the etymology.

(1) Matt. 6.25

oč' apak'ên ogi aṛawel ê k'an zkerakowr
 NEG then soul.NOM more be.PRS.3SG than ACC.food
 CPREE PM STM STAND

'Is not life [/the soul] more than food?'

(2) Luke 3.13

mi inč' aweli k'an zhramayealsn jez aṛnic'êk'
 NEG INDF more than ACC.command.ACC.PL.ART 2PL.POSS.DAT take.SBJV.2PL
 PM STM STAND

'Don't collect any more than you are required to.' (cf. Zeifelder 1996: 182)

In one passage from the Gospels the adjective *šat* that otherwise means 'much' and 'enough'⁵ translates Gk. *pleïon* 'more':

(3) Mark 12.43

ayrin ayn taṛapeal šat ark k'an
 widow.NOM.ART this.NOM poor.NOM more put.AOR.3SG than
 ───────────CPREE────────── PM STM
 zamenesean or arkin i ganjanakn
 ACC.all.ACC.PL REL.NOM put.AOR.3PL into treasury.ART
 ───────────STAND──────────

'This poor widow has put more into the treasury than all the others.'

Gk. version: *hē khēra haútē hē ptōkhē pleïon pántōn ébalen tōn ballóntōn eis tō gazophulákion.*

⁵ Cf. Luke 12.48 'From everyone who has been given much (Arm. *šat*), much (Arm. *šat*) will be demanded.', Matt. 10.24 *šat ic'ê ašakertin et'ê etic'i ibrew zvardapet iwr* 'It is enough for students to be like their teachers.'

2 Similitive

2.1 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

2.1.1 Type 1-3-1: flag is case

With *nman* ‘similar’, *nmanem* ‘to resemble’ (translating Gk. [*par-*] *hómoios* and *ísos* in the Gospels)⁶ and *hawasar* ‘equal, similar’ the standard is marked for dative case:⁷

- (4) Matt. 13.31
nman *ê* *ark'ayowt'iwn* *erknic'* *hatoy*
 similar.NOM be.PRS.3SG kingdom.NOM heaven.GEN.PL seed.DAT
 PM CPREE STAND.STM
mananxoy
 mustard.GEN
 ‘The kingdom of heaven is like a mustard seed.’⁸

- (5) Luke 20.36
hawasar *hreštakac'* *en*
 similar/equal angel.DAT.PL be.PRS.3PL
 PM STAND.STM [CPREE]
 ‘They are like the angels.’ (*isággeloi gár eisin*)

⁶ Cf. with a morphologically unambiguous pronoun Luke 6.47 *owm nman ê* [who.DAT similar be.PRS.3SG] ‘whom he resembles, whom he is like’. Künzle (1984: II.524) reports a genitive for John 9.9 *nman ê nora* ‘he resembles him’ in ms. M vs. dative *nman ê nma* in ms. E (also in Zohrapian), which he explains as influenced by Middle Armenian where these cases of the pronoun merge to *nara*, cf. Karst (1901: 232f.). For *hawasar* cf. Sir. 9.14 *gowc'ê* or *norm ê č'ic'ê nma hawasar* [... 3SG.DAT equal] ‘(do not forsake an old friend), maybe the new one is not comparable to him.’

⁷ Ps. 54.14 *mard hawasar im* [man equal 1SG.GEN] is not an exception, since *im* modifies the whole NP (‘my equal’, LXX: *ánthrōpe isópsukhe*).

⁸ The edition of Zohrapian reads *nmanê* ‘resembles’ instead of *nman ê* ‘is similar to’.

2.2 Type 1-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Ibrew, *orpês* and *zor awrinak* occur as standard markers,⁹ the correlative is expressed by *aynpês* ‘in this way, such’, *noynpês* ‘in the same way’ or *ew* ‘and, also’, e. g.

(6) Matt. 12.40

<i>orpês</i>	<i>êr</i>	<i>Yovnan</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>p’or</i>	<i>kitin ...</i>	<i>noynpês</i>
as	be.IPF.3SG	J.NOM	in	belly.ACC	sea-monster.GEN.ART	so
STM	┌──────────────────────────────────┐					PM
STAND						
<i>etic’i</i>	<i>ew</i>	<i>ordi</i>	<i>mardoy</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>sirt</i>	<i>erkri ...</i>
be.AOR.SBJV.3SG	also	son.NOM	man.GEN	in	heart.ACC	earth.GEN
└──────────────────────────────────┘						
CPREE						

‘For as Jonah was (three days and three nights) in the belly of a huge fish, so the Son of Man will be (three days and three nights) in the heart of the earth.’

(7) Matt. 6.10

<i>Etic’in</i>	<i>kamk’</i>	<i>k’o</i>	<i>orpês</i>	<i>yerkins</i>	<i>ew</i>
be.AOR.SBJV.3PL	will.NOM.PL	2SG.GEN	as	in.heaven.LOC.PL	so
			STM	STAND	PM
<i>yerki</i>					
in.earth.LOC					
CPREE					

‘Your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven.’

Ibrew usually takes an accusative object (cf. type 1-8). Apart from this syntactic difference, *ibrew*, *orpês* and *zor awrinak* do not seem differ functionally: *ibrew* and *orpês* are used interchangeably in Luke 3.22, where in Künzle’s edition of the Gospels ms. E has *ibrew zatawni* and ms. M *orpês atawni* ‘like a dove’,¹⁰ and in Matt. 28.4, where ms. E has *ibrew zmeëals* and M has *orpês meëalk’* ‘like dead men’ (cf. ex. 10, type 1-8). Occasionally, *ibrew* is not followed by *z-*; this may be a scribal mistake in some instances, e. g. in Luke 21.35 *ibrew zorogayt’* (E) vs. *ibrew orovgayt’* (M) ‘like a trap’, but probably betrays influence of *orpês* on *ibrew* in cases like Mark 6.34 *ibrew oç’xark’* ‘like sheep’, where the standard is marked nom.pl. and not acc.pl. as would be expected with *z-*.¹¹ Similarly, *zor awrinak* [ACC.REL.model] ‘in which way, as’ (cf. Gk. *hòn trópon*) in ms. M corresponds to *orpês* in ms. E (and in Zohrapian’s edition of the Bible, cf. Zohrapian & Cox 1984):

⁹ *inč’pês* ‘how (much)’ is post-classical. It is used in MEA in equative constructions, cf. 8.2.1 and Dum-Tragut (2009: 538).

¹⁰ Cf. Künzle (1984: II.291).

¹¹ Cf. Künzle (1984: II.291).

(8) Luke 13.34:¹²

orpês / M: zor awrinak haw zjags iwr and
 as hen.NOM ACC.chick.ACC.PL REFL.GEN under
 STM ───────────────────────────STAND──────────────────
 t'ewovk'
 wing.INS.PL

'as a hen (gathers) her chicks under her wings'

Greek: *hòn trópon órnis tèn heautḗs nossiàn hupò tàs ptérugas.*

The form that *ibrew* is derived from, *ibr*, is mostly used in negative clauses (13× out of 14 in the Bible translation)¹³ denying a possible cause for a current state of affairs, e. g.

(9) John 6.26

ibr¹⁴ oč' et'ê zi nšans inč' tesêk' ayl zi
 as.if NEG that because sign.ACC.PL INDF see.AOR.2PL but because
 kerayk' i hac'ê anti
 eat.AOR.2PL from bread.ABL from

'(You are looking for me,) *not because* you saw the signs I performed but because you ate the loaves (and had your fill).'¹⁵

¹² In the parallel passage Matt. 23.37 both mss. have *zor awrinak*. Cf. also Acts 7.28 *zor ôrinak* (= *hòn trópon*) (Alexanian 2012: 20). It is not restricted to translations, e. g. *Buzandaran Patmowt'iwnk'* 3×, *Elišê* 3×, *Łazar P'arpec'i* 1×.

¹³ In 2 Macc. 1.14 *zi ibr bñakowt'eamb imn : hōs gār sunoikēsōn* 'in order to / as though he would marry her' (Antiochus the goddess of Nanea).

¹⁴ Zohrapian: *ibrew*.

¹⁵ Cf. also John 6.46 *ibr oč' et'e zhayr owrowk' tesimal ic'ê* 'not as if / it is not the case that anyone has seen the father (except the one who is from God)'. In the *Buzandaran Patmowt'iwnk'* 5.28, *ibr* is a hapax used as a subordinator: *ibr et owm tal êr zôrênsn* 'when he had given communion to those to whom it was proper to give it' (Garsoian 1989: 209); *Elišê* 16×, e. g. p. 11: *yoyž owrax linêr t'agawom, ibr ayn et'ê katarec'an kamk' karceac' nora* 'the king was very happy, as if / thinking that the wishes of his thoughts had been fulfilled' (Thomson 1993) and p. 31 *oč' ayl ew ayl, ibr t'ê omn bari ew omn č'ar, ayl mi ew noyn hamak bari* '(that we might know the one God, Creator of things visible and invisible –) not different as if one were good and the other evil, but one and the same wholly good' (Thomson 1982).

2.3 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

(10) Matt. 28.4

Ms. E (Künzle 1984: 557):

<i>eten</i>	<i>ibrew</i>	<i>zme'reals</i>
become.AOR.3PL	like	ACC.dead.ACC.PL
[CPREE]	STM	STM.STAND

'They became like dead men.'

(11) Matt. 28.4

Ms. M (Künzle 1984: 557):

<i>eten</i>	<i>orpês</i>	<i>merealk'</i>
become.AOR.3PL	like	dead.NOM.PL
[CPREE]	STM	STAND

'They became like dead men.'

(12) Matt. 5.48

<i>eterowk'</i>	<i>dowk'</i>	<i>katarealk'</i>	<i>orpês</i>	<i>ew</i>	<i>hayrn</i>
be.IMP.2PL	2pl.NOM	perfect.NOM.PL	like	also	father.NOM.ART
	CPREE	PAR	STM		STAND

<i>jer</i>	<i>erknawor</i>	<i>katareal ê</i>
2SG.POSS.GEN	heavenly	perfect
		be.PRS.3SG
	PAR	

'Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect.'

3 Equative

3.1 Type 2-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

(13) Gen. 49.12

<i>spitak</i>	<i>atamownk'</i>	<i>iwr</i>	<i>k'an</i>	<i>zkat'n</i>
white	tooth.NOM.PL	REFL.GEN	as	ACC.milk.ART
PAR	CPREE		STM	STM.STAND

'His teeth (will be) whiter than milk / as white as milk.' (LXX: *leukoî hoi odôntes autoû ê gála*)¹⁶

¹⁶ Cf. the discussion of this type of example in the introduction to this volume, ex. (26).

The adjective *orpisi* ‘what kind of’, derived from *orpês*, is also used as STM:

- (14) Matt. 24.21 (cf. also Mark 13.19)

<i>elic'i</i>	<i>yaynžam</i>	<i>nelowt'iwn</i>	<i>mec</i>	<i>orpisi</i>	
be.AOR.SBJV.3SG	then	distress.NOM	great.NOM	like	
		CPREE	PAR	STM	
<i>oč' etew</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>skzbanê</i>	<i>araracoc'</i>	<i>ašxarhi</i>	
NEG	happen.AOR.3SG	from	beginning.ABL	creation.GEN.PL	world.GEN
					

‘For then there will be great distress, unequaled from the beginning of the world.’

3.2 Types not included in the questionnaire

A correlative diptych (correlative conditional) can be formed with *orč'ap'* ... (*ews*) *a'rawel* ‘the more ... the more’ with two parameters.¹⁷ Thus:

- (15) Mark 7.36

<i>orč'ap'</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>patowirêr</i>	<i>noc'a</i>	<i>nok'a</i>	<i>ews</i>	<i>a'rawel</i>
the.more	3SG.NOM	order.IPF.3SG	3PL.DAT	3PL.NOM	even	more
PM _{STAND}		PAR _{STAND} [STAND]	PM _{CPREE}			

k'arozêin

talk.IPF.3PL

PAR_{CPREE}[CPREE]

(Jesus commanded them not to tell anyone.) ‘(But) the more he did so, the more they kept talking about it.’

Alternatively, *aynč'ap'* ‘that much, the more’ may be used instead of *ews*:

- (16) Exod. 1.12

<i>orč'ap'</i>	<i>čnšêin</i>	<i>znosa</i>	<i>aynč'ap'</i>	<i>a'rawel</i>	<i>bazmanayin</i>
the.more	oppress.IPF.3PL	ACC.3PL.ACC	the.more	more	multiply.IPF.3PL
PM _{STAND}	PAR _{STAND} [STAND]		PM _{CPREE}	PAR _{CPREE} [CPREE]	

‘The more they oppressed them, the more they multiplied.’

The exclamative type is formed with *orč'ap'* (REL-‘measure’) ‘how much’ and *ziard* ‘how’ (‘which manner’, cf. *ard* ‘manner’):

¹⁷ Derived from *č'ap'* ‘measure’, also used in MEA; cf. ex. (69) in 8.2.1.

- (17) Mark 10.24
orč'ap' džowarin ê yowsac'eloc' yinč's
 how hard.NOM be.PRS.3SG hope.PTCP.DAT.PL in.possession.ACC/LOC.PL
 PM PAR [CPREE]
mtanel yark'ayowt'iwn Astowcoy
 enter.INF in.kingdom.ACC god.GEN
 'How hard it is for the rich to enter the kingdom of God!'
- (18) Luke 12.50
ziard p'owt'am minč'ew kataresc'i
 how be.constrained.PRS.1SG until complete.AOR.SBJV.PASS.3SG
 PM PAR.[CPREE]
 '(But I have a baptism to undergo, and) what constraint I am under until it is completed!' (Greek: *báptisma dè êkhō baptisthēnai, kai pōs sunékhomai hēōs hótou telesthēi*).

4 Comparative

4.1 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Adjective in *-agoyn*:

- (19) Luke 11.22
et'ē hzōragoyn k'an zna i veray ekeal
 when strong.CPD.NOM than ACC.3SG on top come.PTCP
 PAR.PM STM STAND
yalt'esc'ē nma
 overpower.AOR.SBJV.3SG 3SG.DAT
 'But when someone stronger attacks and overpowers him.' (Gk. *epàn dè iskhuróteros autoū epelthōn nikésēi autón.*)

Reduplicated adjective (usually modified by degree markers, in this case *ews*):

- (20) John 1.50
mecamecs ews k'an zays tesc'es
 big.big.ACC.PL even than ACC.this.ACC.PL see.AOR.SBJV.2SG
 PAR.PM STM STAND
 'You will see things bigger than these.' (Gk. *meizō toutōn ópsēi*).

4.2 Type 3-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The PM is *arawel* ‘more’:

(21) Ehišê p. 83

<i>arawel</i>	<i>veh</i>	<i>gtanêr</i>	<i>zôrêns</i>	<i>k’ristonêic’</i>	<i>k’an</i>
more	sublime	find.IPF.3SG	ACC.law.ACC.PL	Christian.GEN.PL	than
PM	PAR		CPREE		STM

zamenec’own

ACC.all.GEN.PL

STAND

‘He found the Christian religion to be more sublime than (that of) all the others.’¹⁸

Due to the quantification with *amenayn* ‘all’ this example can also be understood as a superlative despite the use of *k’an*, cf. Thomson (1982): ‘He found the Christian religion to be the most sublime of all.’¹⁹

Ews ‘even (more)’ may either be interpreted as PM or as an intensifier of the parameter with unexpressed PM (cf. also 4.6):

(22) Ehišê p. 143

<i>k’an</i>	<i>zbazowm</i>	<i>gitownsn</i>	<i>ews</i>	<i>teleak</i>	<i>êr</i>	<i>zradeštakan</i>
than	ACC.many	wise.ACC.PL.ART	even	versed	be.IPF.3SG	Zoroastrian
STM	STAND		PM	PAR	[CPREE]	

ôrinac’n

law.GEN.PL.ART

‘[He was] more versed in the Zoroastrian religion than most wise men.’ (Thomson 1982)

The PM *arawel* may be combined with a synthetic comparative form in *-agoyn* (same sentence as in the preceding example):

¹⁸ On equi NP deletion cf. the discussion of ex. 44 in 4.8.

¹⁹ Arm. *veh* is borrowed from Iranian, cf. YAv. *vahiiah-* ‘better’, MP */wahy/*, NP *beh-tar*. MP */wahy-dên/* ‘of the best religion’ is a Zoroastrian term “applied to themselves by the Manichaeans” (cf. Durkin-Meisterernst 2004: 341). The rhetoric of the Armenians in this passage does the same, cf. also Thomson (1982) *ad locum*.

(23) Ehišê p. 143

aṛawel *ḡermagoyñ* *êr* *i* *mogowt'eann* *k'an* *zbazowm*
 more fervent.CPD be.IPF.3SG in magism.LOC.ART than ACC.many
 PM PAR.PM [CPREE] STM STAND
ḡitownsn
 wise.ACC.PL.ART

'He was more enthusiastic in magism than most wise men.' (Thomson 1982)

The parameter may also be expressed verbally:

patowem 'to honour':

(24) Ehišê p. 135

mecapês *patowec'êk'* *zda* *aṛawel* *k'an* *zaržann*
 greatly honour.AOR.2PL ACC.3SG more than ACC.worth.ART
 PAR PM STM STAND
iwr
 REFL.GEN

'You [...] greatly honored him above his worth.' (Thomson 1982)

sirem 'to love':

(25) John 3.19

sirec'in *mardik* *zxawar* *aṛawel* *k'an* *zloys*
 love.AOR.3PL people.NOM ACC.darkness more than ACC.light
 PAR CPREE PM STM STAND
 'People loved darkness instead of [/more than] light.'

The use of *aṛawel* 'more' as in the preceding example is optional, cf. type 3-8 ex. (29) also with *sirem*.

4.3 Type 3-7: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

Verbs that allow a comparative reading such as 'prefer', 'surpass', 'strengthen' may be used as PM.²⁰

²⁰ A similar use is found e.g. in Greek with *boúloomai* 'I prefer', cf. *Il.* 1.117 *boúloom' egò laòn sóon émmenai è apolésthai* 'I prefer the army to be safe than to perish.'

yařajanam, ert'am ařaji 'to precede':

(26) Matt. 28.7

yařajanay k'an zjez
 precede.PRS.3SG ACC.2PL
 PM.[CPREE] STM STAND
 'He is going ahead of you (into Galilee).'

(27) Mark 10.32

ert'ayr Yisows ařaji k'an znosa
 go.IPF.3SG J.NOM before than ACC.3PL.ACC
 PM- CPREE -PM STM STAND
 'Jesus preceded them.'

4.4 Type 3-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

(28) Ps. 18(19).11

c'ankali ê na k'an zoski
 desirable be.PRS.3SG 3SG.NOM than ACC.gold
 PAR CPREE STM STAND
 'They (God's commendments) are more precious than gold.'

This construction also occurs with verbs having a gradable meaning component, e. g. *sirem* 'to love' (cf. ex. 25 above):

(29) Ps. 87.2

sirê têt zdrows siovni k'an
 love.PRS.3SG lord.NOM ACC.door.ACC.PL Z.GEN than
 PAR —————CPREE————— STM
zamenayn yarksn yakobay
 ACC.all abode.ACC.PL.ART J.GEN
 —————STAND—————

'The Lord loves the gates of Zion more than all the other dwellings of Jacob.'

- (30) Ps. 37.20
t'snamik' im kendani en ew
 enemy.NOM.PL 1SG.POSS alive be.PRS.3PL and
 CPREE
zôrac'eal eten k'an zis
 be(come).powerful.PTCP become.AOR.3PL than ACC.1SG
 PAR STM STAND
 'My enemies are alive and have become more powerful than me.'²¹ (LXX: *hoi dè ekhthroí mou zōsin kai kekrataiōntai hupèr emé*).

4.5 Type 3-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The synthetic comparative form in *-agoyn* may be combined with *arawel* 'more' that may be modified by the intensifier *ews* 'even', e. g.

- (31) Ehišê p. 64
ews arawel heragoyn zatan i mogac'n
 even more farther cut.AOR.PASS.3PL from magi.ABL.PL.ART
 PM PAR.PM
 'They became even more removed from the magi.' (Thomson 1982)

4.6 Type 3-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The morphologically simple adjective may be accompanied by one of the adverbs *aweli*, *arawel(-apês)* 'more' and *ews* 'even'. The latter combines with *aweli* and *arawel(-apês)* as an intensifier, e. g.

- (32) Ehišê p. 11
arawelapês ews owrax linêr
 more even happy become.IPF.3SG
 PM PAR
 'He was even more happy.' (Thomson 1982)

²¹ Cf. Zeilfelder (1996: 184).

Clauses with *ews* and adjective only are ambiguous: either the parameter marker (*arawel* etc.) is not expressed and *ews* retains its function as an intensifier or the latter assumes the function of the parameter marker (cf. 4.2), e. g.

(33) Matt. 9.16

ews *č'ar* *patarowmn* *lini*
 even/more bad tear.NOM become.PRS.3SG
 PM? PAR
 ‘The tear gets worse.’ (cf. Minassian 1976: 113).

(34) *Buzandaran Patmowt'iwnk'* 3.14

yorowm *ar'nêr* *yaynžam* *ews* *vał* *mecn* *Grigor*
 in.REL.LOC do.IPF.3SG then even/more early great.ART G.NOM
 PM? PAR
zmkrtowt'iwnsn *zôrac'n* *bazmac'*
 ACC.baptism.ACC.PL.ART troop.GEN.PL.ART many.GEN.PL

‘(This was the very spring) where *in earlier times* the great Grigor had performed the baptism of a great host.’ (Garsoian 1989: 87).

4.7 Types not included in the questionnaire

The local or temporal meaning of prepositions (‘before’, ‘after’, ‘above’, ‘below’ etc.) implies a comparison of two referents (e. g. figure and ground).²² Armenian may use the comparative construction in this case where other languages have a simple preposition or adverb, e. g.

(35) Luke 13.33

artak'oy *k'an* *zErusalêm*
 outside than ACC.J.
 PAR STM STAND
 ‘outside of Jerusalem’

Cf. against this the Greek version *eksō Ierusalēm* and the Latin Vulgate *extra Jerusalem*.

In parallel passages of the synoptic Gospels in the Bible translation variation is found, e. g.

²² Cf. Zeilfelder (1996: 183).

(36) Mark 12.8

<i>hanin</i>	<i>artak'oy</i>	<i>aygwoyn</i>
pull.AOR.3PL	outside	vineyard.GEN.ART
	PAR	STAND.STM

(37) Matt. 21.39

<i>hanin</i>	<i>zna</i>	<i>artak'oy</i>	<i>k'an</i>	<i>zaygin</i>
pull.AOR.3PL	ACC.3SG	outside	than	ACC.vineyard.ART
		PAR	STM	STAND

'They threw him out of the vineyard.'

In the Gospels this construction is less frequent than the construction with **PREP + GEN**, cf.²³

(38) Matt. 21.17

<i>el</i>	<i>artak'oy</i>	<i>k'alak'in</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>Bet'ania</i>
go.out.AOR.3SG	outside	city.GEN.ART	into	B.ACC
	PAR	STAND.STM		

'He went out of the city to Bethany.'

4.8 Formal means of expressing comparatives

The standard marker *k'an* 'than' usually takes an accusative object marked by the preposition / accusative marker *z-* except for infinitives and subordinate clauses,²⁴ e. g. substantive:

(39) Luke 6.40

<i>oč' ê</i>	<i>ašakert</i>	<i>law</i>	<i>k'an</i>	<i>zvardapet</i>	<i>iwr</i>
NEG be.PRS.3SG	pupil.NOM	good.NOM	than	ACC.master	REFL.GEN
	CPREE	PAR	PM	STAND	

'A pupil is not better than his master.'

²³ According to Künzle (1984: II.108) the construction *artak'oy k'an z-* occurs in Mark 11.19, Luke 13.33 and Matt. 21.39. On a possible historical explanation of this use cf. section **8.1.3**.

²⁴ Cf. Jensen (1959: 186 f.), Zeilfelder (1996: 177 with fn. 5, 187 f.). A third type with the standard marked by case, e. g. *geragoyn mah-ow* [high-*agoyn* death-GEN.SG] 'higher than death', is attested in post-classical texts and likely to be a calque of Greek and/or Latin, cf. *NBHL* s. v. *geragoyn*, and Zeilfelder (1996: 177, 190 f.) who quotes from an author of the High Middle Ages, *Mxit'ar Sasnec'i* (1260–1337). Case marking (ablative) on the standard is part of one of the two comparative constructions in Modern Eastern Armenian, cf. Dum-Tragut (2009: 532) and section **8.2.2**.

infinitive:

(40) Ps. 118.8

Bari ê yowsal i têt k'an
 good.NOM be.PRS.3SG hope.INF in Lord.ACC than
 PAR —————CPREE————— STM
yowsal i mardik
 hope.INF in men.ACC
 —————STAND—————

'It is better to hope in the Lord than to hope in men.'

clause:

(41) Luke 17.2

Law êr nma t'ê vêm ... k'an
 good.NOM be.IPF.3SG 3SG.DAT that stone than
 PAR —————CPREE————— STM
t'ê gayt'agłec'owc'anic'ê zmi ok'
 that make.stumble.PRS.SBJV.3SG ACC.one INDF
 —————STAND—————

'It would be better for him (to be thrown into the sea with a millstone tied around his neck) than to cause one (of these little ones) to stumble.'

The lack of marking on infinitives may be due to their syntactic equivalence to subordinate clauses.²⁵ In combination with the adverbs *aweli*, *arawel* 'more' and *nax*, *yaraĵ* 'before, earlier' infinitives take *z-*, i. e. they are treated like nouns,²⁶ e. g.

(42) Ps. 84.11

Ēntrec'i ənd əlb gal i tan astowcoy arawel
 choose.AOR.1SG PREP mud go.INF in house.LOC god.GEN more
 PAR —————CPREE————— PM
k'an zbnakanal i yarks melaworac'
 than ACC.dwell.INF in abode.LOC.PL sinner.GEN.PL
 STM —————STM.STAND—————

'I would rather be despised in the house of my God than dwell in the tents of the wicked.'²⁷

²⁵ Zeilfelder (1996: 189).

²⁶ Zeilfelder (1996: 188).

²⁷ Cf. LXX Ps. 83.11 *ekseleksámēn pararripteĩsthai en tōi oikōi toũ theoũ mallon ē oikeĩn en skēnōmasin hamartōlōn*.

- (43) John 17.24
yaṛaj k'an zlineln ašxarhi
 before than ACC.become.INF.ART world.GEN
 PM STM —————STAND—————
 'before the creation of the world'

Cf. the same construction with a noun such as *zatic* 'easter':

- (44) John 12.1
yaṛaj k'an zzatikn
 before than ACC.Easter.ART
 PM STM STAND
 'before Easter'

After *z-* the head noun need not surface in contexts of equi NP deletion. This is a general rule in Armenian²⁸ which also applies to cases of comparative constructions. Thus:

- (45) Matt. 5.20
et'e oč' arawelowc'ow ardarowt'iwn jer aweli k'an
 if NEG surpass.AOR.SBJV.3SG justice.NOM 2PL.GEN.PL more than
 PAR —————CPREE————— PM STM
zdprac'n
 ACC.scribe.GEN.PL.ART
 STM.STAND
 'unless your righteousness surpasses that of the scribes'

Lexical comparatives are *erêc* 'the older (son)' and *krtser* 'the younger (son)' (also 'littlest, last', cf. type 4-4-1), similar to French *ainé* and *cadet*, cf.

- (46) Luke 15.25
ew êr erêc' ordi nora yagaraki
 and be.IPF.3SG older son.NOM 3SG.GEN in.field.LOC
 PM
 'His older son was in the field.' (cf. the Greek text *Ἐν δὲ ἡο ἡυῖὸς αὐτοῦ ἡο pres-búteros en agrōi*).

²⁸ Cf. also Jensen (1959: 148).

(47) Luke 15.12

asê krtsern i noc'anê c'hayrn
 say.PRS.3SG younger of 3PL.ABL to.father.ART
 PM

(There was a man who had two sons.) 'The *younger* one said to his father.' (cf. the Greek text *eīpen ho neōteros autōn tōi patrī*).

5 Superlative

5.1 Type 4-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

The standard may be expressed by a genitive (type 4-4-1) or prepositional locative phrase (type 4-4-2) meaning 'of all' and 'among all' respectively:

5.1.1 Type 4-4-1: flag is case

(48) Mark 9.35

elic'i amenec'own krtser
 be(come).AOR.SBJV.3SG all.GEN.PL littlest
 STAND.STM PAR

'(Anyone who wants to be first) must be *the last of all* (and the servant of all).' (Gk. *Eī tis thélei prōtos eīnai éstai pántōn éskhatos kai pántōn diákonos.*)

5.1.2 Type 4-4-2: flag is adposition

(49) Luke 9.48

or p'ok'rikn ê yamenesin i jez
 REL.NOM little.ART be.PRS.3SG among.all.LOC.PL among 2PL.LOC
 CPREE PAR STM.STAND

'the one who is least among you all'

The standard may be another group implying universal quantification:

- (50) Song of Sg. 1.7(8)
getec'ikd i kanays
 beautiful.ART.2SG among woman.LOC.PL
 PAR STM STAND
 ‘most beautiful of women’

5.2 Types not included in the questionnaire

The standard may be unexpressed and be implied contextually:

- (51) Matt. 5.19
p'ok'r kočesc'i yark'ayowt'ean erknic'
 small call.AOR.PASS.3SG in.kingdom.LOC heaven.GEN.PL
 PAR [CPREE]
 ‘He will be called least in the kingdom of heaven.’ (cf. the superlative *elákhistos* in the Greek version).

6 Elative

6.1 Type 5-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Armenian uses the element *-a-goyn* ‘rather, quite’, originally forming compounds ‘x-coloured, x-ish’ (cf. 8.1.5):

- (52) Agathangelos § 888.1
barjragoyn barbařov
 high.CPD voice.INSTR
 PAR.PM
 ‘with a rather loud voice’
- (53) Matt. 5.25
Ler irawaxoh ast osoxin k'owm valagoyn
 be.IMP.2SG agreed with adversary.LOC.ART 2SG.POSS.DAT early.CPD
 PAR.PM
 ‘Settle matters rather quickly/early with your adversary (who is taking you to court).’²⁹

²⁹ Cf. Zeilfelder (1996: 180).

- (54) Luke 15.20
minč'đer heřagoyn êr
 while far.CPD be.IPF.3SG
 PAR.PM
 'while he was still a long way off'.³⁰

reduplicated adjective:

- (55) 2 Pet. 1.4
mecameck'n¹ ew patowakan² awetik'
 big.big.NOM.PL.ART and precious promise.NOM.PL
 PAR.PM
 'very great and precious promises' (cf. the Greek text *tà tímia² kai mégista¹* [...] *epaggélmata*).
- (56) Neh. 9.25
ařin zk'atak's barjraberjs³¹
 take.AOR.3PL ACC.city.ACC.PL high.high.ACC.PL
 PAR.PM
 'They conquered very high(-walled) cities.'

Adjectives compounded with *amena-* 'all' (cf. *amenayn* 'all, every', see introduction 4.1.2 prefixes):

- (57) Eznik 70.11
ayloc' zkapiks anapatakans əmbıneals ...
 other.GEN.PL ACC.monkey.ACC.PL wild.ACC.PL catch.PTCP.ACC.PL
amenač'ar owsowc'anen
 all.bad teach.PRS.3PL
 PAR.PM
 'Others trap solitary apes and teach them to be ... mischief-makers.'³²

³⁰ Cf. also ex. 60 with *heřagoyn* used in an excessive construction.

³¹ On *barjraberj* cf. de Lamberterie (1986).

³² Cf. Blanchard and Young (1998: 72), less likely Zeilfelder (2004: II.10) s. v. *amenač'ar* "auf allerlei Weise" and (2004: I.96) "andere richten gefangene Affen wilde Affen ab zu allem möglichen."

- (58) Agathangelos § 767
owr amenapah šnorhac'n yalt'eal zaynč'ap'
 where all-protecting grace.GEN.PL.ART conquer.PTCP ACC.that.much
 PAR.PM
zarmanalish gorceac'
 ACC.miracle.ACC.PL.ART do.AOR.3SG
 'where conquering by the *all-protecting* Savior's grace she had done such
 marvels.' (Thomson 1976: 307).

- (59) Movsēs Kałankatowac'i 1.14
amenasowrb vkayic'n K'ristosi
 all-holy martyr.GEN.PL.ART Christ.GEN
 PAR.PM
 'of the most holy martyrs of Christ'

A similar procedure is compounding with *bazowm* 'much, a lot, very', e. g. *bazm-a-t'iw* 'numerous', originally a possessive compound 'having many numbers', *bazm-a-gowt* 'very merciful' (*'having a lot of mercy'), *bazm-a-hmowt* 'having great experience, very skilled' (translating *polupeirian* in Wisd. 8.8).³³

7 Excessive

7.1 Type 6-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

- (60) Deut. 12.21
apa t'ê heragoyñ ic'ê i k'ên telin
 but if too.far be.PRS.SBJV.3SG from 2SG.ABL place.NOM.ART
 PAR.PM CPREE
 'If the place (where the Lord your God chooses to put his Name) is *too far* away from you (, you may slaughter animals from the herds and flocks the Lord has given you.)'

³³ Cf. also compounds with *mec-* 'big' and *canr* 'heavy', e. g. *mecagin*, *canragin* 'very precious'.

7.2 Types not included in the questionnaire

In the following case the excessive meaning ‘too heavy for me’ is expressed by a comparison ‘heavier than me’ (cf. Olsen 1999: 222):

- (61) Num. 11.14
canragoyn k’an zis
 heavy.too ACC.1SG.ACC
 PAR.PM STM
 ‘(I cannot carry all these people by myself; the burden is) too heavy for me.’

8 Further remarks

8.1 Diachrony

8.1.1 Classical Armenian has preserved neither the Indo-European comparative and superlative markers **-yes/yos-*, **-isto-* nor the suffixes **-tero-*, **-tṛṇHo-* / **-tṛṇto-* that in some languages acquired this function, e. g. Sanskrit *-tara-*, *-tama-* and Greek *-tero-*, *-tato-* (cf. section 4.1.1 of the introduction to this volume). Lexicalized remnants of the morphological comparative could be: a) *bari* ‘good’, if this goes back to **b^hγ-iyes-* with a generalized Sievers variant (as e. g. in Gk. *glūkiōn* with **-iyōn* instead of expected **-yōn* > **glūttōn/glūssōn*) from PIE **b^her-* ‘to carry’, cf. the superlative Gk. (Hom.) *phéristos* (beside *phértatos* and the comparative *phérteros*, Lat. PN *Ferter*) and Av. *bairišta-* ‘excellent, best’;³⁴ b) *law* ‘good’, if from **leh₂wis* ‘better’,³⁵ (cf. Gk. *lōion*) with *e*-grade from the positive **leh₂wo-* ‘good’. In the Armenian Bible *law* translates Gk. *sumphérei*, *lusiteleĩ* (Luke 17.2) ‘it is better, useful’ and *kalón estin/ēn* ‘it is/would be good’, forms which in other translations are rendered as comparatives, e. g. OCS *dobrěe* ‘better’, OE *betere* etc.³⁶

8.1.2 The compound type with *amena-* may have originated in compounds with a verbal second member taking *amena-* ‘all’ as object such as *amena-gêt* ‘all-knowing’ and possessive compounds with a nominal second member such as *amena-zôr* ‘having all the power / the power over everything’ with the implication ‘all, everything, complete’ > ‘a lot, very much’.³⁷

³⁴ Cf. García Ramón (2013), Kölligan (2019: 202–207).

³⁵ Cf. a similar development in Gmc. **batis* ‘better’ > NHG *bass* ‘very, a lot’, cf. Behaghel (1923: 229).

³⁶ Cf. Dieu (2011: 219).

³⁷ Cf. Olsen (1999: 61–62, 714).

Forms attested in classical authors include (with hapax forms unmarked) in the *Buzandaran Patmowt* ‘*iwnk*’ (Garsoian 1984) *amena-sowrb* 2×, *°bari* 3×, *°zôr* ‘almighty’ 2×, *°paycar* ‘very bright’, *°mec liowt’e-amb* [all-big fullness-INSTR.SG] ‘in complete fullness’, Elišê (Thomson 1993) *°sowrb* 3×, *°zôr*, *°vastak* ‘all-enduring’, Eznik (Zeilfelder 2004) *°gêt* 3× ‘all-knowing’, *°kal* 2× ‘almighty’, *°hnar* 2× ‘id.’, *°č’ar* ‘very bad’, *°arowest* 2× ‘very artful, very skilled’. Łazar P’arpec’i (Kouymjian 1985) uses this type profusely, many of the following compounds are reported by the *NBHL* to occur only in his work: *°bajj* ‘very lovely’, *°boys* ‘very fertile’, *°bowtx* ‘id.’, *°gêt* 2×, *°gt’ac* ‘very merciful’, *°giwt* ‘full of goods’, *°zôr* 3×, *°t’ap’owr* ‘utterly empty’, *°law* ‘all-good, excellent’, *°li* 5× ‘completely full’, *°xnam* 4× ‘very merciful’, *°axtalic* ‘full of all kinds of diseases’, *°kal* 3× ‘almighty’, *°hayeac* ‘all-seeing’, *°hešt* ‘very light, easy’, *°hzôr* 3× ‘almighty’, *°hnar* 3× ‘id.’, *°yalt’* ‘all-conquering’, *°yordor* ‘very eager, diligent’, *°yôžar* ‘id.’, *°sowrb* 2× ‘very holy’, *°sk’anč’* ‘very miraculous’, *°tenč’* ‘very desirable’, *°p’oyt’* ‘very diligent’.³⁸

This type is productive in Modern Eastern Armenian, cf. **8.2.3**.

8.1.3 The standard marker *k’an* probably meant ‘how much’ originally which developed into ‘as (much as)’, cf. the derivative *k’ani* ‘how much’ (translating Gk. *hōsos*, *pōsos*).³⁹ The former meaning may still be present in

- (62) Matt. 17.19[20] (cf. also Luke 17.6)
- | | | | |
|--|---------------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>et’ê</i> | <i>ownic’ik’</i> | <i>hawats</i> | <i>k’an</i> |
| if | have.PRS.SBJV.2PL | faith.ACC.PL | as (much as) |
| | | CPREE | STM |
|
<i>zhat</i> |
<i>mananxoy</i> | | |
| ACC.seed | mustard.GEN.SG | | |
| ┌──────────STAND──────────┐ | | | |
| ‘if you have faith as small as a mustard seed’ | | | |

This assumption seems less problematic than to assume with Zeilfelder (1996: 191) that the Armenian translator replaced the Greek equative construction *eân êkhēte pīstin hōs kōkkon sināpeōs* (*hōs* ‘as, like’) with a comparative construction ‘more than / larger than’.⁴⁰ Another instance quoted by Jensen (1929: 388) from the *NBHL* (s. v. *k’an*) is

³⁸ Jensen (1959: 69) states that this formation is also used for superlatives; against this cf. Minassian (1976: 115): “Ces superlatifs sont plutôt absolus avec l’adverbe « tout », que relatifs.”

³⁹ Cf. German *wie* ‘how’ in *so groß wie du* ‘as tall as you’ and sub-standard *größer wie du* ‘taller than you’, see Jäger (this volume).

⁴⁰ Cf. also Jensen (1929: 388) and Künzle (1984: II.685), who take *k’an* to mean ‘as’ in this passage. The same in the Syriac version (Peshitta): *haymānūtā °ayk pæreddattā dēhardalā* ‘faith like a grain of mustard’.

(63)

<i>č'ap'</i>	<i>mecowt'ean</i>	<i>nora</i>	<i>k'an</i>	<i>zč'amak'</i>	<i>erkir</i>
measure.NOM	power.GEN	3SG.GEN	as	ACC.dry	earth.NOM
└──────────CPREE──────────┘			STM	└──────────STAND──────────┘	

‘the measure of his power is as (large as) the dry earth’.

In the use with prepositions such as *artak'oy* ‘outside’ (cf. exx. 35 and 37) *k'an* may be interpreted as meaning ‘with respect to’ which may have developed out of ‘as much as’, cf. Latin *quantum* ‘as much as’ and ‘with respect to, as for’ (e. g. *quantum ad me* ‘as far as I am concerned’, etc.). This may also apply to comparatives with verbal parameters such as *sirem* ‘to love’ + *k'an*, i. e. ‘with respect to A, love B’ = ‘love B more than A’ (cf. ex. 29). Also the compound *iwrak'anč'iwr* ‘everyone’ may retain this putative original meaning. It derives from a syntagm **iwr k'an č'-iwr* [REFL.GEN than NEG-REFL.GEN]. The lack of *z-* after *k'an* may show that this is an archaic form, as *z-* is usually interpreted as having been taken over from *ibrew* (v. infra 7.1.4). While the pronoun is usually understood as ‘of oneself rather than not of oneself’,⁴¹ *k'an* may here still have its non-comparative meaning ‘of oneself as much as not of oneself’ which developed into ‘(of) everybody’. This is in line with the traditional etymological explanation of *k'an* as going back to either PIE **k^weh₂m̃* (> Lat. *quam*) ‘how much, as much, than’, or **k^weh₂nt-* (> Lat. *quantus*) ‘how much’.⁴²

8.1.4 Zeilfelder (1996: 194 f.) interprets the fact that *ibrew* takes a direct object as indication that it and its base form *ibr* go back to the imperative of a compound verb **i-ber* ‘compare’, itself consisting of the preposition *i* (PIE **[h₁]en*) and *berem* ‘to carry, bring’. From *ibr(ew)* the use with accusative would then have spread to *k'an* (cf. 8.1.3). Meillet (1896: 53) interprets *ibr* as an instrumental form of (*z-*)*i* ‘thing/which’, **ibi-r*, with a particle *-r* also found in the genitives *oyr* ‘whose’, *êr* ‘of which’ and *iwr* ‘of him-/her-/itself’. Another possibility could be a connection with the element *-phra* in Gk. *óphra* ‘as long as’, *tóphra* ‘until’ from **-b^hr-* > Arm. **-bar-* unverbated with *i* ‘in’ as **ibar* > *ibr*, cf. also Arm. *erb* ‘when’ < **-b^hr-*, Toch. A *kupre* ‘when’.⁴³ Arm. *ew* continues PIE **(h₁)epi* (Gr. *epí*, Skt. *ápi*), which in Greek became a preposition. The adverb *ews* ‘even’ derives from *ew* by addition of the demonstrative *-s*, thus *ews* may approximately have meant ‘on top of that, in addition’.⁴⁴ This could indicate that *ew* was a preposition in early Armenian, too, and the use of *ibrew* with accusative may be a remnant of this prepositional function of unverbated *ibr-ew* ‘up to’, cf. *ibrew* with numerals meaning ‘roughly, about’ or ‘until’:

⁴¹ Meillet (1920)=Meillet (1977:184): ‘sien plutôt que non sien’.

⁴² Cf. Klingenschmitt (1982: 169), de Vaan (2008: 508).

⁴³ Cf. Hackstein (2005), Beekes (2010: 1135).

⁴⁴ Cf. Klingenschmitt (1982: 99 fn. 18) who reconstructs **epi kíd/kód* ‘in addition to this’. But **epi* could also have been an adverb in this syntagm, i. e. ‘also this; that, too’.

(64) Luke 3.23

êr *amac'* *ibrew* *eresnic'*
 be.IPF.3SG year.GEN.PL about thirty.GEN.PL
 'He was about thirty years old.' (Gk. *hōsèi etōn triákonta*)

(65) Luke 2.37

êr *ayri* *amac'* *ibrew* *owt'sown* *ew*
 be.IPF.3SG widow.NOM year.GEN.PL about / until eighty and
č'oric'
 four.GEN.PL
 'She was a widow until she was eighty-four.' (Gk. *khéra héōs etōn ogdoékonta tessárōn*).

8.1.5 A number of relevant forms are due to language contact, being loans from Iranian:

- *awrinak* 'example, pattern', derived from *awrên(k')* 'law, custom', cf. MParth. *ʾwdyn* < **aβi-δaina-* (Olsen 1999: 914).
- *°goyñ* < Iran. **gauna-* 'colour; manner'.⁴⁵
- *hawasār* < Iran. **hāwasār-*, cf. MParth. *h'ws'r* /*hāwsār*/ 'similar, like', cf. Benveniste (1958: 56 f.), Olsen (1999: 891), Durkin-Meisterernst (2004: 176).
- *kari* 'very, much', either an inner-Armenian formation from the root of *karem* 'I am able' or borrowed from Parthian, cf. Sogdian *k'ōy*, cf. Meillet (1977: 180), Olsen (1999: 449).
- *nman* < Iran. **nimāni-* vel. sim., cf. Olsen (1999: 296). Hübschmann (1897: 205) compares Skt. *nimāna-* 'measure' (RV 2× *animānā-* 'unlimited'), *upamāna-* 'comparison, similarity', NP *mānistān* 'to be similar', *mānā* 'as it seems'. On *nman* in MEA cf. **8.2.1**.
- *°pēs* < Iran. **paīsa-*, cf. Av. *°paēsa* 'form' (Olsen 1999: 628; Hübschmann 1897: 230).
- *šat* < Iran. **šāta-*, Sogd. *š't* 'rich, happy', cf. Qarīb (1995: 370), Olsen (1999: 899).
- *yoyž* 'very, much' < **y-oyž*, from *oyž* (gen. *owži/-oy*) 'strength, power', MP *'wc* 'id.', cf. Av. *aojah-*, Skt. *ójas-*, cf. Olsen (1999: 899).

⁴⁵ Cf. Jensen (1934: 118 fn. 1), Olsen (1999: 219–226).

8.2 Modern Eastern Armenian⁴⁶

8.2.1 Similitive and equative

Similitive type 3-1 (standard marker is flag, parameter marker is E; flag is case):

MEA uses *nman* and *pes* (cf. *orpês* in Classical Armenian) postposed to the standard marked for dative:

- (66) *artasowk'ə heleli nman t'ap'vowm êr*
 tears.ART flood.DAT like shed.PTCP be.IPF.3SG
 CPREE STAND.STM PM
 '(S)he was shedding tears like a flood.' (P'ot'eyan and Mowrvalyan 1980: IV.35)

- (67) *išxowm êr na arewi pes*
 rule.PTCP be.IPF.3SG 3SG.NOM sun.DAT like
 [CPREE] STAND.STM PM
 '(S)he ruled like the sun.' (P'ot'eyan and Mowrvalyan 1980: 199)

Equative type 2-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In equatives comparing qualities, the standard marker is *inč'pes* preceding the standard, the parameter marker *aynpes* preceding the parameter:

- (68) *k'oyrs aynpes getec'ik ê inč'pes dow*
 sister.NOM.1SG as beautiful be.PRS.3SG as 2SG.NOM
 CPREE PM PAR STM STAND
 'My sister is as beautiful as you.'

In the equation of quantities, *aynk'an* – *inč'k'an* or *aynč'ap'* – *inč'č'ap'* are used analogously.

Equative type 2-8 (standard marker is particle, parameter marker is not expressed):

Alternatively, the noun *č'ap'* 'measure' may be used as standard marker modified by the standard marked for genitive:⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Cf. for the following Dum-Tragut (2009: 531–541).

⁴⁷ Probably a calque from Turkish, cf. Dum-Tragut (2009: 540).

- (69) *k'oyrs* *k'o* *č'ap'* *getec'ik* *ê*
 sister.NOM.1SG 2SG.GEN degree.NOM beautiful be.PRS.3SG
 CPREE STAND STM PAR
 'My sister is as beautiful as you.'

8.2.2 Comparative

MEA has two comparative constructions: a) The PM is *aweli* 'more' preceding the adjective, the standard marker is *k'an* followed by the standard in the nominative case.⁴⁸ b) The standard is marked for ablative case and precedes the adjective, the PM is optional. Construction a) corresponds to type 3-6 (standard marker is particle, parameter marker is free morpheme), construction b) to type 3-2-1 (standard marker is flag, parameter marker is free morpheme; flag is case) and to type 3-4-1 (standard marker is flag, parameter marker is not expressed; flag is case). Cf. ex.(70) for type a) and ex.(71) for type b):

- (70) *Araratə* *aweli* *barjr* *ê* *k'an* *Aragacə*
 A.NOM.ART more high be.PRS.3SG than A.NOM.ART
 CPREE PM PAR STM STAND
 'The Ararat (mountain) is higher than the Aragac (mountain).'

- (71) *Araratə* *Aragacic'* (*aweli*) *barjr* *ê*
 A.NOM.ART A.NOM.ABL more high be.PRS.3SG
 CPREE STAND.STM PM PAR

With heavy NPs type a) is preferred.

In attributive use the standard precedes the adjective, the PM is obligatory:

- (72) *Anin* *Aramic'* *aweli* *law* *ašakert* *ê*
 A.NOM.ART A.ABL more good pupil be.PRS.3SG
 CPREE STAND.STM PM PAR PAR
 'Ani is a better pupil than Aram.'

Like Classical Armenian (cf. 4.8), MEA only allows the construction with *k'an* in the comparison of clauses.

⁴⁸ Already in Classical Armenian nom.sg. and acc.sg. are identical except if the latter is marked with *z-*, as after *k'an* and when specific/definite. Standard MEA has lost *z-*.

8.2.3 Superlative

The compound type with *amena-* that has elative meaning in Classical Armenian (cf. 8.1.2) has become the superlative construction in MEA. As in the comparative, the standard is marked for ablative (cf. Dum-Tragut 2009: 537), i. e. type 4-9 (standard marker and standard are not expressed, parameter marker is bound morpheme):

- (73) *Anin amenagetec‘ik ałjikn ê*
 A.NOM.ART all-beautiful girl.NOM.ART be.PRS.3SG
 CPREE PM.PAR
 ‘Ani is the most beautiful girl.’

Alternatively, instead of a compound with *amena-* the ablative of the adjective *amenayn* ‘all’ may precede the simplex adjective (type 4-4, i. e. standard marker is flag, parameter marker is not expressed; flag is case):

- (74) *Anin amenic‘ getec‘ik ałjikn ê*
 A.NOM.ART all.ABL.PL beautiful girl.NOM.ART be.PRS.3SG
 CPREE STAND.STM PAR
 ‘Ani is the (most) beautiful girl of all.’

8.3 Lexical degree markers⁴⁹

Beside *ews* ‘even’ (cf. 4.1, 4.6 above) Classical Armenian uses *kari* and *yoyž* ‘very’ (degree IV in Klein’s scale):

- (75) Luke 7.6
ibrew oč‘inč‘ kari heři êr i tanên
 when NEG.INDF very far be.IPF.3SG from house.ABL.ART
 ‘(when) he was not far from the house’

- (76) Matt. 4.8
i leařn mi barjr yoyž
 to mountain.ACC one high very
 ‘to a very high mountain’

In Mark 9.2(3) *spitak yoyž* has an elative sense ‘exceedingly white’:

⁴⁹ Cf. section 4.2.2 of the introduction to this volume.

- (77) *jork'* *nora* *elen* *p'aylown spitak yoyž*
 clothes.NOM.PL 3SG.GEN become.AOR.3PL shining white very
 'His clothes became dazzling white (whiter than anyone in the world could bleach them.)'

8.4 Complex phrases⁵⁰

Classical Armenian uses alliterative phrases, sometimes with *figura etymologica* or repetition of the same or semantically similar elements to express a high degree, e. g. *Buzandaran Patmowt'iwnk'* 3.8 *ant'iw anhamar* 'numberless, uncountable' (*t'iw, hamar* 'number'), 3.12 *zcerowt'ean patiwn patowakal patowakanowt'eann* 'the honorable honour of the dignity of old age' (Garsoian 1989: 83), Eznik § 322 *goveli ew arawel goveli* 'praiseworthy and even more praiseworthy' (Blanchard and Young 1998: 169).

9 Summary

Classical Armenian does not have obligatory comparative and superlative morphemes. Degree may be marked by an optional suffix *-agoyn* on the adjective, by reduplicated adjectives and adverbs such as *ews* 'even', *arawel*, *aweli* 'more', *kari* and *yoyž* 'very'. Standard markers are *ibrew*, *orpês*, *zor awrinak* in equative / similitive constructions and *k'an* in comparatives.⁵¹ In addition to the morphological markers used in comparatives, elatives may also be formed by adjectives prefixed with *amena-* 'all'. Excessives are formed with the *-agoyn*-type.

Table 1: Functional distribution of the formal means of gradation and comparison

	similitive	equative	comparative	superlative	elative	excessive
simplex	x	x	x	x		
<i>-agoyn</i>			x		x	x
redupl.			x		x	
<i>amena-</i>					x	
<i>aweli</i>			x			
<i>arawel</i>			x			
<i>ews</i>			x			

⁵⁰ Cf. section 4.2.3 of the introduction to this volume.

⁵¹ The evidence for *k'an* in similitives / equatives is ambiguous.

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Monica Genesin and Joachim Matzinger

4 Old Albanian

1 Introduction

Apart from a few scattered attestations from the 14th and 15th centuries, the literary documentation of written Albanian begins in the mid-16th century with the so-called “Missal” of Gjon Buzuku from 1555, very probably printed in Venice. Although the Albanian translation of the Roman Missal covers most of the book of Buzuku, it is more of a practical handbook for the liturgy of the Christian year. In fact, Buzuku’s book is quite representative of the Old Albanian literature period from the 16th to the middle of the 18th century which is characterized by the following features: (i) The vast majority of documents are written in the Albanian Gheg dialect spoken in the northern parts of Albania and in Kosovo/Kosova; (ii) the authors of the Old Gheg documents are exclusively Roman Catholic clergymen; (iii) the Old Albanian documents are primarily works of theological and liturgical content accompanied by dictionaries and grammars; (iv) the scope of these works is to provide Roman Catholic missionaries with the necessary tools for their mission in the Ottoman ruled Albanian territories which gradually became Muslim; (v) all published works of the Old Albanian literature were printed in Italy.

The present survey of gradation and comparison in Old Albanian is based on the following 3 major works of the Gheg-based Old Albanian literature from the 16th and 17th centuries: (i) the so-called “Missal” of the Catholic priest Gjon Buzuku from 1555; (ii) the voluminous works of the bishop Pjetër Budi, being Albanian translations (resp. adaptations) of the *Dottrina Christiana* by Robert Bellarmine, Rome 1618 (containing also extensive pieces of poetry ascribed to an otherwise unknown Frat Pali from Hasi), the *Rituale Romanum*, Rome 1621, and the confessional treatise *Specchio di Confessione* by Emerio de Bonis, Rome 1621; (iii) the theological treatise *Cuneus Prophetarum* by the archbishop Pjetër Bogdani, Padua 1685. The linguistic data provided by these three documents is not only extremely extensive but also representative of the system of gradation and comparison in Old Albanian in general, including the Tosk dialect of the south of Albania and the Tosk diaspora in Italy. However, we will point out the forms characteristic of the Tosk dialect wherever necessary.

2 Similative

In Old Albanian there is no morpheme to mark the parameter of a similative construction. The default strategy for expressing similative relations is the usage of a particle

Sections 3., 4., 6. by Monica Genesin, sections 1., 2., 5., 7., 8. by Joachim Matzinger.

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meaning ‘like’ to mark the standard of comparison. To a lesser extent, verbs and adjectives meaning ‘to resemble’, ‘resembling’ are also used.

The particle used as standard marker (STM) appears in the basic form *si* ‘like’ but can also be combined with the prefix *po-* (Buzuku *por-*; see Schumacher & Matzinger 2013: 55), whence *posi* and in Buzuku *porsi* ‘like’ (cf. also Buchholz 1989a: 11–12). In Modern Albanian, too, the particle *si* ‘like’ is used for this purpose (cf. Newmark & Hubbard & Prifti 1982: 233, Buchholz & Fiedler 1987: 332).

2.1 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

2.1.1 Type 1-3-1: flag is case

- (1) Gjon Buzuku, “Missale”, Fol. 110^v.3–4; Job 2.3
- | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| <i>qi</i> | <i>s</i> | <i>ashtë</i> | <i>tjetërë</i> | <i>nierī</i> | <i>ëmbë shëmbëllesë</i> | <i>të tī</i> |
| since | NEG | be.PRS.3SG | an other | man.NOM | in equation.INS | his.GEN |
| | | | CPREE | CPREE | PM | STAND.STM |
| <i>përëmbī dhēt</i> | | | <i>i mirë e i dërejtë</i> | | | |
| on | earth.INS.DEF | | good and righteous.NOM | | | |
- ‘since there is no other man on earth similar to him good and righteous’
(Vulgate: *quod non sit ei similis in terra vir simplex et rectus*)

2.1.2 Type 1-3-2: flag is adposition

With the verb *shëmbëllen* ‘to resemble, to denote’ (cf. Schumacher & Matzinger 2013: 821–822) as PM:

- (2) Gjon Buzuku, “Missale”, Fol. 26.14–16; Ordo desposandi
- | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>prashtu atī</i> | <i>të i bajmë</i> | <i>ëndimë</i> |
| and thus | he.DAT | make.him.PRS.SBJV.1PL | help.ACC |
| | | | CPREE |
| <i>të shëmbëllenjë</i> | <i>ëmbë njerit</i> | | |
| resemble.PRS.SBJV.3SG | in man.INS.DEF | | |
| PM | STM | STAND | |
- ‘and therefore we shall make him a help which will resemble man’
(Vulgate: *faciamus ei adiutorium simile sui*)

2.2 Type 1-7: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

With the verb *duketë* ‘to appear, to look like, to seem’ (cf. Schumacher & Matzinger 2013: 391–394):

- (3) Pjetër Budi, *Dottrina Christiana*, 212'.5
qi duketë si njeri ndë gjak të vet
 who.NOM appear.PRS.3SG like man.NOM in blood.INS his own
 CPREE PM STM STAND
 ‘who resembles a man in his own blood’

2.3 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

- (4) Pjetër Bogdani, *Cuneus Prophetarum*, 2.154.12
e përse ndaj Tenëzonë njëmijë vjet
 and because with God.ACC one thousand.NOM years.NOM.PL
 CPREE
janë posi një ditë
 be.PRS.3PL like one.NOM day.NOM
 STM STAND
 ‘and because with God one thousand years are like one day’ (The contemporary Italian version reads: ‘e perché appresso dio mille anni sono come un giorno’; cf. *Vulgata*, Ps. 89.4: *quia mille anni in oculis tuis sicut dies hesternae*.)

2.4 Formal means of expressing similitives

In Old Albanian the most frequent strategy for expressing similitive relations is the use of the particle *si* ‘like’ and its enlargement *po(r)si* to mark the standard of comparison. The Old Albanian documents display three different types: type 3 where STM is flag or adposition (in which case the predicative prepositional phrase *është/banetë ëmbë shembëllesë* (or *shembëlltyrë*) ‘is/becomes in resemblance’ usually appears) as well as type 7 and type 8 where STM is a particle.

3 Equative

The default case of equative constructions consists in the use of the particles *aqë ... sã* ‘as ... as’ according to type 6. This is also the default case in Modern Albanian where the particles *aq ... sa* besides *aq ... si* are used, cf. Newmark & Hubbard & Prifti 1982: 239–241, Buchholz & Fiedler 1987: 332. (On equative construction in the Balkan languages cf. Buchholz 1989b.)

3.1 Type 2-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

3.1.1 Type 2-3-2: flag is adposition

- (5) Gjon Buzuku, “Missale”, Fol. 106^v.68–69; Sir 45.2
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>ate</i> | <i>bani</i> | <i>ëndë</i> | <i>lavd</i> | <i>të madh</i> | <i>njëmend</i> |
| and | he.ACC | make.AOR.3SG | in | praise.INS | big.ACC | equal.ACC |
| | CPREE | | | PAR | | PM |
| <i>me</i> | <i>shenjtisë</i> | | | | | |
| with | saints.ACC.PL.DEF | | | | | |
| STM | STAND | | | | | |
- ‘and he made him great in praise to the saints’
(Vulgate: *similem illum fecit in gloria sanctorum*)

3.2 Type 2-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

- (6) Pjetër Budi, Dottrina Christiana, 120.18–19
- | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---------------|---------------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------|
| <i>se</i> | <i>s</i> | <i>gjindetë</i> | <i>mbë</i> | <i>këtë</i> | <i>shekullë</i> | <i>ndonjë</i> | |
| because | NEG | find.PRS.N-ACT.3SG | in | this.ACC | world.ACC | any.NOM | |
| | | | | | | | |
| <i>atë</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>amë</i> | <i>qi</i> | <i>t ish</i> | <i>aqë</i> | <i>i amblë</i> | <i>e</i> |
| father.NOM | or | mother.NOM | REL | be.IPF.SBJV.3SG | as | sweet.NOM | and |
| CPREE | | CPREE | | | PM | PAR | |
| <i>i mëshëriershim</i> | <i>mbë</i> | <i>fëmizëtë</i> | | <i>vet</i> | <i>sã</i> | <i>ashtë</i> | |
| forgiving.NOM | with | children.ACC.PL.DEF | | their | as | be.PRS.3SG | |
| | | | | | | | |
| PAR | | | | | STM | | |
| <i>Zotÿnë</i> | <i>përmbi</i> | <i>në</i> | | | | | |
| our Lord.NOM | with | 1PL.ACC | | | | | |
| STAND | | | | | | | |

‘because in this world there is no father or mother who is so sweet and forgiving with their children as our Lord is with us’

3.3 Types not included in the questionnaire

3.3.1 Correlative diptych

The increase in degree of the quality of the comparee is correlated to the increase in degree of the quality of the standard. This is indicated by the use of the correlative particles *sā mā ... aqë mā*. (For more detail concerning the particle Old Gheg *mā*, i. e. /mɑː/, Old Tosk *më* ‘more’, see section 4.).

- (7) Pjetër Budi, *Speculum Confessionis*, –5.27
- | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>sā mā</i> | <i>afërë</i> | <i>gjëni</i> | <i>të jënë</i> | <i>aqë mā</i> |
| and | as much | close | relative.NOM.PL | be.PRS.SBJV.3PL | so much |
| | PM _{STAND} | PAR _{STAND} | | | PM _{CPREE} |
| <i>i madh</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>i randë</i> | <i>ashtë</i> | <i>mkati</i> | |
| big.NOM | and | serious.NOM | be.PRS.3SG | sin.NOM.DEF | |
| PAR _{CPREE} | | PAR _{CPREE} | | | |
- ‘the closer the relatives are, the bigger and more serious is the sin’

4 Comparative

The default (analytic) comparative construction of Old Albanian consists of the particle Old Gheg *mā* (i. e. /mɑː/, in the following simply transliterated as *mā*), Old Tosk *më* (hence Modern Albanian *më* ‘more’; for the comparative in Modern Albanian cf. Newmark, Hubbard & Prifti 1982: 235–237, Buchholz & Fiedler 1987: 333) placed before the adjective subjected to gradation. For the Old Tosk use of *më* cf. e. g. Jul Variboba, *Gjella e Shën Mëris Virgjër*, Rome 1762, verse 2239 *kī rrikord ë më i mīr* ‘this memory is better’ (= type 10 of the comparative constructions). An intensification of the comparative degree is achieved by combining the comparative particle with the adverb *tepërë* ‘very’, hence Old Gheg *mā tepërë* ‘still more, even more’ (Modern Albanian *më tepër*). The inferior degree or comparative of inferiority/minority is also analytically expressed by the use of the particle combination Old Gheg *mā pak* ‘less’ (i. e. the comparative particle plus the adverb *pak* ‘a little, not much’; in Modern Albanian *më pak*, cf. Newmark, Hubbard & Prifti 1982: 238–239, Buchholz & Fiedler 1987: 334). For a short overview on gradation in Old Albanian cf. Buchholz 1987: 26–27, Matzinger & Schumacher 2017: 1755.

Gradation (comparative and superlative) is analytically expressed by use of a particle not only in (Old) Albanian, but also in other Balkan languages (South Slavic, Balkan Romance, and Modern Greek, although the latter also uses synthetic forms). This feature is considered to be a ‘Balkanism’ resulting from historical language contact in the Balkans within the so-called Balkan Sprachbund or Balkan convergence area (cf. Friedman 2006: 664A as well as Qvonje 1984, Buchholz 1987). However, it is by no way an exclusive ‘balkanism’ since many languages elsewhere in Europe use particles in gradation instead of synthetic morphemes.

4.1 Type 3-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

- (8) Gjon Buzuku, “Missale”, Fol. 80.63–64; John 14.28
përse Ati anshtë më i madh se u
 because Father.NOM.DEF be.PRS.3SG more big.NOM than 1SG.NOM
 CPREE PM PAR STM STAND
 ‘because the Father (i. e. the Lord) is bigger than me’
 (Vulgate: *quia Pater maior me est*)

4.2 Type 3-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

- (9) Gjon Buzuku, “Missale”, Fol. 96^v.16–17; John 21.18
kur ti ishnjë më i ri ti
 when you.2SG.NOM be.IPF.2SG more young.NOM you.2SG.NOM
 PM PAR
ëngjishishnë
 dress.IPF.2SG
 ‘when you were younger you dressed yourself’
 (Vulgate: *cum esses iunior cingebas te*)

The same type also expresses the inferior degree:

- (10) Gjon Buzuku, “Missale”, Fol. 52.40–41; Oratio
t’afëruomitë tat me më pak fëdigë munda kemi
 mercy.ACC.DEF your with less effort.ACC can.have.PRS.POSSIB.1PL
 PM PAR
 ‘we can gain your mercy with less effort’
 (Missal: *propitiationem tuam facilius impetremus*)

Type 3-10 is used to denote intensification:

- (11) Pjetër Budi, *Rituale Romanum*, 89.4
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>e</i> | <i>të jënë</i> | <i>mā</i> | <i>tepërë</i> | <i>nginjunë</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>mbushunë</i> | <i>plot</i> |
| and | be.PRS.SBJV.3PL | more | even | sated.NOM | and | filled.NOM | full |
| | | PM | | PAR | | PAR | |
| <i>me</i> | <i>hirit</i> | <i>së</i> | <i>Tinëzot</i> | | | | |
| with | mercy.INS.DEF | Lord.ABL | | | | | |
- ‘and they shall be even more sated and fully impregnated with the Lord’s mercy’

4.3 Formal means of expressing comparatives

Most frequently in Old Albanian the PAR of a comparative construction is expressed by an adjective preceded by the particle Old Gheg *mā*, Old Tosk *mē* (in modern Albanian *më*) which functions as the PM, cf. types 6 and 10. Most commonly, the STM is a case or an adposition. However, the particle *se* ‘than’ also occurs, and in the modern language together with the formal enlargement *sesa* (cf. Newmark & Hubbard & Prifti 1982: 235) it is the most frequent STM.

5 Superlative

The default (analytic) superlative construction of Old Albanian consists of the particle Old Gheg *mā* (i. e. /mā:/, in the following simply transliterated as *mā*), Old Tosk *mē* ‘more’ (hence Modern Albanian *më*; for the superlative in Modern Albanian cf. Newmark, Hubbard & Prifti 1982: 237–238, Buchholz & Fiedler 1987: 334–335) placed before the adjective subjected to gradation. In contrast to the comparative construction, the adjective appears in the definite form, i. e. with the inflected postponed definite article.

5.1 Type 4-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

5.1.1 Type 4-2-1: flag is case

- (12) Pjetër Bogdani, *Cuneus Prophetarum*, 1.105.7

e unë qi jam mā i madhi i gjithëve
 and 1SG.NOM REL be.PRS.1SG more big.NOM.DEF all.GEN
 CPREE PM PAR STAND.STM

jam krymb
 be.PRS.1SG worm.NOM

‘and I, the greatest of all, I am a worm’ (the contemporary Italian-Latin version reads: ‘ego autem qual sono il maggior di tutti sum vermis’)

- (13) Pjetër Budi, *Speculum Confessionis*, 98.20

gjithëqish të bani njaj mā t vogëlit
 everything.ACC do.PRS.SBJV.2PL one.DAT more small.DAT.DEF
 CPREE PM PAR

këncish për ndër teme muo m a kini bām
 that.ABL.PL for honor.ACC my.ACC 1SG.DAT it.ACC do.PRF.2PL
 STAND.STM

‘everything you do to one of the smallest of these in my honor, you have done it to me’

5.1.2 Type 4-2-2: flag is adposition

- (14) Gjon Buzuku, “Missale”, Fol. 86^v.16–17; 1 Cor 15.9

përse unë jam mā i vogëli ën gjithë
 because 1SG.NOM be.PRS.1SG more small.NOM.DEF from all.ABL
 CPREE PM PAR STM

apostojshit
 apostles.ABL.PL.DEF
 STAND

‘because I am the smallest of all apostles’
 (Vulgate: *ego enim sum minimus apostolorum*)

- (15) Pjetër Bogdani, *Cuneus Prophetarum*, 1.25.25
qiellja e hanësë ... e mbahetë se është
 heaven.NOM.DEF moon.GEN.DEF and assume.PRS.N-ACT.3SG that be.PRS.3SG
mā e vogëla ndër gjithë planetët
 more small.NOM.DEF among all.ACC planets.ACC.PL.DEF
 PM PAR STM STAND
 ‘the heaven of the moon ... and it is assumed that it is the smallest among all planets’ (the contemporary Italian version reads: ‘il cielo della luna ... ed il più piccolo delle pianeti si tiene che sia’)

5.2 Types not included in the questionnaire

5.2.1 Complex phrases

Only scarcely attested is the *figura etymologica* conveying the highest degree.

- (16) Gjon Buzuku, “Missale”, Fol. 47^v.81–82; Esth 13.15
e tash Zot regji i regjet i Zoti
 and now Lord.NOM king.NOM.DEF king.GEN.PL.DEF Lord.NOM.DEF
 [PAR] STAND.STM
i Abramit kī mishërier popullit tit
 A.GEN.DEF have.IMP.2SG mercy.ACC people.DAT.DEF your.DAT
 ‘and now, Lord, king of the kings, Lord of Abraham, have mercy on your people’
 (Vulgate: *et nunc Domine rex Deus Abraham miserere populi tui*)

5.3 Formal means of expressing superlatives

The construction of the superlative in Old Albanian is based on the default construction of the comparative with the adjective preceded by the particle Old Gheg *mā*, Old Tosk *mē* ‘more’ (in modern Albanian *më*) which functions as the PM. In morphological contrast to the comparative, the adjective in the superlative degree is in the definite form, i. e. marked with the postponed definite article. In its individualizing function the definite article thus serves to select one entity of the standard which is of the highest degree with respect to the paramater.

6 Elative

In Modern Albanian, the default method of expressing the elative consists of placing the adverb *shumë* ‘much, many; very’ before the adjective. However, in the Old Albanian documents this elative construction is rather infrequent, being attested only since Pjetër Budi. (interestingly, in Buzuku *shumë* is used only as a quantifier, but not as a parameter marker: the latter function is fulfilled only by the adverb *fort* ‘very; strongly’, which also occurs in Modern Albanian; cf. Buchholz 1989b: 56.) In addition to *shumë* and *fort* several other adverbs are found (e. g. *mëjaft* ‘enough; pretty; pretty well’, *bukur* ‘pretty; fairly’). Among those, the particle *fare* ‘quite, at all’ (Modern Albanian *fare* ‘id.’) appears only in the Old Tosk dialect. While prefixation as a means of elative formation is quite common in Modern Albanian with the prefixes *mbi-*, *stër-/shtër-* or *sipër-*, e. g. *mbi-natyror* ‘supernatural’, *(i) stër-lashtë* ‘very old’, *sipër-njerëzor* ‘superhuman’ (see e. g. Dhrimo 1975: 153: 156, Buchholz & Fiedler 1987: 337, Buchholz 1989b: 53–54, Domi 2002: 186–187), it is limited in the Old Albanian documents to privative relations (see 6.1). On the elative in Modern Albanian, cf. Newmark, Hubbard & Prifti 1982: 243–246 (labeled ‘intensification’), Buchholz & Fiedler 1987: 335–338, Buchholz 1989b passim (in a Balkan context).

6.1 Type 5-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

With the prefix *pā-* ‘un-, in-’ (Modern Albanian *pa-*) privatives are derived from nouns, adjectives, and participles (cf. Matzinger 2016: 265–279). In combination with some nouns and adjectives, elative relations emerge from this word-formation, e. g. *(i) pā-masë* ‘immeasurable’ derived from the noun *masë* ‘measure’.

(17) Gjon Buzuku, “Missale”, Fol. 106^v.70–71; Sir 45.2

e *ëndë* *fjalë* *të tī* *foli* *fjalë*
and through word.ACC his.GEN speak.AOR.3SG word.ACC.PL
të pāmasë
immeasurable.ACC.PL

PM

‘and through his word he spoke immeasurable words’
(Vulgate: *et in verbis suis monstra placavit*)

6.2 Type 5-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

(18) Gjon Buzuku, “Missale”, Fol. 43.90–43^v.1; Matt. 4.8

e dreqi të tretënë herrë e shpū ëmbë
 and devil.NOM.DEF third.ACC time.ACC he.ACC take.AOR.3SG on
një mal fort të naltë
 ART.INDF mountain.INS very high.INS
 PM PAR

‘and for the third time the devil took him to a very high mountain’

(Vulgate: *iterum adsumit eum diabolus in montem excelsum valde*)

6.3 Formal means of expressing elatives

In the corpus the free morpheme *fort* ‘very; strongly’ appears to mark the parameter of an elative construction.

7 Excessive

The excessive is sparsely attested in the Old Albanian documents. As in Modern Albanian, the default construction of the excessive consists of the particle *tepërë*, Modern Albanian *tepër* ‘too’ placed before the adjective. (For Modern Albanian cf. Newmark, Hubbard & Prifti 1982: 243–246, where this is labeled ‘intensification’, as well as Buchholz & Fiedler 1987: 335, Buchholz 1989b: 54–55.)

7.1 Type 6-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

(19) Pjetër Bogdani, Cuneus Prophetarum, 1.29.48

e gjithë qish jet tepërë gjall anshtë posi
 and all.NOM REL.NOM stay.PRS.3SG too alive.NOM be.PRS.3SG as
 CPREE PM PAR

thotë Profeta mund e të dhimturë
 say.PRS.3SG Prophet.NOM anguish.NOM and pain.NOM

‘and all that remains too alive is anguish and pain, as the prophet says’ (the contemporary Italian-Latin version reads: ‘Quello, che di più si vive, è come dice il Profeta: labor, et dolor’)

7.2 Formal means of expressing excessives

See section 7 above.

8 Further remarks

As a matter of fact, Old Albanian grammar has been far too little studied. Although all the major documents of the Old Albanian literature from the 16th to 18th centuries have been published already (and even made available electronically), as yet no systematic investigation of the Old Albanian language and its grammatical features has been undertaken. Thus we lack not only a concise grammar of Old Albanian but also detailed research on various issues of Old Albanian grammar. This has an obvious impact on the works cited in the references. For instance, descriptions of comparison and gradation are available only for the Modern Albanian language (cf. Newmark, Hubbard & Prifti 1982: 233–247, Buchholz 1987 *passim*, Buchholz & Fiedler 1987: 331–338, Domi 2002: 172–181). For this reason, the preceding examples and remarks on comparison and gradation in Old Albanian are based on the authors' own research. Due to the particular genre of Old Albanian texts one can assume that the presented examples are just a limited selection of the available possibilities of expressing comparison and gradation in Old Albanian. The specific documentation of Old Albanian hides constructions that were certainly used in the spoken language but do not appear in the religious documents, e. g. reduplicated adjectives to encode the elative (for Modern Albanian cf. Newmark, Hubbard & Prifti 1982: 245, Buchholz & Fiedler 1987: 337, Buchholz 1989b: 58–60). However, we wish to emphasize that the presented examples nevertheless represent all the core principles of comparison and gradation in Old Albanian, which is corroborated by a comparison with Modern Albanian. Although the selection of examples is based on the three major works of the Old Gheg dialect mentioned in the introduction (Gjon Buzuku 1555, Pjetër Budi 1618–1621, Pjetër Bogdani 1685), the remaining Old Albanian documents have also been checked in order to confirm this.

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5 Ancient Languages of the Balkans

1 Introduction

In antiquity, several Indo-European languages were spoken in the Balkans north of the Greek-speaking area before the Roman conquest. In a rather simplistic classification, the Balkans are divided into an Illyrian west and a Thracian east. The Thracian east seems to be a rather compact linguistic area, with Thracian and Daco-Mysian as related varieties (on Thracian and Dacian and their respective onomastic systems see Dana 2014 and 2015). The linguistic situation in the western parts of the Balkan Peninsula, however, is more complex. While the entire Western Balkans long used to be considered Illyrian, meticulous studies of personal names have revealed that there are, in fact, three large and distinct onomastic areas: the Liburnian area in the northern Adriatic territory (connected to the Venetian area), the Dalmato-Pannonian area on the Dalmatian coast reaching out to Pannonia, and finally the Illyrian onomastic area covering modern Montenegro and Albania (see Katičić 1976: 178–184, Schmitt 2000: 356–357). The three areas differ not only with respect to the names in use but also regarding their naming constructions and formulas. In addition to these three larger areas, some minor areas can be identified as well, such as that constituted by the personal names attested at modern day Ig in Slovenia (cf. Stifter 2012). Since there are no epichoric inscriptions in the Western Balkans, it is therefore recommended, on the basis of these different onomastic areas, not to consider the Western Balkans as a compact Illyrian territory (cf. Schmitt 2000: 357). Due to the lack of substantial data, it simply cannot be clarified how these languages or language varieties were related to and affiliated with each other. This uncertainty also applies to the territories situated between the Western Balkans and the Thracian territory, such as Dardania, whose anthroponomy seems to be a mixture of Thracian and Illyrian elements (see Papazoglu 1978: 219–260).

In general, the data (personal names) of the Western Balkans is difficult to work with. First, the collections are mostly dated and include onomastic material that just does not belong in this area. On the other hand, it is often barely possible to find convincing etymologies for these (personal) names, as Katičić 1976 has already stated (p. 174: “*On the whole, the Illyrian etymologies that could be proposed do not reach the standard of the Thracian ones.*”). Modern, fresh research is therefore urgently required.

Due to the lack of texts from the Western area, consisting of a few enigmatic inscriptions in the case of Thracian (see in detail Dana 2014: XLVI–XLVIII, Dana 2015: 244–245; for the inscriptions of Zoné see esp. Brixhe 2015), the grammar of these languages cannot be described, and it remains unknown how gradation and comparison were expressed in these Ancient Balkan languages. Given the current state of etymo-

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logical research into the onomastic remains of these ancient languages of the Balkans very little evidence can finally be found to be presented for that purpose.

2 Superlative

Superlative morphology can probably be detected in a feminine personal name attested in the naming area of Ig (Slovenia):

- (1) *Venixamae*_(DAT; CIL III 3825) / *Venixemae*_(DAT; CIL III 3797)
 (?) ‘the most friendly one, the dearest one’

This feminine personal name seems to be derived from a positive(?) **wenH-ik-* built from the Indo-European root **wenH-* ‘to become fond of, to love’ (see LIV²: 682–683) with the superlative suffix **-samo-* or **-semo-* (< **(i)sṃ h₂o-* with syncope of the *-i-*, cf. Stifter 2012: 257).

(2) Perhaps another superlative formation is the name of the deity *Pleīstōros* connected with the Thracian tribe of the Apsinthians (cf. Herodotus 1.119, who reports a human sacrifice offered to this god). This theonym was etymologized as derived from **pleh₁-isth₂o-* corresponding to Greek *pleīstos* ‘most, largest, very much’ (see Tomaschek 1894: 42, Duridanov 1995: 831). However, there is no certainty that this etymology is correct; it may alternatively be a Greek loan, or perhaps a Greek adaptation of a similar-sounding Thracian word. These doubts also apply to most other etymological suggestions in the field of Thracian onomastics. In view of the current state of etymological research, I will therefore omit discussion of further Thracian names and related etymological hypotheses.

(3) Since Messapic is a language of Balkan origin brought to Italy, it may be included in this analysis. The tomb inscription MLM 47 Lup from Lecce (see de Simone & Marchesini 2002: 281–282) contains the masculine surname *andamaeides* (written <andamaaeides>). It is tempting to regard this surname as a derivation of a Messapic base form **andama-* ‘lowest’ < **ṛd^h-ṛmmo-* comparable to Vedic *adhamá-* and Latin *īnfimus* (see de Simone 1988: 363, Dunkel 2014: 48). However, in light of our still limited knowledge of Messapic etymology this remains only an intriguing guess.

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6 Baltic

1 Introduction

The morphology and syntax of gradation and comparison in Baltic is a largely understudied topic and, apart from superficial presentations in current handbooks, there is no thorough research work dealing with this issue in an extensive way. There are three reasons for this. The first one is that the Baltic languages are attested very late (13th century for Old Prussian, 16th century for Lithuanian and Latvian), which reduces their importance for the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) in comparison with e. g. Hittite, Vedic, and Ancient Greek. The second reason is that the oldest stages of the Baltic languages are almost exclusively documented through translations from other languages (German, Polish, or Latin), which inevitably has a serious impact on the expression of comparative structures, often calqued from those languages. The third reason is that, as far as gradation and comparison are concerned, there is no unity within the Baltic family; on the contrary, we observe strong divergences between the three Baltic languages and sometimes even within the same language, with the result that the reconstruction of a Common Baltic state of affairs is virtually impossible. One of the greatest difficulties when dealing with gradation and comparison in Baltic is the heterogeneity of their expression in the individual languages and dialects; our challenge is to clarify the chronology and diffusion of the different means of expression. In addition, the shape of this book, based on overall categories — similitive, equative, comparative, superlative, elative and excessive —, necessarily leads to a somewhat simplified presentation of the Baltic data: Some of these overall categories are either not entirely relevant for Baltic or expressed in completely different ways. Finally, there are many features of gradation and comparison in Baltic that would go unnoticed if they were tackled only from the angle of these categories. Bearing in mind this atomistic bias, the present paper is only intended to be a preliminary overview in need of validation by further research.

2 Similitive

As in many Indo-European languages, a similitive meaning can be conveyed in Baltic by three means of expression: a. adjectives ('similar'); b. verbs ('to resemble'); c. particles ('like').

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oneself, to be compared to’, Latvian *līdzināt* ‘to compare’, *līdzināties* ‘to compare oneself, to be compared, to resemble’. Strikingly enough, such instances are rather rare in Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian, and they are always suspect of being calqued from foreign languages, like Polish in the Old Lithuanian example (4):

- (4) Old Lithuanian: Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholicka* (1599: 203₁₇)
kad Tėvui liginas šiuntime.
 when Father.DAT compare.himself.PRS.3.REFL sending.LOC
 STAND.STM PM PAR
 ‘when he compares himself to the Father in sending [the Apostles]’ (Polish *gdy fie Oycu rowna w pofylaniu*)

As a rule, verbs meaning ‘to compare’ (trans.) or ‘to be compared, to resemble’ (intrans.) display adpositional constructions (see 2.1.2 below).

2.1.2 Type 1-3-2: flag is adposition

Some of the adjectives meaning ‘similar, comparable, equal’ developed adpositional constructions. This type is generally secondary and often emerges very late in the history of the individual languages. In Modern Lithuanian, the adjective *panašūs* ‘similar, comparable’ is used with the preposition *į* ‘into’ (+ ACC). As far as I am aware of, it does not occur until the end of the 19th century: It is still absent from Kurschat 1883 and only surfaces in Miežinis 1894: 165. Its construction is probably calqued from Polish (*podobny + do + GEN*, with the directional preposition *do*). In Old Latvian, there are isolated instances of the adjective *līdzīgs* ‘similar, comparable’ with the comitative preposition *ar* ‘with’ (+ ACC-DAT), probably calqued from German *mit* (+ DAT):

- (5) Old Latvian: *Tas Jauns Testaments* (1685: Phil. 2.20)
Man ne irr ne weens / kam lihdfigs Prahts
 1sg.DAT NEG be.PRS.3 NEG one.NOM who.DAT similar.NOM spirit.NOM
 CPREE PM PAR
ar mannim buhtu.
 with 1SG.ACC/DAT be.COND.3
 STAND
 ‘I have no one else who would share the same view as me.’

In Modern Latvian, this is the usual construction of the adjective *salīdzināms* ‘comparable’. A similar construction is very rarely attested with the corresponding Lithuanian adjective *lygūs* ‘similar, comparable’ (+ preposition *sù* ‘with’ + INS), probably under Polish influence:

- (6) Old Lithuanian: Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* (1599: 80₁₃₋₁₄)
męs/ kurie jį Diewu sąnti sąkome /
 1PL.NOM REL.NOM.PL he.ACC God.INS be.PTCP.PRS.ACC say.PRS.1PL
 CPREE

ir ligios natūros ir effentios fu Téwu
 and similar.GEN nature.GEN and essence.GEN with Father.INS
 PM PAR PAR STM STAND

‘we who are saying that he is God and of the same nature and essence as the Father’ (Polish *my ktorzy go Bogiem być wyznawamy / y rowney natury y iftności z Oycem*)

Adpositional constructions with a comitative meaning are more frequent with the corresponding verbs, both in Old Lithuanian (ex. 7) and in Old Latvian (ex. 8):

- (7) Old Lithuanian: Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* (1599: 293₄₁)
Afz teisibę anų žydu fenūiu fu
 1SG.NOM justice.ACC that.GEN.PL Jew.GEN.PL old.GEN.PL.DEF with
 CPREE STM

mūfū liginu.
 1PL.GEN compare.PRS.1SG
 PM

‘I compare the justice of those old Jews with ours.’ (Polish *ia sfprowadliwość onych ftarych Żydow z náfzą porownywam*)

- (8) Old Latvian: *Tas Jauns Testaments* (1685: Gal 4.25)
Un lihdfinajahs ar Jerufalem.
 and compare.itself.PRS.3.REFL WITH Jerusalem.ACC
 PM STM STAND

‘And it corresponds to the present city of Jerusalem.’

Here again, a foreign influence can be suspected, either from German (*sich mit jemand / etwas vergleichen*) or from Polish (*porównać się z kim / czym*). Note that there is a striking difference, in Baltic, between the construction of the adjective **lig-u-* ‘similar, comparable’ (+ DAT) and that of its verbal derivative **lig-in-a-* ‘to compare’ / ‘to resemble’ (+ preposition ‘with’).

2.2 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

Both in Lithuanian and Latvian, a similitive structure can be introduced by a conjunctive marker alone (Lith. *kaip*, Latv. *kā* ‘like’):

- (9) Old Lithuanian: Jacob Brodowski, *Lexicon Germanico=Lithvanicum et Lithvanico=Germanicum* (18th century: II 723₃₉₆₄₁)
Saufa Málka kaip Kanklys.
 dry.NOM wood.NOM like harp.NOM
 PAR CPREE STM STAND
 ‘wood dry like a harp’ (German *Trucken Holtz daß es klinget*)
- (10) 19th century Lithuanian: Antanas Juška, *Svotbinės dainos* (1883: 37₁₁)
Senoji močiutė / Balta kaip gulbelė
 old.NOM.DEF mother.NOM white.NOM like swan.NOM
 CPREE PAR STM STAND
O jos jauna dukružėlė / Skaisti kaip roželė.
 and she.GEN young.NOM daughter.NOM bright.NOM like rose.NOM
 CPREE PAR STM STAND
 ‘The old mother is white like a swan, her young daughter bright like a rose.’
- (11) Old Latvian: Georg Mancel, *Phraseologia Lettica* (1631: Cap. x₁₆)
Džāltāns ka Wafzka.
 yellow.NOM like wax.NOM
 PAR STM STAND
 ‘It is yellow like wax.’ (German *es ist fo gelb wie Wachs*)

We find the same pattern in Old Prussian, with *kai* ‘like’ corresponding to German *als* ‘as’ or *wie* ‘like’ (ex. 12):

- (12) Old Prussian: *Enchiridion* (1561: III 49₆₋₇)
Bhe mes dijgi Swintai kai ftai malnikai
 but 1PL.NOM also holy.NOM.PL like ART.NOM.PL child.NOM.PL
 CPREE PAR STM STAND
Deiwas poftefmu giwammai.
 God.GEN after.that.DAT live.PRS.1PL
 ‘And [that] we also live, after that, holy like God’s children’ (German *Vnd ir auch heylig als die kinder Gottes darnach leben*)

The conjunctive marker introducing the standard displays slightly different forms in the three Baltic languages (Lithuanian *kaip*, Latvian *kā*, Old Prussian *kai*), but their origin and function are similar (conjunctions of manner derived from the relative stem **ka-* < PIE **k^wo-*).

Not surprisingly, the particle ‘like’ can be reinforced by adverbs in Lithuanian and Latvian. One of these adverbs (Lith. *lygiai*, Latv. *līdz*) belongs to the same stem as the adjective **līg-u-* ‘similar, comparable’:

- (13) Old Lithuanian: Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* (1599: 404₃)
Wĩsí dáiktái ioþ prilĩnginti /
 all.NOM.PL thing.NOM.PL he.ALL compare.PTCP.PST.PASS.NOM.PL
 CPREE
yra lĩgei kaiþ niėkas.
 be.PRS.3 equally like nothing.NOM
 PM STM STAND
 ‘All things in comparison to him are simply like nothing.’ (Polish *wszystkie rzeczy / ku niemu przyrownáne / Ńa prosto iáko nic*)
- (14) Old Latvian: *Enchiridion* (1586: H2A 1₁₈₋₁₉)
Juus Wyre thurret mylet yufzes
 2PL.NOM man.NOM.PL have.PRS.2PL love.INF 2PL.POSS.ACC.PL
 CPREE PAR
Szewes / lydcs ka Chriftus myleis gir
 wife.ACC.PL equally like Christ.NOM love.PTCP.PST.NOM be.PRS.3
 PM STM STAND PAR
tho Droudtczibe /.
 ART.ACC community.ACC
 ‘You, men, must love your wives just like Christ has loved the community.’
- (15) Old Latvian: *Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder* (1615: 154₂₄)
Mhes byam lidcz ka czour wilnems apflickte.
 1PL.NOM be.PST.1PL equally like between wave.DAT.PL drown.NOM.PL
 CPREE PM STM
 ‘We were drown like amidst waves.’

The adverb **lĩg-i* (> Latv. *lĩdz*) / **lĩg-iai* (> Lith. *lygiai*) is used to reinforce the similative meaning of Lith. *kaiþ*, Latv. *kā* ‘like’, but it cannot be analyzed as its correlative *stricto sensu*. It does not mean ‘in a way similar to’ introducing the following conjunction, but rather ‘simply, plainly’; this is confirmed by the fact that it renders Pol. *prosto* ‘simply, plainly’ in (13).

2.3 Type 1-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb / adjective)

As in other Indo-European languages, the standard can be omitted if it is easily identified from context:

- (16) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas, *Gefmes Chrikščizonifkas* (1566: 224₁₆)

Ligi czeftis buk ant amfzui.
 equal.NOM glory.NOM be.IMP.3 on age.DAT
 CPREE

‘May the same glory be to him for eternity.’

The ellipsis of the standard is here due to the fact that it refers to the same item considered at any other period of time (‘the same as ever’).

3 Equative

3.1 Type 2-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

It is difficult to distinguish between similitive and equative constructions in Baltic, since an equative construction is usually identical to a similitive construction announced by a correlative demonstrative: There is no difference between ‘X is big like Y’ (similitive) and ‘X is as big as Y’ (equative). This lack of distinction is inherited from PIE. As a result, most of the following examples could just as easily be qualified as similitives or as equatives: The distinction between these two meanings can only be made by taking into account context.

The Baltic languages share with the majority of related languages a common pattern consisting of an unchanged positive adjective preceded by a demonstrative stem **ta-* (‘so’ < PIE **to-*) and followed by a conjunctive stem **ka-* (‘like’ < PIE **k^wo-*) introducing the standard of comparison:

‘as X as Y’ = [**ta*-_{MANNER} + Adj] + [**ka*-_{MANNER} + Stand]

A striking feature of Lithuanian is that the demonstrative adverb *taĩp* ‘so’ is commonly replaced in this construction by the demonstrative adjective *tóks* ‘such’ when the parameter is itself an adjective (ex. 17):

- (17) 19th century Lithuanian: Friedrich Kurschat, *Littauisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1883: 160)

Āβ toks didelis kaĩp tū.
 1SG.NOM such.NOM big.NOM like 2SG.NOM
 CPREE PM PAR STM STAND

‘I am as big as you are.’ (German *Ich bin so gross wie du.*)

The *Lithuanian Grammar* (ed. Ambrazas, 1997: 680) mentions an alternative construction with the adverb *taip* ‘so’ used even when the parameter is an adjective. On this point, there seems to be a certain degree of variation in the standard language; both possibilities are deemed equivalent by native speakers. Instances of the adverbial type (*taip* + ADJ) are regularly found in Old Lithuanian, far more frequently than the adjectival type (*tóks* + ADJ):

- (18) Old Lithuanian: Jacob Brodowski, *Lexicon Germanico=Lithvanicum et Lithvanico=Germanicum* (18th century: I 115₉₋₁₂)

Taip aukfztas kaip Stog's, taip mažas kaip Pelle,
 so high.NOM like roof.NOM so small.NOM like mouse.NOM
 PM PAR STM STAND PM PAR STM STAND

taip faldus kaip Meddus.
 so sweet.NOM like honey.NOM
 PM PAR STM STAND

‘As high as a roof, as small as a mouse, as sweet as honey’

- (19) 19th century Lithuanian: Simonas Stanevičius, *Daynas Žemaycziu* (1829: 5₂₅₋₂₆)

Tayp bus gražy antrojy / Kayp yr tawa
 so be.FUT.3 beautiful.NOM second.one.NOM.DEF like also 2SG.GEN
 PM PAR CPREE STM

pyrmojy.
 first.one.NOM.DEF
 STAND

‘The second girl will be as beautiful as your first one.’

When the parameter is not an adjective but a verbal predicate, an adverb, or an argument of the predicate, we find the adverbial construction with *taip* (ex. 20–21):

- (20) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas, *Katechismas* (1547: 52₁₄)

Mufu pregtam neprietus / Milek taip kaipir mus
 1PL.GEN before.that enemy.ACC.PL love.IMP.2SG so like=also 1PL.ACC
 CPREE PM STM STAND

paczius.
 self.ACC.PL

‘Love our enemies like ourselves.’ (Polish *Naszym też nieprzyjacielom Użycz tej łasi, co i nam*)

- (21) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas,
- Forma Chrikstima*
- (1559: 98
- ₅₋₇
-)

taip giwatoihe mufu / kaip czefu fmertis.
 so life.LOC 1PL.GEN like time.INS death.GEN
 PM CPREE STM STAND

‘as in our life as at our death’ (German *beide an unserm Leben und Sterben*)

The distribution observed in Modern Lithuanian [adjective *tóks* + ADJ vs adverb *taip* + NON-ADJ] is striking. In Latvian, we only have the adverbial construction (adverbs *tik*, *tikpat* ‘so much’ or *tāpat* ‘so’) even when the parameter is an adjective. The adverbial construction is, of course, regular in Latvian when the parameter is not an adjective, but a verbal predicate, an adverb or an argument of the predicate (ex. 22):

- (22) Old Latvian:
- Enchiridion*
- (1586: G3A 1
- ₁₄
-)

Effet packloufzige wueffe czilwhecziġe Raddibe
 be.IMP.2PL obedient.NOM.PL all.NOM.PL human.NOM.PL creature.NOM.PL
 PAR

tha Kunge peetcz / Tick lab tam Kõningam / kha
 ART.GEN Lord.GEN behind so well ART.DAT king.DAT like
 PM CPREE STM

tham Wuerfzenekam
 ART.DAT superior.DAT
 STAND

‘Be obedient, all human creatures, behind the Lord as well to the king as to the superior.’

In Old Prussian, the correlation is usually realized by means of the adverbs *tīt* ‘so’ (= German *so, also*) + *kāigi* ‘like’ (i. e. *kāi* ‘like’ reinforced by the emphatic particle *-gi* = German *wie, als*):

- (23) Old Prussian:
- Enchiridion*
- (1561: 103
- ₁₄₋₁₅
-)

Tīt turri diġi ftai wijrai fwaians gannans
 so have.PRS.3 also ART.NOM.PL man.NOM.PL REFL.ACC.PL wife.ACC.PL
 PM CPREE

milijt kāigi swian fubban kērmēnen.
 love.INF like REFL.ACC self.ACC body.ACC
 STM STAND

‘Men should also love their wives as much as their own body.’ (German *Alfo follen auch die Meener jre Weiber lieben / als jre eigene Leibe.*)

The question is how to explain the distribution observed in Modern Lithuanian [adjective *tóks* ‘such’ + ADJ vs adverb *taip* ‘so’ + NON-ADJ]. At first glance, it reminds us of what we find in Polish and Russian, where the demonstrative adjectives *taki* resp.

takoj ‘such’ are used in equative structures in competition with the demonstrative adverbs *tak* resp. *tak* ‘so’. The distribution between adjective and adverb, however, is different in the three languages. In Polish, the demonstrative adjective is used with an intensive meaning (e. g. Modern Polish *on jest taki duży* ‘he is so big’), whereas the adverb is used with an equative meaning even with adjectival parameters (e. g. Modern Polish *on jest tak duży jak jego brat* ‘he is as big as his brother’). In Russian, as a rule (e. g. Wade 1992: 137 and 405), the demonstrative adjective is used when the parameter is a long form of the adjective, whereas the demonstrative adverb is used elsewhere, particularly when the parameter is a short form of the adjective, both with an intensive meaning (e. g. Modern Russian *pogoda takaja xorošaja* ‘the weather is so fine’ / *pogoda tak xoroša* ‘the weather is so fine’) and with an equative meaning (e. g. Modern Russian *on takoj že dobryj kak ja* ‘he is as good as I am’ / *on tak že uměn kak ja* ‘he is as clever as I am’). If we compare Lithuanian, Polish, and Russian, we see that the distribution between adjective and adverb is structured differently in each of these languages:

Table 1: Comparison between Lithuanian, Polish, and Russian

	LITHUANIAN	POLISH	RUSSIAN
DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVE ‘such’	<i>tóks</i> + ADJ (intensive or equative)	<i>taki</i> + ADJ (intensive)	<i>takoj</i> + LONG ADJ (intensive or equative)
DEMONSTRATIVE ADVERB ‘so’	<i>taĩp</i> + NON-ADJ (intensive or equative)	<i>tak</i> + NON-ADJ or +ADJ (equative)	<i>tak</i> + SHORT ADJ (intensive or equative)

If this presentation is correct, the Lithuanian distribution is problematic, since it is unlikely to be calqued from Polish or Russian, at least directly, though it is realized through the same kind of distinction. It may be the case that Lithuanian received the distinction in a specific shape, but modified it at a later stage either by neutralizing the distinction between intensive and equative (if from Polish) or between short and long predicative adjectives (if from Russian). At this point, I am unable to build a plausible scenario to account for this evolution, even if I have a preference for the Polish channel for chronological reasons. An additional difficulty is that this distinction has intersected in Lithuanian with a broader use of the adverb *taĩp* even when the parameter is an adjective, as exemplified by (18). It is difficult, particularly in Old Lithuanian, to determine whether this indiscriminate use is genuinely Baltic or due to German influence where there is no distinction whatsoever (adverb *so* + ADJ or NON-ADJ). Similarly, when we find this indiscriminate pattern in Latvian, we cannot decide whether it represents a genuine configuration or an imitation of German, which is quite possible on a large scale. As far as Old Prussian is concerned, the nature of the documentation, consisting of word-for-word translations, strongly supports the hypothesis of German influence.

- (26) Old Latvian: Georg Mancel, *Die Sprüche Salomonis in die Lettische Sprache gebracht* (1637: xxvii₈)

<i>Ka</i>	<i>kahtz</i>	<i>Puttnis</i>	<i>gir</i>	<i>kafz</i>	<i>fawu</i>	<i>Lifdu</i>
like	some.NOM	bird.NOM	be.PRS.3	who.NOM	REFL.ACC	nest.ACC
STM		STAND				
<i>attftah</i>	<i>Ta</i>	<i>gir</i>	<i>tafz</i>	<i>kafz</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>fawas</i>
leave.PRS.3	so	be.PRS.3	this.one.NOM	who.NOM	from	REFL.GEN
	PM		CPREE			
<i>Weetas</i>	<i>ftah.</i>					
place.GEN	move.away.PRS.3					

‘Like a bird that strays from its nest is a man who strays from his home.’

In Old Prussian, this construction is also quite frequent, but can always be suspected to be due to the pervasive German influence (ex. 27):

- (27) Old Prussian: *Enchiridion* (1561: III 51₅)

<i>Twais</i>	<i>Quāits</i>	<i>Audāfin</i>	<i>kāgi</i>	<i>Endangon</i>	<i>tijt</i>
2SG.POSS.NOM	will.NOM	be.done.PRS.3.REFL	like	in=heaven.ACC	thus
			STM	STAND	PM
<i>dēigi</i>	<i>nofemien.</i>				
also	on=earth.ACC				
	CPREE				

‘Your will be done on earth as it is in Heaven’ (German *Dein Wille gefchehe wie im Himmel also auch auff Erden.*)

More rarely, the reverse order can occur without correlative demonstrative at the beginning of the matrix clause (pattern D), e. g. in Old Lithuanian (ex. 28), with a similitive rather than properly equative meaning:

- (28) Old Lithuanian: Jacob Brodowski, *Lexicon Germanico=Lithvanicum et Lithvanico=Germanicum* (18th century: I 286₁₉₋₂₀)

<i>Kai</i>	<i>Warno</i>	<i>Plunkfna</i>	<i>melinai</i>	<i>famufztas.</i>
as	raven.GEN	feather.NOM	blue.ADV	beat.PTCP.PST.PASS.NOM
STM		STAND		

‘beaten black and blue like a raven’s feather.’ (German *braun und blau fchlagen*)

At first glance, one could see the reverse word order [SUBORDINATE + MATRIX] as primitive in Baltic, reflecting an archaic structure deeply rooted in the Indo-European prehistory: the **k^wo-...*to-...* correlative structure. In his classic study on subordination in Sanskrit, Minard (1936) qualified this word order [**k^wo-...*to-...*] as *diptyque normal* (‘normal diptych’), the reverse [**to-...*k^wo-...*] as *diptyque inverse* (‘reverse diptych’). One could argue that the Baltic [SUBORDINATE + MATRIX] word order is

more archaic than the [MATRIX + SUBORDINATE] word order. But, at the same time, one cannot refrain from the impression that the predominant word order in Baltic is of the type [PARAMETER] first, then [SIMILATIVE / EQUATIVE CLAUSE] second, and that the [SUBORDINATE + MATRIX] word order is limited to specific stylistic effects, particularly when the similative or equative structure is encapsulated in short gnomic phrases.

Like similative structures, equative structures in which the comparative marker is announced by a correlative can be reinforced by adverbs (ex. 29–30 with Lith. *lygiai*, compare with 13–15):

- (29) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas, *Gefmes Chrikščyonifkas* (1570: 277₁₆)

Weids ir rubs ijo fkaifts fzaibefe /
 face.NOM and clothing.NOM he.GEN bright.NOM shine.PST.3.REFL
 CPREE PAR
Ligei taip kaip fziebai fchwiefi / Halleluia.
 equally so like lightning.NOM.PL clear.NOM.PL halleluia
 PM STM STAND

‘His face and clothing shined bright just like lightning bolts, halleluia!’ (German *seyen kleid war weis sein antlitz scheyn / gleich wie der plitz gantz hell und reyn alleluia*)

- (30) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas, *Katechismas* (1547: 98₁₉)

fu tokiug Ghreku / ligei kaip ir mes patis
 with such.INS=PTCL sin.INS equally like also 1PL.NOM self.NOM.PL
 PM STM STAND

‘with just the same sin as ourselves’ (German *mit gleicher Sünde in massen wie Wir auch*)

In Old Prussian, we find a different expression with the adverb *ainawīdan* or *ainawīdai* ‘equally’, used to render the German adverb *gleich* (ex. 31):

(31) Old Prussian: *Enchiridion* (1561: III 103₂₂)

Beggi ftas wijrs aft fteifei Gennas gallū /
 but ART.NOM man.NOM be.PRS.3 ART.GEN woman.GEN head.NOM
 CPREE
Ainawīdai kai Chriftus fta gallu aft fteifon
 equally like Christ.NOM ART.NOM head.NOM be.PRS.3 ART.GEN.PL
 STM STAND

perōnifkan.

community.ACC

‘For the man is the head of the woman just like Christ is the head of the community’ (German *Denn der Man ift des Weibs Heupt / Gleich wie auch Chriftus das Heupt ift der Gemeine*)

To sum up: The expression of the equative function in Baltic follows a general pattern whose equivalent can easily be found in other Indo-European languages. The lack of distinction between similitive and equative structures is inherited from PIE and was preserved to the present day without any substantial change.

4 Comparative

As far as the comparative of superiority is concerned, the Baltic languages share two features with the ancient Indo-European languages:

- (1) There are special, synthetic forms for the comparative of superiority of adjectives built by means of specific suffixes.
- (2) There is more than one construction to introduce the standard of comparison and we observe a competition between various means of expression.

On the other hand, the Baltic data raise three difficulties, which will be the basis of this presentation:

- (1) Some of the suffixes used for the comparative of superiority are inherited from PIE, but others are recent innovations. In addition, there is no unity in the Baltic family and each language has its own system.
- (2) Unlike Vedic, Latin, Ancient Greek, or even Slavic, the standard of comparison is usually not marked by a special case form,² but either by an adpositional construction or by a conjunctive structure introduced by a comparative conjunction, which may or may not be the same as the

² A few instances with the genitive case used alone are documented in Old Lithuanian. They could be due to Slavic influence, but Judžentis (1994: 81 f.) considers them to be archaic relics of a construction inherited from Balto-Slavic. I owe this reference to Wolfgang Hock.

similitive-equative conjunction. Here again, there are significant differences between the individual Baltic dialects.

(3) Due to considerable differences in formation, the reconstruction of the Balto-Slavic stage is a nearly impossible task.

To begin with the formal side, comparatives of superiority are expressed by means of different synthetic suffixes in Baltic. Some of them are inherited from PIE, others were created within Baltic. The different formations are summarized in the following table, with a brief account of their origin (cf. Stang 1966: 267–270):

Table 2: Comparative Formations in Baltic

	Suffix	Examples	Origin
Old Prussian	1. adjectives <i>-ais-</i>	1. <i>uraisin</i> ‘older’, <i>maldaisei</i> ‘younger’	1. <i>*-ō-is-</i>
	2. adverbs <i>-(i)s</i> or <i>-ais</i>	2. <i>tālis</i> ‘further’, <i>toūls</i> ‘more’, <i>mijls</i> ‘dearer’, <i>massais</i> ‘less’	2. <i>*-is-</i> resp. <i>*-ō-is-</i>
Lithuanian	1. adjectives <i>-ėsnis</i> , f. <i>-ėsnė</i>	1. <i>gerėsnis</i> ‘better’, <i>gražėsnis</i> ‘more beautiful’	1. <i>*-yes-ni-</i> (cf. Goth. <i>batiza</i> ‘better’ < <i>*-is-ōn</i>)
	2. adverbs <i>-iau</i> (Old Lithuanian also <i>-iaus</i>)	2. <i>geriaū</i> ‘better’, <i>gražiaū</i> ‘more beautiful’	2. unknown (cf. superlative <i>-iausias</i>)
Latvian	1. adjectives <i>-âks</i> , f. <i>-âka</i>	1. <i>labâks</i> ‘better’, <i>mazâks</i> ‘smaller’	1. attenuative suffix <i>*-âkos</i> or <i>*-âk^wos</i> (cf. Lith. <i>gerôkas</i> ‘quite good’)
	2. adverbs <i>-âk</i>	2. <i>labâk</i> ‘better’, <i>vairâk</i> ‘more’ vestiges of <i>*-is-</i> : <i>ne... vairs</i> ‘no...longer’ (calqued from German <i>nicht...mehr</i>)	2. neuter <i>*-âko(m)</i> or <i>*-âk^wo(m)</i>

Three points should be noted. First, in Lithuanian, a distinction is made between comparatives of adjectives and comparatives of adverbs: Comparatives of adverbs are built in a completely different way (suffix *-iau*, Old Lith. also *-iaus*) from comparative of adjectives (suffix *-esnis*). Even more striking is the fact that the formation of comparatives of adverbs displays more affinity with the formation of adjectival superlatives than with that of adjectival comparatives. The second point is that we can fairly easily recognize the PIE comparative suffix **-yes-*, **-is-* in some Baltic formations, generally preceded or followed by various elements whose origin is far from clear (e. g. **-ō-is-* in Old Prussian, **-yes-ni-* > **-es-ni-* in Lithuanian). In Latvian, a completely new suffix **-âkos* or **-âk^wos*, originally of attenuative meaning (‘quite X, rather X’), was introduced to convey the comparative meaning. The third point, which is the most important, is that there is no correlation whatsoever between the formal diversity of the comparative formations and the diversity of the constructions used to introduce the standard of comparison. For each one of these morphological

formations we observe the same possibility of syntactic variation. Note that participles are usually unable to form synthetic degrees of comparison and analytic formations are employed instead (e. g. Lith. *labiaũ žinomas* ‘more well-known’, *labiáusiai žinomas* ‘the most well-known’).³

Comparing the Indo-European languages overall, we can distinguish three ways of introducing the standard of a comparative of superiority:

- a. a mere case form (mostly the ablative or the dative);
- b. an adpositional construction;
- c. a conjunctive particle.

Usually, adpositional constructions introducing the standard of comparison can be seen as recent replacements of ancient case forms used alone for the same function. If we find a preposition meaning ‘from’ in that function, we may assume that it has replaced the ablative case alone with the same meaning; if we find a preposition meaning ‘for’ in that function, we may assume that it has replaced the dative case alone with the same meaning. There are clear instances in favor of these diachronic evolutions. In Old Church Slavic, the genitive case (probably going back to a PIE ablative) is used to introduce the standard of comparison, e. g. Old Church Slavic *bol̃ša six̃b ouz̃briši* ‘you will see greater things than these’ (Jn 1, 50); in Modern Polish, we find, instead, a prepositional construction with *od* ‘from’ (+ GEN), e. g. Polish *jestem większy od ciebie* ‘I am taller than you’ (lit. ‘from you’). It is tempting to assume that the genitive construction was replaced in Polish by a prepositional construction whose basic meaning is the same as that of the mere case form it has replaced. We will see that this assumption certainly contains a grain of truth, but turns out to be problematic for Baltic.

Another point is that conjunctive constructions are often seen as replacements of flag constructions (case or adposition) when the function of the standard of comparison was otherwise not clearly recoverable in the context, i. e. when it was not used in reference to one of the core arguments of the verb. The conjunctive construction is thus often seen as a default construction used when the case construction (or its adpositional substitute) was problematic. Here again, we will probably have to mitigate this formulation for Baltic.

The following table provides a brief summary of the available constructions introducing the standard of comparison in Baltic:

³ See the discussion in Petit 1999: 119.

Table 3: Construction of Comparatives in Baltic

	Suffix	Constructions
Old Prussian	adjectives <i>-ais-</i> or adverbs <i>-(i)s</i> or <i>-ais</i>	1. <i>kai</i> ‘like’ + standard marked in case according to its function in the sentence
Lithuanian	adjectives <i>-ėsnis</i> , f. <i>-ėsnė</i> or adverbs <i>-iau</i>	1. <i>ùž</i> + ACC (Old and dialectal Lith. also <i>ažu</i> and <i>añt</i> , the latter calqued from Polish <i>nad</i>) 2. <i>negù</i> + standard marked in case according to its function in the sentence (Old Lith. also <i>neg(i)</i> , <i>nei(g)(i)</i> , <i>neng</i> , <i>ne kaip</i> , <i>ne</i>) 3. <i>kaip</i> ‘like’ + standard marked in case according to its function in the sentence
Latvian	adjectives <i>-āks</i> , f. <i>-āka</i> or adverbs <i>-āk</i>	1. <i>par</i> + ACC (Old and dialectal Latv. also <i>aiz</i> , <i>uz</i>) 2. <i>nekā</i> + standard marked in case according to its function in the sentence (Old and dialectal Latv. also <i>ne</i>) 3. <i>kā</i> ‘like’ + standard marked in case according to its function in the sentence

4.1 Type 3-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

4.1.1 Type 3-1-2: flag is adposition

In Lithuanian, the standard of comparatives of superiority can be introduced by an adpositional construction (preposition *ùž* ‘for’ + ACC), e. g. Modern Lithuanian *baltėsnis ùž sniėgq* ‘whiter than snow’ (literally: ‘for snow’). This construction is already well documented in Old Lithuanian (ex. 32–33):

- (32) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas, *Gesmes Chrikfczoniſkas* (1570: 344₄)

Schwefesfnis *vfch* *f3waiſdes*
bright.CPD.NOM for star.ACC.PL
PAR.PM STM STAND
‘brighter than stars’

- (33) Old Lithuanian: Jacob Brodowski, *Lexicon Germanico=Lithvanicum et Lithvanico=Germanicum* (18th century: I 72₃₇)

Už *Aukſq* (*Sidabrq*) *wertėfnis*
for gold.ACC silver.ACC precious.CPD.NOM
STM STAND PAR.PM

‘more precious than gold (silver).’ (German *Es ift köflicher als Gold, als Silber.*)

Note that the standard of comparison may follow (ex. 32) or precede (ex. 33) the parameter, the latter being a more archaic construction. In Old Lithuanian, we find some instances of the preposition *añt* ‘on’ to introduce the standard of comparison (ex. 34):⁴

- (34) Old Lithuanian: *Wolfenbüttel Postille* (1573: 122v₁₁)
Ner tarnas didėfnis ant pana fawa.
 NEG.be.PRS.3 servant.NOM great.CPD.NOM on master.GEN REFL.GEN
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘There is no servant greater than his master.’

The construction with *añt* ‘on’ could be calqued from Polish *nad* ‘on’ used in a similar way, but its occurrence in the *Wolfenbüttel Postille* (1573) seems to point to a genuinely Lithuanian usage.

In Latvian, we find a prepositional construction (preposition *par* ‘for’ + ACC), e. g. Modern Latvian *Rīga ir lielāka par Valmieru* ‘Riga is bigger than Valmiera’ (lit. ‘for Valmiera’). Examples are already found in Old Latvian (ex. 35):

- (35) Old Latvian: Georg Elger, *Geiftliche catholifche Gefänge* (1621: 190₁₂)
Jefu par Soule fkaydraks.
 Jesus.VOC for sun.ACC beautiful.CPD.NOM
 (CPREE) STM STAND PAR.PM
 ‘O Jesus, more beautiful than the sun’

The two prepositions used in Lithuanian and Latvian (*ùž* resp. *par*) are different, which probably points to recent and independent developments in the two East Baltic languages; but they have a partly similar meaning. In Lithuanian, *ùž* (+ ACC) generally means ‘for’, with a wide range of special meanings:

- (1) ‘for, in exchange for, in return for’, e. g. Modern Lithuanian *padėkoti už dovanas* ‘to thank for the gifts’, *duočiau tau į snukį už tokias šnekas* ‘I would give you such a slap for talking that way’
- (2) ‘for, for the benefit of, for the defence of’, e. g. Modern Lithuanian *pavargti už tėvynę* ‘to suffer for the country’
- (3) ‘for, looking for’, e. g. Modern Lithuanian *taip padariau už garbę* ‘I did so for honor’
- (4) ‘for, instead of’, e. g. Modern Lithuanian *kalbėti už kitą asmenį* ‘to speak for someone else’
- (5) ‘for, as’, e. g. Modern Lithuanian *aš tave už draugą laikiau* ‘I took you for a friend’

In Latvian, the preposition *par* (+ ACC) has the same meaning (‘for’), but with special applications partly different from those of Lith. *ùž*:⁵

⁴ I owe this example to Wolfgang Hock.

⁵ See Forssman 2016: 96.

- (1°) ‘for’, e. g. Modern Latvian *pal’dies par kafiju* ‘thank you for the coffee’
 (2°) ‘as’, e. g. Modern Latvian *strādāt par skolotāju* ‘to work as a teacher’
 (3°) ‘about’, e. g. Modern Latvian *runāt par mani* ‘to speak about me’

In Old Latvian, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish *par* ‘for’ (with short vowel) from *pār* (with long vowel), whose basic meaning is ‘over’: *par* can occasionally occur with the meaning ‘over’ in competition with *pār*.

If one tries to reduce Lithuanian and Latvian to a common source, the best candidate seems to be the meaning ‘for’, which is shared by Lithuanian and Latvian alongside other meanings. This assumption, however, is problematic: The use of a preposition ‘for’ to introduce the standard of comparison cannot be explained in East Baltic routinely as the replacement of an ancient case form used alone, since the same basic meaning ‘for’ could still be conveyed in Lithuanian and Latvian by the dative case alone (dative of beneficiary). The question is why the Baltic languages did not use the dative case for the comparative construction. It is well known that the dative case introduces standards of comparison in many Indo-European languages, like Anatolian (e. g. Hittite *anzel TI-anni UL SA BELU.NI TI-tar nakki* ‘the life of our lord is not more important than our life’)⁶ or Ancient Germanic (e. g. Gothic *forodozans sunum liuhadis* ‘cleverer than the sons of light’, Lk 16, 8), and it is also clear that this dative of comparison was replaced by a preposition meaning ‘for’ in some other Indo-European languages, like Breton (e. g. *Jazo brasoc’h widon* ‘he is bigger than I’, lit. ‘for me’).⁷ What is striking here is that a preposition ‘for’ is used in East Baltic to introduce the standard of comparison, even though the dative case is fully preserved in those languages. I have no conclusive explanation for this typological oddity. In addition, one may note that the Slavic languages do not display any dative-like comparative construction, but use, instead, the other available strategy, the ablative construction (in Slavic reflected by the genitive). The distribution between the dative and the ablative in Balto-Slavic, and beyond in PIE, is a question that goes far beyond the scope of this paper. The only thing to say at this point is that the dative construction may be suspected of having been secondarily imported from the use of the dative of similarity in similative structures, which from a cross-linguistic perspective reflects a common pattern of evolution [SIMILATIVE] > [COMPARATIVE].

In any case, the use of an adpositional construction in Baltic (Lith. *ùž*, Latv. *par*) is problematic, considering the fact that the dative case is still fully in use in those languages: There was no reason to replace it by adpositions in that particular function. An alternative scenario is that the use of Lith. *ùž* and Latv. *par* in comparative structures may have been calqued from another language, German or Polish. It is striking that the Latvian preposition *par* corresponds to German *als* used as a marker of appositive elements (German *als Lehrer arbeiten* = Latv. *strādāt par skolotāju* ‘to work as a

⁶ Cf. Andersen 1983: 113.

⁷ Cf. Stassen 1985: 142, Stolz 2013: 81.

teacher’); it is well known that the same particle *als* functions as standard marker in comparative structures in German. Generally speaking, the German language shows contact points between ‘for’ and ‘as’ in some contexts, e.g. *ich halte dich für einen Freund* and *ich betrachte dich als einen Freund* ‘I consider you a friend’. In Lithuanian, the preposition *ùž* can be used in the same meaning (e.g. Modern Lithuanian *už šunį žmogų laikė* ‘he treated the man as a dog’, *LKŽ XVII 581*). It cannot currently be ruled out that this correspondence is the source of the comparative meaning of the two Baltic prepositions instead of a putative dative meaning, which could have been better conveyed by the dative case alone; but the hypothesis certainly requires further examination.

The adpositional construction of the standard of comparison is certainly a recent innovation in each of the two East Baltic languages. The very fact that a different preposition is used in Lithuanian and Latvian and that it has no Slavic counterpart suggests that its fixation in the individual languages is a late phenomenon. In addition, this construction suffered from a considerable restriction both in Lithuanian and in Latvian, being used only if the case function of the standard of comparison, neutralized by the prepositional construction, could easily be recovered from the context. In other contexts, a conjunction is used instead.

4.2 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Standard markers of comparatives of superiority can also be conjunctions. Two main strategies are used in Baltic:

- a. the similative-equative particle ‘like’ (Lithuanian *kaĩp*, Latvian *kā*, Old Prussian *kai*);
- b. conjunctions derived from the negation **ne-* ‘not’.

Both strategies are attested side by side in Lithuanian and in Latvian, and one of the challenges we have to address is to determine their complementary distribution. The Old Prussian data are not of great use here, since they are limited to one single instance in which the standard marker is the similative-equative conjunction *kai* ‘like’, translating German *denn* ‘than’:

(36) Old Prussian : *Enchiridion* (1561 : III 115₈₋₉)

<i>fteimans</i>	<i>malnijkikamans</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>maffais</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>ftēimans</i>	<i>vremmans</i>
ART.DAT.PL	young.DAT.PL	NEG	less	like	ART.DAT.PL	old.DAT.PL
	CPREE		PM	STM		STAND

‘to the youngs not less than to the olds’ (German *den Kindlein nicht weniger denn den Alten*)

The same construction occurs in Lithuanian with *kaĩp* ‘like’ and in Latvian with *kā* ‘like’, but under different conditions and in competition with other means of expression. In Modern Lithuanian, the construction with *kaĩp* ‘like’ is frequent (e. g. Modern Lithuanian *jis gudrèsnis kaĩp tù* ‘he is cleverer than you’, lit. ‘like you’),⁸ but it is said to have a strong ‘colloquial’ connotation. There are only a few instances of this construction in Old Lithuanian (ex. 37):⁹

- (37) Old Lithuanian: Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholicka* (1599: 84₆, see also 613₄₇)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>Teip’</i> | <i>wel</i> | <i>bažnîczia</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>tûri</i> | <i>nieko</i> | <i>piktesnio</i> |
| thus | again | church.NOM | NEG | have.PRS.3 | nothing.GEN | bad.CPD.GEN |
| | | | | | CPREE | PAR.PM |
- kaip’* *mókfzta* *Heretiku.*
like science.ACC heretic.GEN.PL
STM STAND
- ‘Thus also the Church has nothing worse than the science of heretics.’ (Polish *Tak też Kościół nie ma nic źkodziwfzego ani zaráźliwfzego / nád náuka kacerfka*)

It becomes more frequent at the middle of the 19th century. In his epoch-making Lithuanian grammar, based on the colloquial usage of East Prussian dialects, August Schleicher (1856: 330) mentions *nekaĩp* ‘not like’ (negation *ne-* + *kaĩp* ‘like’), used with verbs and adverbs (ex. 38):

- (38) 19th century Lithuanian: Schleicher (1856: 330)
- | | | | | |
|------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>Ász</i> | <i>vélyjûs</i> | <i>mîrës</i> | <i>nekaĩp</i> | <i>tókiu</i> |
| 1SG.NOM | wish.PRS.1SG.REFL | die.PTCP.PST.NOM | not.like | such.INS |
| | | CPREE | STM | |
- budù* *gyvéñës.*
way.INS live.PTCP.PST.NOM
STAND
- ‘I wish to die rather than to live that way.’ (German *Ich will lieber sterben als auf solche art leben.*)

According to Schleicher (1856: 330):

kaĩp für *nekaĩp* wird auch gebraucht, doch scheint *nekaĩp* das einzig richtige zu sein.

A few decades later, Friedrich Kurschat (1876: 410) refines this and writes that *nekaĩp* is necessarily replaced by *kaĩp* if there is already a negation in the main clause (compare 39–40 and 41):

⁸ Cf. Žindžiutė-Michelini 2007: 56.

⁹ I owe this example to Wolfgang Hock.

- (39) 19 century Lithuanian: Kurschat (1876: 410)
Téwas wìs fenėfnis nekaĩp fūnūs.
 father.NOM always old.CPD.NOM not.like son.NOM
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘The father is always older than the son.’ (German *Der Vater ist immer älter als der Sohn.*)
- (40) 19 century Lithuanian: Kurschat (1876: 410, quoting an old edition of the Bible)
jis bũwo pirmiaũs kaĩp àß.
 he.NOM be.PST.3 anterior like 1SG.NOM
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘He was before me.’ (German *Er war eher als ich.*)
- (41) 19th century Lithuanian: Kurschat (1876: 410)
Àß ßiã nãktĩ ne faldziaũs miėgójau kaĩp
 1SG.NOM this.ACC night.ACC NEG soft.CPD.ADV sleep.PST.1SG like
 CPREE PAR.PM STM
tũ.
 2SG.NOM
 STAND
 ‘This night, I did not sleep better than you.’ (German *Ich habe diese Nacht nicht sanfter geschlafen als du.*)

When the main clause is positive, the standard of comparison is introduced by *nekaĩp* (ex. 39), or more rarely by *kaĩp* alone (ex. 40), a possibility which Kurschat ascribes to non-Lithuanians due to the influence of German *als*; but, when the main clause is negative, the standard of comparison is necessarily introduced by *kaĩp* (ex. 41), because, Kurschat says, the negation *ne-* in *nekaĩp* ‘would only lead to confusion’ (*würde ... nur verwirren*). In Modern Lithuanian, *nekaĩp* has completely disappeared, and was replaced in colloquial usage by *kaĩp* alone. This is a recent evolution in Lithuanian.

More common, and absolutely predominant in Old Lithuanian, is another construction, in which the standard of comparison is introduced by a conjunction derived from the negation *ne-* ‘not’ (Modern Lithuanian *neĩ* or *negũ*, Old Lithuanian also *nent* or even *ne* alone, ex. 42–44):

- (42) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas, *Katechismas* (1547: 10₂₆)
Jag gieresnei atmen arty nent pateri bilati.
 that good.CPD.ADV think.PRS.3 plow.INF NEG Our.Father.ACC speak.INF
 CPREE STM STAND
 ‘that they think more at plowing than reciting the Lord’s prayer’

- (43) Old Lithuanian: Jonas Bretkūnas, *Poftilla* (1591: I 37¹⁷⁻¹⁸)
Taffai daug gerefnis ira nei wiffu praraku
 he.NOM much good.CPD.NOM be.PRS.3 NEG all.GEN.PL prophet.GEN.PL
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
Seno Sokano.
 Old Testament.GEN
 ‘He is much better than that (= the lesson) of all the Prophets of the Old Testament.’
- (44) Old Lithuanian: Jacob Brodowski, *Lexicon Germanico=Lithvanicum et Lithvanico=Germanicum* (18th century: I 153₉)
Kétures Akkis daugiaus máta ne wiena.
 four.NOM eye.NOM.PL much.CPD.ADV see.PRS.3 NEG one.NOM
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘Four eyes see more than one.’ (German *Vier Augen sehen mehr als ein.*)

If one summarizes, we can reconstruct a multi-stage evolution from Old to Modern Lithuanian:

Table 4: Comparative Constructions in Lithuanian

	Prepositional construction <i>ũž</i> + ACC (Old and dialectal also <i>aĩt</i>)	<i>neĩ, negũ</i> (Old Lith. also <i>nent, ne</i>)	<i>nekaĩp</i>	<i>kaĩp</i>
Old Lithuanian (16th century onwards)	+	+	+	+
	(if the standard of comparison is an inflected core argument)	(general)		
19th century Lithuanian	+	+	+	+
	(if the standard of comparison is an inflected core argument)	(general)	(colloquial, general, but not if there is NEG in the main clause)	(colloquial, gen- eral, if there is NEG in the main clause)
Modern Lithu- anian	+	+	—	—
	(if the standard of comparison is an inflected core argument)	(general)		(colloquial, general)

The presentation given in this table is provisional and relatively non-committal as to the direction of the evolution. What seems to emerge from these data is that the adpositional construction is regular throughout the history of Lithuanian if and only if the standard of comparison is an inflected core argument, mostly corresponding to a subject parameter (‘X is bigger than Y’, lit. ‘for Y’). Elsewhere, and even by extension with core arguments as parameters, one finds constructions with conjunctions:

negù or its equivalents are very frequent since the first documents onwards; the rise of *nekaĩp* and *kaĩp* as markers of standard of comparison is more recent and was submitted to a specific distribution (*nekaĩp* replaced by *kaĩp* if there was already a negation in the main clause). There are still open questions concerning this evolution; to take just one example, the distribution between *negù* and *nekaĩp* / *kaĩp* is not entirely clear. The data have yet to be thoroughly analyzed.

The strategies found in Latvian are strongly reminiscent of those found in 19th century Lithuanian. Standards of comparison are introduced by the particle *nekā* ('not like'), which is the unmarked construction used in every kind of context (e. g. Modern Latvian *Sanita ir vēcāka nekā Beatrise* 'Sanika is older than Beatrice').¹⁰ It is already well documented in Old Latvian (ex. 45–46):

- (45) Old Latvian: Georg Elger, *Geiftliche catholifche Gefänge* (1621: 173₁₅)
Vnd es bus baltaks nā ka tas fnegs.
 and 1SG.NOM be.FUT.1SG white.CPD.NOM not like ART.NOM SNOW.NOM
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 'And I will be whiter than snow.'

- (46) Old Latvian: Georg Mancel, *Die Sprüche Salomonis* (1637: VIII₁₁)
Aifto Sinnaſchanna gir labbaka nhe ka Pehrles.
 therefore wisdom.NOM be.PRS.3 good.CPD.NOM not like ruby.NOM.PL
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 'For wisdom is better than rubies.'

The similitive-equative conjunction *kā* 'like' is used instead, if the main clause is negative (e. g. Modern Latvian *Sanita nav mazāka kā Beatrise* 'Sanita is not smaller than Beatrice').¹¹ This construction is already found in Old Latvian:

- (47) Old Latvian: Georg Elger, *Geiftliche catholifche Gefänge* (1621: 46₈₋₉)
Nāwar bût faldak dōmafzan / Ka no
 NEG.can.PRS.3 be.INF sweet.CPD.NOM thought.NOM like from
 PAR.PM STM STAND
Jefu muſe dwāfels gan.
 Jesus.GEN 1PL.GEN soul.GEN well
 'There cannot be any sweeter thought than from Jesus, our soul.'

¹⁰ Forssman (2016: 338).

¹¹ Forssman (2016: 338).

In Old Latvian, the distribution of *nekā* (general) and *kā* (if the main clause is negative) is subject to exceptions in both directions. There are traces of *nekā* even after a negative main clause, as in (48):

- (48) Old Latvian: *Euangelia vnd Epifteln* (1587: 153₁₋₃)
Yuufe Taifnibe nhe gir labbaka / nhe ka
 2PL.POSS.NOM justice.NOM NEG be.PRS.3 good.CPD.NOM unlike
 CPREE PAR.PM STM
tho Raxtmaetcetayo vnde Pharifeer.
 ART.GEN.PL scribe.GEN.PL and Ph.GEN.PL
 STAND
 ‘(If) your justice is not better than that of the scribes and Pharisees...’ (= Matt. 5.25)

and of *kā* alone even after a positive main clause, as in (49):

- (49) 19th century Latvian: K. Barons & H. Wissendorff, *Latwju dainas* (1894: BW I 4391₃₋₄)
Wehl mihlaka kà mahmiņa.
 still dear.CPD.NOM like mother.GEN
 PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘(The sun) is still dearer than my mother.’

More rarely, the negation *ne* alone is used to introduce the standard of comparison (ex. 50–51):

- (50) Old Latvian: *Vndeutfche Pfalmen* (1587: L3A₂₄₋₂₅)
Baltake nhe Snex
 white.CPD.NOM NEG snow.NOM
 PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘whiter than snow’
- (51) 19th century Latvian: K. Barons & H. Wissendorff, *Latwju dainas* (BW I 3320_a), cf. Gāters (1993: 49)
Sche meitas wezakas, ne pate mahte.
 here girls.NOM.PL old.CPD.NOM NEG self.NOM mother.NOM
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘Here, the girls are older than the mother herself.’

To sum up, a comparison between Lithuanian and Latvian shows that the two languages display a certain degree of similarity, but also crucial differences:

Table 5: Comparative Constructions in Lithuanian and Latvian

	Adpositional construction	Negation	Unlike	Like
Lithuanian	<i>ùž</i> + ACC	Old Lith. <i>ne</i> , otherwise usually <i>negù</i> , <i>neĩ</i>	Old Lith. <i>nekaĩp</i>	Lith. <i>kaĩp</i>
Latvian	<i>par</i> + ACC	<i>ne</i> (rare)	Latvian <i>nekā</i>	Latvian <i>kā</i> (after negative main clause)

Common to the two languages are: first, the existence of a construction with a preposition; second, the use of the negative morpheme; third, the striking distribution between ‘like’ and ‘not like’.

The use of a negative morpheme to introduce the standard of comparison is not unique to the Baltic languages, but the problem is that we do not know exactly which meaning the negative morpheme had in this construction. To begin with, the different forms of the negative morpheme (Lith. *negù*, Old Lith. *nent*, *nei*, Latv. *nekā*) do not preclude the reconstruction of a common source, since both in Lithuanian and in Latvian there are traces of comparative constructions with the negative morpheme *ne* alone (ex. 52–53, repeated from 44 resp. 50):

- (52) Old Lithuanian: Jacob Brodowski, *Lexicon Germanico=Lithvanicum et Lithvanico=Germanicum* (18th century: I 153₉)

Kétures Akkis daugiaus máta ne wiena.
 four.NOM eye.NOM.PL much.CPD.ADV see.PRS.3 NEG one.NOM
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘Four eyes see more than one.’ (German *Vier Augen sehen mehr als ein*.)

- (53) Old Latvian: *Vndeutsche Psalmen* (1587: L3A_{24–25})

Baltake nhe Snex
 white.CPD.NOM NEG snow.NOM
 PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘whiter than snow’

A similar use of a negative morpheme to introduce the standard of comparison is found in Slavic (ex. 54–56):

- (54) Modern Serbo-Croatian

Ōna je ljepša nego ti.
 she.NOM be.PRS.3SG pretty.CPD.NOM NEG=PTCL 2SG.NOM
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘She is prettier than you.’

(55) Modern Czech

Karel je větší než Věra.
 Karel.NOM be.PRS.3SG tall.CPD.NOM NEG=PTCL Vera.NOM
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘Karel is taller than Vera.’

(56) Modern Polish

Jestem większy niż ty.
 be.PRS.1SG tall.CPD.NOM NEG=PTCL 2SG.NOM
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘I am taller than you.’

It also occurs in Classical Sanskrit (ex. 57):

(57) Classical Sanskrit (cf. Andersen 1983: 226, see also Small 1923: 101)

Śreyān mṛtyur na nirjayaḥ.
 good.CPD.NOM death.NOM NEG defeat.NOM
 PAR.PM CPREE STM STAND
 ‘Death is better than defeat.’

This construction can be interpreted in two ways.¹² It can, first, be argued that the negative morpheme **ne* (or its secondary derivatives) was reanalyzed as a standard marker directly: In (57), for example, one could start with a meaning ‘death is better, not defeat’, reanalyzed as ‘death is better than defeat’. In this scenario, the negative morpheme still had its negative meaning at the time of its reanalysis as a standard marker. Another scenario is that the negative morpheme was first reanalyzed as a similative marker (‘like’), as in Vedic Sanskrit, where the negative morpheme *ná* ‘not’ gave rise to the postpositive particle *ná* ‘like’:

(58) Vedic Sanskrit: Rigveda VI 10, 2

Gḥṛtām ná śúci matáyaḥ pavante.
 butter.NOM like pure.NOM thought.NOM.PL clarify.PRS.3PL
 STAND STM PAR CPREE
 ‘Pure like sacred butter, my thoughts become clear.’

As shown by Georges-Jean Pinault (1985), this secondary similative meaning of the negative morpheme results from a reanalysis in ‘negative comparisons’ (of the type ‘It is not butter, [but] my thoughts...’ > ‘Like butter, my thoughts...’). From this secondary meaning ‘like’ one could then derive the use of **ne* in comparative structures, based

¹² See also Ostrowski (2014) from a different perspective.

on the widely attested fact that similitive markers often develop the function of comparative markers, i. e. [SIMILATIVE] > [COMPARATIVE].

To sum up, two broad scenarios are possible:

- (a) **ne* ‘not’ > **ne* ‘than’ (reanalysis: ‘death is better, not defeat’ > ‘death is better than defeat’);
- (b) **ne* ‘not’ > **ne* ‘like’ (reanalysis: ‘it is not butter, but my thoughts’ > ‘like butter, my thoughts...’) > **ne* ‘than’ (analogy: ‘A is like B’ → ‘A is better like B’ > ‘A is better than B’).

Both scenarios are equally possible in Baltic and can be supported by internal evidence on an equal footing. The first assumption (**ne* ‘not’ > **ne* ‘than’) is supported by the striking distribution we have observed in 19th century Lithuanian and more generally in Latvian:

Lith. matrix clause + <i>nekaĩp</i> (general) ‘unlike’	vs	NEG matrix clause + <i>kaĩp</i> ‘like’
Latv. matrix clause + <i>nekā</i> (general) ‘unlike’	vs	NEG matrix clause + <i>kā</i> ‘like’

This distribution only makes sense if the negative morpheme *ne-* had the same meaning in both contexts, whether agglutinated or not with *kaĩp* resp. *kā* ‘like’, which is only possible if its meaning is purely negative. If this is correct, then *ne-* in *nekaĩp* resp. *nekā* is negative, not similitive.

There is, however, an argument for the opposite hypothesis (**ne* ‘not’ > **ne* ‘like’ > **ne* ‘than’). The Baltic languages show sporadic, but unequivocal traces of a purely similitive meaning of **ne* ‘like’. Examples of this meaning can be found in Old Lithuanian (ex. 59–61):

- (59) Old Lithuanian: Konstantynas Sirvydas, *Dictionarium trium linguarum* (1642: 84, s. u. *jakoby*)

Ne zerkatas žiba.

like mirror.NOM shine.PRS.3

STM STAND

‘Like a mirror it shines.’

- (60) Old Lithuanian: Jacob Brodowski, *Lexicon Germanico=Lithvanicum et Lithvanico=Germanicum* (18th century: I 151₉)

Auga waikai ne Girroj’ Médžei.

grow.up.PRS.3 child.NOM.PL like forest.LOC tree.NOM.PL

CPREE STM STAND

‘Children grow up like trees in a forest.’ (German *Kinder wachsen auff wie die Bäume im Walde.*)

- (61) High Lithuanian dialect of Suvalkų Naumiestis (Būga RR III 826)

piktas néi vélñas
 evil.NOM like devil.NOM
 PAR STM STAND
 ‘as evil as the devil’

Some of these instances can reveal a secondary influence of the comparative of superiority on positive adjectives. It may be the case, for example, that Lith. *piktas néi vélñas* ‘evil like a devil’ (with the positive adjective *piktas*) is based on the parallel comparative structure *piktėsnis néi vélñas* ‘more evil than a devil’ (with the comparative *piktėsnis*). But this analysis cannot apply to all the instances given under (59–61), and it must be recognized that the negative morpheme **ne* could really be used, at least to some extent and under conditions that still need to be determined, with a comparative meaning (‘like’), which could fit with the second scenario proposed above (**ne* ‘not’ > **ne* ‘like’ > **ne* ‘than’).

It is not clear which of these two scenarios fits better with the Baltic data. The first scenario is suggested by the odd distribution between *nekaĩp* resp. *nekā* and NEG... *kaĩp* resp. NEG...*kā* in Lithuanian and Latvian, whereas the second scenario is supported by the existence of purely simulative uses of *ne*. It is likely that there was originally a distinction between two different meanings of **ne*- (‘not’ and ‘like’) and that both were involved in the formation of comparative structures at different stages of development, but this suggestion admittedly still needs to be strengthened by a more precise analysis.

4.3 Type 3-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Not surprisingly, the standard of a comparative of superiority can be omitted if it is clearly recoverable from the context. Instances of ellipsis of standards of comparison are easily found in Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian (ex. 62–63):

- (62) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas,
- Gefmes Chrikščonifkas*
- (1570: 342
- ₁₃₋₁₃
-)

Norint mufump daug eft ghreku : Diewep
 although 1PL.ALL much.ADV be.PRS.3 sin.GEN.PL God.ALL
daugefni eft meiles.
 much.CPD.NOM be.PRS.3 love.GEN
 PM

‘Although we have many sins, Gott has more love.’ (German *Ob bey uns ist der sunden viel / bey Gott ist viel mehr gnaden/*)

(63) Old Latvian: Georg Elger, *Geiftliche catholifche Gefänge* (1621: 121₄₋₆)
Vnd ekfzan f30 Tryadybe nāwens ir pirmaks /
 and within this.ACC Trinity.ACC nobody.NOM be.PRS.3 first.CPD.NOM
 CPREE PAR.PM

nāwens pādix / nāwens lelaks nedze
 nobody.NOM posterior.NOM nobody.NOM big.CPD.NOM nor
 CPREE PAR CPREE PAR.PM

ma3zaks.

small.CPD.NOM

PAR.PM

‘And within this Trinity no one is first, no one is second, no one is bigger, nor smaller.’

In (62), the comparative adverb *daugesni* ‘more’ is not followed by a standard of comparison, but the implicit standard is already expressed by the preceding subordinate clause. The meaning is: ‘God has more love than we have sins.’ In (63), the implicit standard is suggested by the context: ‘No one is bigger than the other two within the Trinity’.

In Old Prussian, we find lexicalized comparatives (mostly calqued from German) used without standards, like *maldaisei* ‘pupils’ corresponding to German *Jünger*, literally ‘the younger ones’ (*Enchiridion*, 1561: III 111₂₂, acc. *maldaifins*, *First Catechism*, 1545: I 11₁₀, *Second Catechism*, 1545: II 11₁₁, dat. *maldaifemans* 1545: I 13₇, I 13₁₅, *maldayfimans* 1545: II 13₇, II 13₁₅, *maldaifimans*, *Enchiridion*, 1561: III 75₄) and even more clearly *urafins* (acc.pl.) ‘parents’, corresponding to German *Eltern* ‘parents’, lit. ‘the older ones’ (e. g. *Enchiridion*, 1561: III 93₁₇, 97₂₋₃); cf. also the adverb *tālis* ‘further’ corresponding to German *weiter* (*Enchiridion*, 1561: III 119₇, cf. *tāls* III 69₂₁, 71₁₁, *tals* III 99₂₂).

4.4 Type 3-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb / adjective)

A comparative meaning can also be expressed by adjectives or verbs whose semantics conveys a comparative meaning in itself, e. g. adjectives like ‘superior’, ‘inferior’ or verbs like ‘to be superior, to surpass’, ‘to prefer’. Most of these forms are recent in Baltic. The Latvian verb *pār-sniegt* ‘to surpass’ (+ ACC), for example, is calqued from German *hinüber-reichen* and does not seem to be in use in Old Latvian; a verb *pāraugt* ‘to surpass in size’ is mentioned in Fürecker’s Latvian dictionary (*pahraugt überwachsen*, 1650: 13₆), but without context. In Lithuanian, as far as I know, the verb *viršyti* ‘to surpass’ does not occur in Old Lithuanian, but other verbs are attested with a similar meaning, e. g. *pėreiti* ‘to surpass’ (+ ACC, ex. 64):

(64) Old Lithuanian: *Clavis Germanico-Lithvana* (17th century: II 635₁₀)

Tu wisfus pereini.

2SG.NOM all.ACC.PL surpass.PRS.2SG

CPREE STAND PM

‘You surpass all.’ (German *Du übertriffst alle*)

Sometimes, a verb expressing a higher degree is reinforced by an adjectival comparative, which makes the comparative meaning and construction more explicit (e. g. ‘to prefer better’ in 65):

(65) Old Latvian: *Lettische Geiftliche Lieder vnd Pfalmen* (1685: 125₂₄)

Tad es teefcham wehletohs / Labbak wiff

then 1SG.NOM frankly prefer.COND.1SG.REFL good.CPD.ADV at.all

PM

ne dfimmis.

NEG to.be.born.PTCP.PST.NOM

‘Then I would prefer not to been born at all.’

5 Superlative

There is in many Indo-European languages a strong link between comparatives of superiority and superlatives. Both forms usually share the same type of formation; if the comparative is synthetic, the superlative is often also synthetic. In some languages, the superlative of superiority is the definite form of the comparative of superiority (e. g. French *plus grand* ‘bigger’ → *le plus grand* ‘the biggest’, *meilleur* ‘better’ → *le meilleur* ‘the best’) or is derived from an intensive form of the positive (e. g. Russian *svetlyj* ‘light’ → *samyj svetlyj* ‘the lightest’) or from the comparative of superiority (e. g. Serbo-Croatian *lošiji* ‘worse’ → *najlošiji* ‘the worst’). In the Baltic languages, the superlative is formed as follows:

Table 6: Superlative Formations in Baltic

	Suffix	Examples	Origins
Old Prussian	analytic formation with 1. <i>ucka</i> + positive 2. <i>ucka</i> + comparative in <i>-aisin</i>	1. <i>vcka ifarwifkai</i> ‘the most faithfully’ (<i>Enchiridion</i> , III 133 ₆ = Germ. <i>auf treulichfte</i>) <i>uckalāngwingifkai</i> ‘the most stupidly’ (<i>Enchiridion</i> III 39 _{13–14} = Germ. <i>auff das einfeltigest</i> , cf. also III 47 ₄ , 59 _{4–5} , 73 _{11–12}) 2. <i>ftefmu ucka kuflaiġin diġlagaptin</i> ‘to the weakest instrument’ (<i>Enchiridion</i> , III 93 ₇ = Germ. <i>dem fwecheſten werckzeug</i>)	1–2. <i>ucka</i> < adverb ‘high’ (cf. Goth. <i>auhuma</i> ‘higher’)
Lithuanian	1. adjectives <i>-iāusias</i> , f. <i>-iāusia</i> 2. adverbs <i>-iāusia(i)</i>	1. <i>geriāusias</i> ‘best’, <i>gražiāusias</i> ‘most beautiful’ 2. <i>geriāusia(i)</i> ‘best’, <i>gražiāusia(i)</i> ‘most beautifully’	unknown (cf. comparatives of adverbs <i>-iaũ</i>)
Latvian	element <i>vis-</i> ‘all’ + definite form of the comparative in <i>-āks</i> , f. <i>-āka</i> , adverbs <i>-āk</i>	1. <i>vislabākais</i> ‘the best’, <i>vismazākais</i> ‘the smallest’ 2. <i>vislabāk</i> ‘best’, <i>visvairāk</i> ‘most’	<i>vis-</i> from <i>viss</i> ‘all’

Both in Old Prussian and Latvian the formation of the superlative is analytic, marked by an intensive element (OPr. *ucka* < ‘high’, Latv. *vis-* < ‘all’); but there are differences between the two languages, regarding not only the nature of this element, but also the form of the adjective. In Latvian, the adjective is usually in the definite form of the comparative, whereas we observe in Old Prussian a variation between the positive and the comparative. To judge from the scarce data we have in Old Prussian, it seems that the comparative is used for superlatives of adjectives, the positive for superlatives of adverbs, but this evidence is limited to three instances in total and we cannot build any precise distribution on so slender a basis. In Lithuanian, the superlative is characterized by a synthetic suffix *-iāusias*, which seems to derive from, or to be cognate with, the suffix of the comparative of adverbs *-iaũ*, Old Lith. *-iaūs*. Since the origin of this suffix is unknown, we cannot say anything precise about the derivation of the superlative from the comparative. The only thing we can suspect is that the superlative in *-iāusias* probably represents a ‘hypostatic’ derivation on the basis of the comparative adverb used in a given syntactic context which still remains to be determined (adv. **geriaus* ‘better’ > adj. *geriāusias* ‘the best one’?). The notion of hypostasis, however, is problematic both in its definition and in its limitation, and its precise meaning remains completely in the dark.

5.1 Type 4-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

5.1.1 Type 4-1-1: flag is case

In ancient Indo-European languages, the superlative can be followed by a partitive genitive referring to the whole category in which a given entity is considered to have the highest degree of the quality in question. This possibility is still preserved in Modern Lithuanian, e. g. *visų brólių aukščiausias* ‘the highest of all the brothers.’¹³ Instances of such partitive genitives specifying the category are found in Old Lithuanian:

- (66) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas, *Gefmes Chrikščizonifkas* (1570: 271₄₋₆)

Garbinkem ifch fchirdies ifczu : Karalu
 praise.IMP.1PL from heart.GEN interior.GEN.PL king.GEN.PL
 STAND.STM

maczniaufi Jefu Chriftu aukščzaufi.
 powerful.SPD.ACC Jesus Christ.ACC high.SPD.ACC
 PAR.PM CPREE

‘Let us praise from our hearts the most powerful of the kings, Jesus Christ, the highest.’ (German *Singen wir [...] aus hertzen grund / dem köning aller heer / christo preys lob unn ehr.*)

5.1.2 Type 4-1-2: flag is adposition

More commonly, a prepositional construction ‘from, out of’ or ‘among’ is used to convey the same meaning. In Modern Lithuanian, we find *iš* ‘out of’ (+ GEN), e. g. *aukščiausias iš visų brólių* ‘the tallest of all the brothers’, or *tařp* ‘between, among’ (+ GEN), e. g. *aukščiausias tařp visų brólių* ‘the tallest of all the brothers’. These constructions are already Old Lithuanian (ex. 67):

- (67) Old Lithuanian: Mikalojus Daukša, *Kathechismas* (1595: 55₂₀–56₁)

Kurí yr didžėufia piktibe iš wiffo pikto?
 REL.NOM be.PRS.3 great.SPD.NOM evil.NOM out.of all.GEN evil.GEN
 PAR.PM CPREE STM STAND

‘Which is the greatest evil among all evils?’ (Polish *Ktore iest nawiętsze złe / ze wszytkiego złego?*)

¹³ Ambrazas, ed. 1997: 140. Cf. Fraenkel 1928: 56.

As a rule, there is in Lithuanian a strict distinction between comparative and superlative: [COMPARATIVE + *ùž* + ACC] vs [SUPERLATIVE *iš* + GEN OR *taĩp* + GEN]. Friedrich Kurschat (1843: I 51) opposes only two possibilities (ex. 68–69):

- (68) 19th century Lithuanian: Kurschat, *Beiträge zur Kunde der littaaischen Sprache* (1843: I 51)

Jis *ùž* *wifūs* *Kitūs* *garbingėfnis*.
 he.NOM for all.ACC.PL other.ACC.PL respected.CPD.NOM
 CPREE STM STAND PAR.PM

‘He is more respected than all the others.’ (German *er ift vor allen Andern berũhmt*)

- (69) 19th century Lithuanian: Kurschat, *Beiträge zur Kunde der littaaischen Sprache* (1843: I 51)

Jis *tàrp* *wifũ* *Kitũ* *garbingiãufias*.
 he.NOM among all.GEN.PL other.GEN.PL respected.SPD.NOM
 CPREE STM STAND PAR.PM

‘He is the most respected of all the others.’

However, there are traces in some Old Lithuanian and dialectal texts of a striking construction with the superlative and the preposition *ùž* + ACC (Old Lithuanian also *aĩt*), i. e. the same preposition used with comparatives (ex. 70–71):

- (70) Old Lithuanian: Mikalojus Daukša, *Postilla Catholica* (1599: 181₁₂)

Pėkta *žime* *didžėufia* *vž* *wiffās*.
 fifth.NOM sign.NOM big.SPD.NOM for all.ACC.PL
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND

‘The fifth sign is the biggest of all.’ (Polish *Piaty znák / nawiekfy ze wšytkich*)

- (71) High Lithuanian dialect of Leipalingis (LKŽ XVI 584)

Kap *Dievas* *duoda* *kam* *sveikatq,* *tai* *už*
 as God.NOM give.PRS.3 someone.DAT health.ACC this.NOM for
 CPREE STM

visa *brangiausia*.
 all.ACC precious.SPD.NOM
 STAND PAR.PM

‘When God gives somebody health, this is the most precious thing of all.’

As a first approximation, one could analyze these constructions as resulting from syntactic contamination between the construction of the comparative and that of the superlative. This contamination could be due to the synonymy between phrases like ‘bigger than all’ (comparative) and phrases like ‘the biggest of all’ (superla-

tive).¹⁴ This could also explain the variation between *kuõ didēsnis* and *kuõ didžiāusias* ‘the best possible’ (*kuõ* + comparative or superlative), a variation which would require more thorough examination to determine its source and to explain its diffusion in Lithuanian.

5.2 Type 4-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

As already mentioned, Old Prussian and Latvian display analytic superlatives, marked by intensive elements (OPr. *ucka* < ‘high’, Latv. *vis-* < ‘all’) followed in Latvian by the definite form of the comparative, in Old Prussian by the positive or the comparative adjective. The element *vis-*, originally a reduction of the full genitive plural *visu* ‘of all’, is now bound to the adjective in Latvian, but was originally independent from it, as still suggested by instances of separate spelling in Old Latvian (cf. ex. 72 and 75 below). It is probably calqued from German *aller*, cf. *tas wiffuleelakajs der allgrōfte* ‘the biggest’ in Stender’s *Lettische Grammatik* (1761: 175). The degree to which this genitive plural *visu* ‘of all’ was already grammaticalized and downgraded to a mere superlative ‘prefix’ *vis-* is debatable. The Old Latvian data are difficult to interpret: Stenders’ orthography *wiffu* clearly points to an inflected genitive plural (corresponding to German *aller*), and we probably have to analyze earlier instances of Old Latvian *wyffe* in the same way, with an imperfect notation of the genitive plural ending by a paragodic vowel *-e*. In what follows, for the sake of simplicity, I will render *wyffe* as GEN.PL, without prejudice to its degree of grammaticalization.

In Latvian, the superlative can be accompanied by the preposition *no* / *nũo* + GEN ‘from’, in Old Latvian also by the preposition *starpan* + GEN ‘among’. An interesting point is that the superlative can be replaced by the definite comparative, without *vis-*, precisely when it is accompanied by an adpositional complement: Modern Latvian *‘Žurnāls’ ir lielākais no visiem laikrakstiem* ‘*Žurnāls* is the biggest newspaper of all’, *Viņš ir vēcākais no mums* ‘he is the oldest among us’.¹⁵ What we observe is thus a distribution:

[SUPERLATIVE] = [*vis*-DEFINITE COMPARATIVE alone]
 vs [SUPERLATIVE] = [DEFINITE COMPARATIVE + expressed reference point].

This distribution is already widely attested in Old Latvian, with the difference that the definite comparative becomes a superlative when it is accompanied by the quasi-definite article *tas*. In both cases, the parameter marker can be seen as a free morpheme,

¹⁴ Cf. Valeckienė 1982: 137.

¹⁵ Forssman 2016: 339.

either Old Latvian *wyffe* or the definite marker *tas*. The superlative is expressed by the comparative plus *wyffe* when used alone (ex. 72):

- (72) Old Latvian: Georg Elger, *Geiftliche catholifche Gefänge* (1621: 195₂)
O mate wyffe trygaka.
 o mother.NOM(VOC) all.GEN.PL pur.CPD.NOM
 (CPREE) PM PAR
 ‘O Mother most pure’

It is expressed by the definite comparative without *wyffe* when accompanied by an entity denoting the standard (ex. 73–74):

- (73) Old Latvian: *Euangelia vnd Epifteln* (1587: 165₉)
Aefto es efme tas mafzakays ftarpan
 therefore 1SG.NOM be.PRS.1SG ART.NOM small.CPD.NOM.DEF among
 CPREE PM PAR STM
tems Apoftelems.
 ART.DAT.PL apostle.DAT.PL
 STAND
 ‘Therefore, I am the smallest of the Apostles.’

- (74) Old Latvian: *Tas Jauns Testaments* (1685: Matt. 23₁₁)
tas leelakais no jums.
 ART.NOM great.CPD.NOM.DEF from 2PL.DAT
 PM PAR STM STAND
 ‘the greatest among you’

Both possibilities are attested side by side in (75):

- (75) Old Latvian: Georg Elger, *Geiftliche catholifche Gefänge* (1621: 152₁₅₋₁₆)
O Jumprouw wyffe fwätigák / Starpan wyffems
 o Virgin.NOM(VOC) all.GEN.PL holy.CPD.NOM among all.DAT.PL
 (CPREE) STAND.STM PAR.PM STM STAND
lânigak.
 amiable.CPD.NOM
 PAR.PM
 ‘O Virgin most holy, among all most amiable’

The first superlative *wyffe fwätigák* ‘the most holy’ is used alone without standard and therefore preceded by *wyffe*, whereas the second superlative *lânigak* ‘most amiable’ (lit. ‘more amiable’) is preceded by its standard (*starpan wyffems* ‘among all’) and therefore does not present *wyffe*. The interesting point here is that there is a competition between

two strategies in Latvian: one in which the superlative is expressed by the comparative reinforced by *vis-* (Old Latv. *wyffe*) pointing to the whole category to which the entity belongs (ex. 72) and one in which the superlative is identical to the definite comparative with the reference point being expressed separately (ex. 73–74). From this it follows that the function of *vis-* (Old Latv. *wyffe*) in the formation of the superlative was originally equivalent to the overt expression of the global reference point of the comparison, which makes its presence unnecessary when this reference point is already expressed elsewhere in the context. The variation pattern between forms with *vis-* (Old Latv. *wyffe*) and forms without *vis-* (Old Latv. *wyffe*) seems to have been fairly consistent in Old Latvian and we can assume that it reflects the original distribution. Note an innovative feature of Old Latvian: the presence of a definite article *tas* accompanying the expression of the superlative in (73–74). It is certainly calqued from German and does not reflect a real development in the Latvian language, nor does it show up in the modern language.

5.3 Type 4-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

5.3.1 Type 4-4-2: flag is adposition

Rarely, a standard can be expressed with the same adpositions as after superlatives even if the adjectival parameter is not put in the comparative-superlative. In this case, only the meaning makes clear that the positive adjective expresses the highest degree of the quality referred to. There are a few instances of this type in Old Lithuanian, obviously under foreign influence (ex. 76):

- (76) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas, *Gefmes Chrikščizoniškias* (1566: 164_{18–19})
Pagirta tu effi / Tarp wiffu moteru.
 blessed.NOM 2SG.NOM be.PRS.2SG among all.GEN.PL all.GEN.PL
 PAR CPREE STM STAND
 ‘Blessed are you amongst all women.’ (German *o du gebenedeyt / unter allen frauen*)

5.4 Type 4-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

As in other Indo-European languages, a superlative can be used alone, without explicit standard. This occurs mostly if the implicit standard refers to any possible entity and thus can be easily inferred from the context. Instances of superlatives without overt standard are quite frequent in ancient writings in the three Baltic languages; e. g. Lithuanian (ex. 77):

- (77) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas, *Gefmes Chrikfizonifkas* (1570: 342₁₅)
Gelbt ifch bedas didzaufofes.
 help.INF out.of misery.GEN big.SPD.GEN.DEF
 PAR.PM
 ‘to help out of the greatest poverty’ (‘the greatest’ = ‘the greatest of all’)

5.5 Type 4-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In Old Prussian the superlative is analytic (ex. 78):

- (78) Old Prussian: *Enchiridion* (1561: III 93₆₋₇)
Bhe dāiti fteifmu gennenifkan / kāigi fteifmu vcka
 and give.OPT.2PL ART.DAT female.DAT like ART.DAT high
 CPREE PM
kuflaifin dijlapagaptin fwaian teifin.
 weak.CPD.ACC instrument.ACC own.ACC right.ACC
 PAR
 ‘And give to the woman as being the weakest instrument its right.’ (German *Vnd gebet dem weibifchen / als dem fchwecheften werckzeug feine ehre*)

In Latvian, as a rule, if the standard is implicit, the superlative must necessarily be built on the comparative preceded by *vis-* (Old Latv. *wyffe*), which precisely conveys the meaning of the implicit standard (ex. 79):

- (79) Old Latvian: *Catechismus Catholicorum* (1585: 48₁₃₋₁₄)
O wuffe Schwetake / Triadibb
 o all.GEN.PL holy.CPD.NOM(VOC) Trinity.NOM(VOC)
 PM PAR CPREE
 ‘o most holy Trinity!’

6 Elative

As a rule, the Baltic languages do not use superlative forms – whether synthetic (Lithuanian) or analytic (Latvian, Old Prussian) – with an elative meaning (‘very’). Rather, special adverbs are placed before positive adjectives. The same adverbs can be associated not only with adjectives, but also with other parts of speech; there is thus no difference in Baltic similar to that in Modern French between *très* ‘very’ (+ ADJ) and *beaucoup* ‘very, very much’ (+ NON-ADJ). The Baltic elative adverbs are the following:

- Modern Lithuanian *labai* ‘very’, e. g. *labai sėnas* ‘very old’, *labai toli* ‘very far’, *jis labai išaugo* ‘he has grown a lot’ (< ‘well’, adverb of manner from the adjective *lābas* ‘good’, now quite obsolete and commonly replaced by *gėras* ‘good’);
- Latvian *ļoti* ‘very’, e. g. *ļoti jauks* ‘very beautiful’, *ļoti agri* ‘very early’, *ļoti sabīties* ‘to be very afraid of’ (< borrowed from Old Russian *ljutъ* ‘very, very much’); in Old Latvian also *warren, varen* ‘very’ (from *varens* ‘strong, powerful’);
- Old Prussian *tūlan* ‘much’ as a floating quantifier (*Enchiridion*, III 55₈₋₉ = German *viel*).

6.1 Type 5-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Relative adverbs of Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian before positive adjectives can be illustrated by the following examples (ex. 80–81):

- (80) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas, *Gefmes Chrikščizonifkas* (1570: 245₉)

<i>Kurs</i>	<i>efti</i>	<i>labai</i>	<i>didis</i>
REL.NOM	be.PRS.3	very.ADV	big.NOM
CPREE		PM	PAR

‘who is very big’

- (81) Old Latvian: *Lettifche Geiftliche Lieder vnd Pfalmen* (1685: 24₂₅)

<i>Tahs</i>	<i>Dwehfjels</i>	<i>Barrib</i>	<i>ļohti</i>	<i>gahrd’</i>
ART.GEN	spirit.GEN	food.NOM	very.ADV	delectable.NOM
		CPREE	PM	PAR

‘Spiritual food is very delectable.’

Relative adverbs usually precede the element whose degree they modify, but it can happen in ancient texts that, for stylistic reasons, they are artificially postposed to their hosts (ex. 82):

- (82) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas, *Gefmes Chrikščizonifkas* (1570: 336₁₀)

<i>Ijo</i>	<i>wardfs</i>	<i>eft</i>	<i>aukfchts</i>	<i>labai</i>
he.GEN	name.NOM	be.PRS.3	high.NOM	very.ADV
	CPREE		PAR	PM

‘His name is very high.’

A striking feature of Lithuanian and Latvian is that the relative adverbs Lith. *labai* resp. Latv. *ļoti* ‘very’ are replaced by the quantitative adverbs Lith. *daūg* resp. Latv. *daūdz* ‘very much, a lot’ when modifying comparative adjectives or adverbs, e. g. Lith. *labai gėras* ‘very good’ / *daūg gerėsnis* ‘much better’, Latv. *ļoti labs* ‘very good’ / *daudz*

labāks ‘much better’. This distinction is already well documented in Old Lithuanian and Old Latvian (ex. 83–84):

- (83) Old Lithuanian: Samuel Chyliński, *Biblia, Novum Testamentum* (1664: Matt. 6.26)

<i>Negu</i>	<i>(toli)</i>	<i>daugiau</i>	<i>prakilnefni</i>	<i>efte</i>	<i>uz</i>
NEG=PTCL	by.far	more	valuable.CPD.NOM.PL	be.PRS.2PL	for
		PM	PAR.PM	(CPREE)	STM

jos?

he.ACC.PL

STAND

‘Are you not much more valuable than they?’ (Note the redundant comparative marking in *daugiau* instead of *daug*.)

- (84) Old Latvian: *Tas Jauns Testaments* (1685: Matt. 6₂₆)

<i>Ne</i>	<i>effat</i>	<i>juhs</i>	<i>tad</i>	<i>daudf</i>	<i>labbaki</i>	<i>ne</i>
NEG	be.PRS.2PL	2PL.NOM	then	much	good.CPD.NOM.PL	than
		CPREE		PM	PAR.PM	STM

wiņņi?

he.NOM.PL

STAND

‘Are you not much more valuable than they?’

More common in Old Lithuanian is the construction *juõ* + COMPARATIVE ‘much X-er’ (ex. 85–86):

- (85) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas, *Gefmes Chrikfczonifkas* (1570: 126₁₆)

<i>Tawa</i>	<i>Diewifchfkas</i>	<i>wardas</i>	<i>iũ</i>	<i>didzaus</i>	<i>butu</i>
2SG.GEN	divine.NOM	name.NOM	much	more	be.COND.PRS.3
		CPREE		PM	

fchwenftas.

hallowed.NOM

PAR

‘(that) your divine name would be much more hallowed’

- (86) Old Lithuanian: Baltramiejus Vilentas, *Catechismas* (1579: 57₂₄₋₂₅)
Ghis papeik dabar yũ didefnius daiktus neng
 he.NOM scorn.PRS.3 now much great.CPD.ACC.PL thing.ACC.PL than
 PM PAR.PM CPREE STM
tie jra.
 he. NOM.PL be.PRS.3
 STAND
 ‘He now scorns much greater things than these are.’ (transl. Ford 1969: 381 modified)

Its precise meaning was originally ‘all the more’, but in the Old Lithuanian texts it is often used with a purely elative meaning, as suggested by its translation into German simply as *viel* ‘much’, e. g. *jũ mielaus* ‘much dearer’ (*Lexicon Lithuanicum*, 17th century: 98₈ = German *viel lieber*). Lithuanian *juõ* + COMPARATIVE can be compared with Old Latvian *jo* + POSITIVE, attested with the same elative meaning ‘very X’ (e. g. *jo leels* ‘very big, extra big’), or even with a comparative meaning ‘X-er’ (e. g. *jo leels* ‘bigger’), cf. Fennell 1996–1997: 125.

Quantitative adverbs are rarely used in the ancient texts with positive adjectives, even if a few isolated instances can be found, mostly under foreign influence or with a markedly quantitative meaning (ex. 87):

- (87) Old Lithuanian: Martynas Mažvydas, *Gefmes Chrikščionifkas* (1570: 438₂)
Afch efmi daug kaltas.
 1SG.NOM be.PRS.1SG much.ADV guilty.NOM
 CPREE PM PAR
 ‘I am very guilty.’

The bipartite distribution observed in Lithuanian [*labaĩ* + POSITIVE vs *daũg* + COMPARATIVE] and Latvian [*loti* + POSITIVE vs *daudz* + COMPARATIVE] has good parallels in German [*sehr* + POSITIVE vs *viel* + COMPARATIVE] as well as in Polish [*bardzo* + POSITIVE vs *wiele* + COMPARATIVE]. We cannot be sure, however, that the Baltic pattern is calqued from German or Polish, since we find organic developments along the same lines in other languages, e. g. Modern French [*très* + POSITIVE vs *bien* or *beaucoup* + COMPARATIVE]. Apart from this marginal distinction, the elative meaning is relatively uniform, albeit expressed in different ways, in each of the three Baltic languages.

7 Excessive

In Old Prussian and Lithuanian, the same element **per-* is used under the same conditions to convey an excessive meaning (‘too, too much’). Its status, however, is prob-

lematic, since it can be seen either as an adverb or as a prefix. For the sake of simplicity, I will classify it as a ‘free morpheme’, as justified in the following discussion. The Latvian data are more complicated and will be discussed separately.

7.1 Type 6-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Old Prussian and Lithuanian seem to share the same construction, using a morpheme **per* (Old Pr. *per*, Lith. *peĩ*) to express the excessive function, i. e. when the quality denoted by an adjective is presented as exceeding what should be a limit. In the Old Prussian *Enchiridion* (1561), *per* is treated as an adverb, written separately from the adjective, like its German source *zu* (ex. 88):

- (88) Old Prussian: *Enchiridion* (1561: III 69₁₆)
per tēmprai per dauuns
 too expensive.ADV sold.PTCP.PST.NOM
 PM PAR
 ‘sold too expensive’ (German *zu thewr verkaufft*)

The separate spelling *per tēmprai* (two words) is inconclusive, since it can have been calqued from the parallel spelling of the German original *zu thewr* ‘too expensive’ (two words). Other instances are very doubtful. *Perarwi* ‘really’ (*Enchiridion*, III 113₄ = German *warlich*), *perarwiskai* (*Enchiridion*, III 43₂₆, 45₂₄, 63₁₀, 113₁₃ = Germ. *gewißlich*), *per arwisku* (*Enchiridion*, III 41₁₇ = Germ. *gewißlich*) or *perarwisku* (*Enchiridion*, III 61₁₆ = Germ. *freilich*) are derived from the adverbs *arwi*, *arwiskai* ‘really, truly’ (*Enchiridion*, III 49₁, 55₁₀, 55₁₆, 77₁, 121₂₀ = Germ. *zwar*, *freilich*, *gewißlich*), apparently with the excessive adverb or prefix *per-* ‘too, too much’. However, the meaning is not clearly excessive (both *perarwi* and *arwi* mean ‘really’, with or without *per-*) and it is more likely that the stem *perarwi-* is simply calqued from German *fürwahr*, based on the equivalence OPr. *per* = Germ. *für*. The univerbation in *perarwi* (one word) may be due to the influence of German *fürwahr* or *wahrlich* (one word).

The same morpheme *peĩ* ‘too, too much’ is regularly used in Lithuanian to convey an excessive meaning. In the modern language, there is a clear distribution between *peĩ* + ADJ ‘too’ and *peĩ daũg* + NON-ADJ ‘too much’. *Peĩ* is used with adjectives and usually written separately from them, e. g. Modern Lithuanian *kepùrè peĩ ðidelè* ‘the hat (is) too big’. This usage is already well documented in Old Lithuanian (ex. 89–90):

equivalent *trop* was still elative in Old French ('very'), but soon acquired the excessive meaning ('too much'), which has become regular in Classical and Modern French; in colloquial French, there has recently been an increasing tendency to use it again with an elative meaning ('very').

The only point of difficulty is the Latvian expression of the excessive. In this respect, there is a marked difference between Old and Modern Latvian. In Modern Latvian, the excessive meaning ('too') is conveyed by *par* used as a preposition (+ ACC):

(92) Modern Latvian

Bērns ir par mazu.
 boy.NOM be.PRS.3 too small.ACC
 CPREE PM PAR
 'The boy is too small.'

(93) Modern Latvian

Grāmata man par dārgu.
 book.NOM 1SG.DAT too expensive.ACC
 CPREE PM PAR
 'The book is too expensive for me.'

In Old Latvian, I have found no trace of this construction before the 18th century; instead an adpositional phrase *pār lieku* 'over the superfluous, beyond measure' was regularly used to express the excessive meaning (ex. 94–95):

(94) Old Latvian: *Lettifche Geiftliche Lieder vnd Pfalmen* (1685: 279₅₈)

Pahr leeku pilna irr muhfa Dwehfele
 over superfluous.ACC full.NOM be.PRS.3 1PL.POSS.NOM soul.NOM
 PM PM PAR CPREE
to grefno Apfmeefchanas.
 ART.GEN.PL proud.GEN.PL mockery.GEN
 'Our soul is too full of the mockery of the proud.' (= Ps. 123.4)

(95) Old Latvian: Gottfried Stender, *Lettifches Lexikon* (1789: 727)

pahrleeku leels
 over=superfluous.ACC big.NOM
 PM PAR
 'too big' (German *zu groß*)¹⁶

¹⁶ Another possibility mentioned by Stender was to use the adverb *visai* 'completely' with an excessive meaning (1789: 727): *wiffai leels* 'too big' (German *zu groß*).

There was thus a change between Old and Modern Latvian in the expression of the excessive meaning. In the Modern Latvian construction, the adjective does not agree with the head noun, but is rather an abstract noun governed by the preposition *par* (with short *a*). On the contrary, in Old Latvian, the adjective agreed with the head noun and was modified by an adpositional phrase *pār lieku* ‘over the superfluous’ (*pār* with long *a*). The two constructions are thus completely different, and the question is how to describe their historical relationships. In addition, both of them are different from what we find in Lithuanian and Old Prussian, in spite of the superficial resemblance of Latvian *par* resp. *pār* with Lithuanian *peĩ* and Old Prussian *per*.

The earliest trace of the modern construction I have been able to find is attested in Stender’s dictionary from 1789:

- (96) Old Latvian: Gottfried Stender, *Lettifches Lexikon* (1789: 727)
zu viel, wiffai oder pahrleeku daudf, einige sagen auch, par daudf

Stender’s formulation (*einige sagen auch* ‘some also say’) suggests that the development of the modern construction *par daudf* ‘too much’ (*par daudz*) was still limited at his time, in competition with the more common construction *pahrleeku daudz* ‘too much’ (*pār lieku daudz*). The Old Latvian construction is still attested in Ulmann’s dictionary (1872: 183): *pahrleeku, übermäßig, gar zu* (e. g. *Pahrleeku ahtrs, gar zu heftig* ‘too strong’) in competition with the new construction (1872: 189): *wiñch irr par leels, er ift zu groß* ‘he is too big’.

The Old Latvian construction is clear: ‘too’ is expressed by a prepositional phrase *pār lieku* ‘beyond measure’ preceding the adjective modified by the excessive meaning. Whether this formulation is calqued from German *übermäßig* or genuine in Latvian is a question we cannot answer at this point without a thorough study of the philological data. The difficulty is with the Modern Latvian construction. There are two different prepositions in Latvian, *par* ‘for’ (with short *a*) and *pār* ‘over, beyond’ (with long *ā*), both + ACC in the singular (+ DAT in the plural, like all Latvian prepositions). Their distinction is sometimes presented as quite recent in the language,¹⁷ but in most of the ancient texts a clear difference is made between *par* (with short *a*) and *pahr* (with long *ā*). Stender (1789: 727), for example, clearly distinguishes *par daudf* ‘too much’ (*par*, with short vowel) and *pahrleeku daudf* ‘id.’ (*pār*, with long vowel). With this in mind, it cannot be assumed that the preposition *par* in *par mazu* ‘too small’ (ex. 92) and *par dārgu* ‘too expensive’ (ex. 93) means ‘over’; it can only mean ‘for’. It is true that a preposition ‘over’ would open the possibility to analyze the prepositional phrase *par mazu* ‘too small’ rather straightforwardly as ‘beyond smallness’ (with *mazu* as

¹⁷ ME III 84 translates *par* both as ‘over’ (*über, hinüber, herüber*) and ‘for’ (*für*) and says (III 147) that *pār* is used instead of *par* ‘in some regions and by many writers’ (*in einigen Gegenden und von vielen Schriftstellern*). In Ulmann’s dictionary (1872: 188–189), *par* renders both German *über, hinüber* ‘over’ and *für* ‘for’.

the frozen accusative of an abstract noun, like *labs* ‘the good’, acc. *Ļabu*); but while this option is attractive on paper, it is definitely ruled out by the simple fact that the prepositional phrase uses *par* ‘for’ (with short vowel) and not *pār* ‘over’ (with long vowel). This being so, the difficulty is that *par* ‘for’ makes no sense as part of a phrase like *par mazu* ‘too small’. A solution emerges when one recalls that the Latvian preposition *par* can correspond, in some of its usages, to the German preposition *zu*. This correspondence is regular especially for German *zu* used with a fientive meaning (‘to make somebody X’):¹⁸

(97) Old Latvian: *Manuale Lettico-Germanicum* (ca 1690: 171)

par *Jeķķu* *taijīht*
for fool. make.INF
ACC

‘to make (somebody) a fool’ (German *zum Narren machen*)

(98) Old Latvian: Stender, *Lettisches Lexikon* (1789: 728)

par ļaunu darriht ‘to harm’ = German *zu Leide thun*

par mīļēstību darriht ‘to do for somebody’s sake’ = German *zu Liebe thun*

One might suspect the use of the Latvian preposition *par* with an excessive meaning to be calqued from the parallel use of the German preposition *zu*, based on the correspondence between the two prepositions in other contexts. This analogical pattern could explain why the morpheme *zu*, which in German functions as an adverb before an adjective, was rendered in Latvian by a preposition *par*, governing an object in the accusative: the model was clearly German *zu* = Latvian *par* in its prepositional usage. If this analysis is correct, the development of *par* in an excessive meaning must be seen as a recent, contact-induced phenomenon.

8 Conclusion

This brief overview of comparison and gradation in Baltic is not intended to provide a complete picture of its expression in the Baltic languages, and I am aware that there are still many unanswered questions. What I tried to point out is that similitive, equative, comparative, superlative, elative, and excessive are usually clearly distinguished in Baltic, even if there can be local convergences between some of them (and, globally speaking, no clear distinction between similitive and equative). In addition, for one and the same function, different means of expression can be used, giving rise to a complex system with various fault lines (e.g. between + ADJ vs + NON-ADJ), but also

¹⁸ More examples in Bielenstein (1863: 29).

with various overlapping areas (e. g. between similitive and comparative, or between comparatives and superlatives). The analysis of these complex configurations, both within the individual Baltic languages and in comparative perspective, will be an important task for the future.

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7 Old Church Slavonic

1 Introduction

1.1 Remarks on the language variety

Old Church Slavonic¹ (hence OCS) is the earliest amply attested variety of Slavic written down in two original alphabets, specially created to fit the phonological inventory of the spoken Slavic idiom of Macedonia: the Glagolitic (presumably invented) and the Cyrillic (adopting many Greek majuscules). Earlier records in different alphabets are neither uncontroversial nor representative. The written record commences with the Christian missions to the Slavs in the late 9th c. The material available for contemporary research is, however, somewhat younger, as the original works of the first missionaries (mostly translations) did not survive. Owing to the sacral character of its early texts, this language variety, reflecting initially the South Slavic vernacular, experienced a sort of “sacralization” and remained resistant to natural processes of language change for a long time, retaining most of its traits in the Orthodox religious service till today. This circumstance allows the investigation of the oldest language structures on the basis of a greater variety of texts, including later copies and redactions of the earliest translations or compositions.

As any early “pre-modern” written IE corpus – (O)CS represents a non-standard variety in the classical sense, thus “anecdotal” forms are frequent and normal. Further important features are overmarking (i.e., hypercharacterization), undermarking (with grading relegated to the pragmatic dimension), and a high frequency of transitional constructions which cover several slots in the structure followed in this volume at once due to their incomplete grammaticalization, whereas their exact function surfaces in the context alone.²

1.2 The corpus

Like any corpus consisting primarily of translations, (O)CS contains a high number of calques. It depends on the type of the text whether morphological, syntactic, or semantic borrowing, or any combination thereof has taken place. The Psalter is usually a word-to-word translation of the Septuagint texts which in their turn follow closely the

¹ The term ‘Slavonic’ persists in the scholarly tradition with regard to the Church Slavonic, whereas otherwise ‘Slavic’ is usual.

² I would like to thank the series editors for the discussions and advice on a range of transitional or ambiguous cases.

Hebrew morphosyntax; the Gospels, on the contrary, show as a rule semantic rendering; whereas many sources, especially those attested earlier reveal a stronger affinity to Greek syntactic patterns. For this reason, all OCS patterns of gradation exemplified below are supplied with the source patterns (Greek and occasionally Latin) where those are securely identified; editions of these sources are cited.

The corpus exploited for the purpose of this contribution may be characterized as the extended “canonical” OCS and generally follows the scope of the manuscripts of the copious *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského / Lexicon linguae palaeo-slovenicae* (SJS), reprint 2006, the recent *Starobálgarski rečnik* (SBR), 1999–2009 (<http://histdict.unisofia.bg/textcorpus/list>), and the earlier extensive work on the East Slavic written heritage by I.I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevne-russkago jazyka po pis'mennym pamjatnikam* (*Mat.*), 1893–1912, extended here with some religious, legal, or educational texts from the same period. The timeline ranges from the beginning of the written record up to approx. the 12th–13th c.; some copies of early texts date as late as the 14th to 16th c., but preference is given to the earliest redactions. The types of texts represented in the corpus are therefore mostly translations of Christian literature from Byzantine Greek or Latin: the Gospels, the Psalter, other books of the Old and the New Testament, texts for liturgic purposes (primarily according to the Eastern rite), homiliaries, euchologies, etc. The sources and their editions are listed as part of the references at the end of the chapter. The occurrence of grading constructions in later language varieties is discussed in § 11 of each type of grading relation, whenever changes in their morphosyntactic behavior have consequences with regard to their typological classification.

2 Similative

2.1 Type 1-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

2.1.1 Type 1-2-1: flag is case

- (1) (Eug 7ba18, commentary to Ps. 97.8a; Grünenthal 1930: 10, Kolesov 1972: 58–70, Jagić 1917: 199,³ SJS III: 98) (≈ Bon, Pog; Jagić 1907: 470)

<i>pokaanyę</i>	<i>slъzy</i>	<i>podobьno</i>	<i>rěkamъ</i>
repentance.GEN	tear.NOM.PL	similar.ADV	river.DAT.PL
	CPREE	PM	STAND.STM

³ Cf. Theodoret (PCCG 80: 1664): Gk. [*kai*] *potamōn dikēn tà theia prokhéontas nāmata* (actually: ‘[and the ones who] pour the divine waters like rivers’) I owe my gratitude to Aikaterini Koroli (Department of Ancient History, Papyrology and Epigraphy, University of Vienna) for her valuable aid with the interpretation of the Greek commentaries.

nosimy

bear.PTCP.PRS.PASS.NOM.PL

[STAND]

‘tears of repentance swept away like rivers’

Gk. *kai tēs metanoías tà dákrua díkēn potamōn pherómēna*

This type is absent in older sources. In the extended CS corpus, the complete grammaticalization of *podobno*⁴ cannot be entirely secured. In modern Slavic languages, it seems a simulative construction involving an adverbialized adjective as a PM (functioning as as a whole as a free morpheme despite its genetic morphological divisibility), and the standard introduced by an adposition can be found only in the East Slavic; cf. [Russ. *pochože* / Ukr. *schože* / Bel. *padobna*] + *na* + ACC. It is still unregistered in the 19th c. dictionaries (SCSR III, *Mat.* II). The adv. *pochože* (indecl.)⁵ forms a separate predicative construction meaning ‘likely, it seems like’. The construction with the preposition *na* corresponds to that of the verb and the fully inflected adjective (cf. Russ. *pochož(ij) na* ‘similar to’, SCSR III: 411).

- (2) Stand.Russ. (MAS III: “*pochože*”)

<i>pochože</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>pravdu</i>
similar.ADV	PREP	truth.ACC
PM	STM	STAND

‘seems to be true’

2.2 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

2.2.1 Type 1-3-1: flag is case

- (3) (Sav 131v19–132r1: Matt. 13.52; Ščepkin 1954[1903]: 127, NTG: 36, SJS III: 97)

<i>vsakъ</i>	<i>кѣнижѣникъ</i>	[...]	<i>podobitъ sę</i>	<i>člověkou domovitou</i>
any.NOM	scribe.NOM		be.like.PRS.3SG	house-father.DAT
	CPREE		PM	STAND.STM

‘any scribe/literate [...] is like a house-father’

Gk. *pās grammateūs [...] homoiós estin anthrōpōi oikodespótēi*

⁴ On the status of *podobno* as a free morpheme s. § 2.11.

⁵ Cf. *pochoditi* ‘to resemble’ since the 16th c., SRJa.11–17 XVIII: 56.

2.2.2 Type 1-3-2: flag is adposition

- (4) (Grig 103(=101)v11: Prov. 8.30; Ribarova/Hauptova 1998: 412, LXX: 2115, SJS III: 99) (Cf. Zach 237aβ) exhaustive attestation.

This is a pro-drop construction: The comparee is to be inferred from the personal ending of the verb.

bjachъ kъ nemou podobenъ
 be.IPF.1SG PREP he.DAT similar. NOM
 [CPREE] STM STAND PM
 ‘[I] was similar to him’
 Gk. *émēn par’ autōi harmózousa*

The context had been misunderstood by the scribe of the OCS text, as the proverb runs ‘[I = wisdom] was by him as one brought up with him’⁶; nevertheless, this translational faux-pas reveals a language-real similitive construction.

2.3 Type 1-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

2.3.1 Type 1-4-1: flag is case

- (5) (Supr 103,27–28; Severjanov 1956[1904], AnB I: 455, Večerka 1993: 298)

krъvbъ tečaaše rěkami [...]
 blood.NOM stream.IPF.3SG river.INS.PL
 CPREE STAND.STM
 ‘blood streamed like rivers’
 Gk. *tò dè haĩma érreen potamēdôn* / Lat. *sanguis vero manabat ut fluvius*

2.3.2 Type 1-4-2: flag is adposition

- (6) (ViTheSt 39v9–11, Dubrovina et al. 1977: 146, PCCG 99: 117, *Mat.* II: 980, SRJa.1–17 XV: 115)

i sъ filosofъ[sic! y] besēdovaše, sъbiraja po
 and PREP philosopher.INS.PL⁷ converse.IPF.3SG collect.PTCP.PRS PREP
 [CPREE] STM

⁶ The function of “wisdom” as referred to in this context is subject to diverse interpretations.

⁷ A *lapsus scribendi* of the copyist: *filosofъ*, with the last stroke lacking, hence as if GEN.PL instead of the correct INS.PL. *filosofy* (-y for the Cyrillic <ѣ>).

bъčelě ljubostradněi ...

bee.DAT sedulous.DAT

STAND [STAND]

‘and [he] conversed with philosophers, collecting like a sedulous bee ...’

Gk. [...] *kaì philosophois sugginómenos ên, sullégōn kata tò tēs melissēs [...]*

Here also belongs a later attested type in which the standard of a similitive relation is marked by the adposition *po* ‘according to’ + possessive/relational adj. in the DAT meaning ‘X-like’ (described in § 2.7 and § 2.10 ex. (16)), and originally should have denoted ‘in X’s manner’⁸ with STM and PM co-occurring within one word. The corresponding possessive/relational adverb, built with the same bound morpheme (e. g. *-bšk-*), was in use without the adposition *po* until the 16th c., see § 2.7. From the 17th c. onwards, especially East Slavic attests additional marking of such adverbs with the adposition *po* (corresponding mostly to Gk. *katá*) in analogy with the productive PREP + NOUN pattern expressing manner of action (*po ellinski* ‘like the Greeks’, Alf² 84v–85, SRJa.1–17 XV: 118). Furthermore, depending on the comparee, the same construction may convey equative semantics; cf. (25).

2.4 Type 1-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

- (7) (Zogr 237v6–9; John 5.21; Jagić 1954[1879]: 143, SJS IV: 423; NTG: 244) (= Mar, Ass, Ostr)

ěko bъ[sic! bo] otъcbъ vьskrěšaetъ mrtvyję i
as for father.NOM raise.up.PRS.3SG dead.ACC.PL and

STM STAND [PAR]

živitъ tako i synъ egože choštetъ
revive.PRS.3SG so and son.NOM REL.GEN=PTCL want.PRS.3SG

PAR PM CPREE

živitъ

revive.SUP

PAR

‘for as the father raises up the dead and revives, so also his son revives whom [he] wants’

Gk. *hōsper gār ho patēr egeírei toūs nekrou̓s kai zōopoiēi, hoútōs kai ho huiōs hoūs thélei zōopoiēi*

⁸ The construction lacks the noun which should have become obsolete but can be easily restored on the basis of the phrasal semantics as “manner, way, mode”.

2.5 Type 1-7: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

In the following example containing a pro-drop construction, the comparee and the standard (both ‘we’) remain unexpressed. In the attestation given below the STM *ěko* ‘which, such as’ is congruent with the PM adjective *takovъ* ‘such’, but it can also occur adverbialized as *jako* ‘as’ (e. g. Christ 1 Cor. 15.48).

- (8) (Slepč mp50r12–13: 2 Cor. 10.11; Iljinskij 1911: 44, NTG: 472, SJS IV: 425)
- | | | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>ěko</i> | <i>ěci</i> | <i>že</i> | <i>jesmъ</i> | <i>slovomъ</i> | <i>epistolijami</i> |
| as | which.NOM.PL | PTCL | be.PRS.1PL | word.INS | letter.INS.PL |
| | STM | | | | |
| <i>nesoušte</i> | | <i>takovi</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>soušte</i> | |
| NEG=be.PTCP.PRS.NOM.PL | | SUCH.NOM.PL | and | be.PTCP.PRS.NOM.PL | |
| | | PM | | | |
| <i>dělbъ</i> | | | | | |
| deed.INS | | | | | |

‘which we are in words in letters [when] not being present, such [we are when] present in deeds’

Gk. *hóti hoíoi esmen tōi lógōi di’ epistolōn apóntes, toioútoi kai paróntes tōi érgōi*

2.6 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

- (9) (Mar Micl 2r29: Matt. 6.5; Jagić 1960[1883]: 15, NTG: 12, Večerka 2002: 266 § 104.1)
- | | | | | |
|---|-------------|------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>ne</i> | <i>bōdi</i> | <i>ěko</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>liceměri</i> |
| NEG | be.IMP.2SG | like | also | hypocrite.NOM.PL |
| | [CPREE] | STM | | STAND.[PAR] |
| ‘don’t be like hypocrites’ | | | | |
| Gk. <i>ouk ésesthe hōs hoi hupokritaí</i> | | | | |

2.7 Type 1-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

This category comprises a range of adverbs, often built with the originally possessive and later qualifying suffix *-(b)skъ* < **sk(e/o)*- (cf. Meillet 1905: 330–333), showing a transition towards greater opacity of derivational semantics. The standard of comparison is still perceivable, cf. *mōžbъsky* (originally INS.PL) ‘like a man’ of *mōžbъ* ‘man’ for the Gk. *andreíōs*, which will later yield a simple adverb of manner ‘manly’. According

to Večerka (1993: 298 § 135.4), the similitive semantics in adverbs of this kind is not yet opaque in OCS. On the contrary, it is quite prominent. The compared quality is “preserved as *tertium comparationis*” (e. g. the verb ‘live’ in the ex. 10 below), forming the parameter. Most frequent are ‘ethno-glottal’ adverbs, e. g. *grьčьsky* ‘like the Greeks’, *jevreisky* ‘like the Jews’; but the type is not limited to socionyms, cf. *pe(s)sky lajušte* ‘barking like a dog’ for the Lat. *canum latratu*, ViVenc 22,8).

- (10) (Slepč Kiev 55r18–19 (= Christ): Gal.2,14; Iljinskij 1911: 48, NTG: 481–482, SJS I: 844)

Here the standard of comparison is still palpable: *jazyčьsky* ‘like pagans’ and *ijudeisky* ‘like the Jews’.

<i>ty,</i>	<i>ijudei</i>	<i>syi,</i>	<i>jazyčьsky</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ne</i>
2SG.NOM	Jew.NOM	be.PTCP.PRS.NOM	pagan.like.ADV	but	NEG
CPREE			[STAND ₁]	STM ₁	
<i>ijudeisky</i>	<i>živeši</i>				
Jew.like.ADV	live.PRS.2SG				
[STAND ₂]	STM ₂	[PAR]			

‘[though] you are a Jew, [you] live like the pagans and not like the Jews’
Gk. *ei sù Ioudaĩos hupárkhōn ethnĩkōs kai ouk Ioudaĩkōs zēis*

Type 9 comprises a number of compounds with similitive semantics, which were quite productive in OCS as well as in non-canonical local idioms. Expression of a similitive relation by means of composition is not rare in IE languages. The parameter could be expressed either by the first or the second compound member. The OCS examples below follow the Greek prototype exactly.

If the parameter is expressed by the second member, then the standard may remain unexpressed, cf. *podobostrastьnъ* for *homoioopathēs*. Here *podobo-* or *podobьno-* functions as the parameter marker expressed by a bound morpheme. Such cases are rare, however.

- (11) (Slepč mp 12r11–12: Acts 14.15; Iljinskij 1911: 7, NTG: 343, SJS III: 98) (= AOchr, Mak, Christ, Siš) exhaustive

<i>i</i>	<i>ny [=vě]⁹</i>	<i>podob[ostrastь]na</i>	<i>vamъ</i>	<i>jesvě</i>	<i>člověka</i>
also	1DU.NOM	similar-suffer.NOM.DU	2PL.DAT	be.PRS.1DU	person.NOM.DU
	CPREE	PM	PAR	STAND	[CPREE]

‘we [both] are also men [suffering] like you’
Gk. *kai hēmeĩs homoioatheĩs esmen humĩn ánthrōpoi*

⁹ Corrected after parallel texts.

If the standard of comparison is verbalized (as in (12) below), it takes the first position in the compound, whereas the parameter is expressed outside of the word structure or remains unexpressed. The expectable STM would be case, in particular, the dative as the usual marker of syntactically built similatives in Slavic, if no preposition takes over the syntactic governing. However, forms like **bogoupodobьnъ* with a governed dative are not attested in the entire canonic and extended canonic corpus. Rather, the first compound member is attached by the binding *-o-*, leaving the standard without a formal expression. Instances such as *bogorodobьnъ* or *bogoobrazьnъ*, also numerous in modern Slavic languages, could be viewed as a special case of Type 11, though retaining the standard of comparison:

- (12) (Supr 277,12; Severjanov 1956[1904], PCCG 88: 605, SJS I: 127)
 [i neprěchodьnyj prěšьdъ mrakъ.] *bogoobrazьnoje prijeml'etъ.*
 god.similar.ACC take.on.PRS.3SG
 STAND.PAR.[PM=E]
 [razoutьnyimi vьzvodimъ stepenъmi zakonopoloženije]
 ‘[and unsurpassable darkness surpassed.] the god-like [lawfulness] [he] takes
 on [being raised by the advancing prudence]’
 Gk. [kai tòn áduton hupelthôn gnóphon] tèn theotúpōton dékhetai [noeraís ana-
 bibazómenos bathmísi, nomothesían kai theōrián]

2.8 Type 1-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In the example below, the syntactic structure suggests that entire clauses make up the similative relation.

- (13) (Eug 12α12: Comm. to Ps. 103.12a; Grünenthal 1930: 15, Kolesov 1972: 58–70, Jagić 1917: 210, SJS III: 98) (= Bon, Pog, Jagić 1907: 494)
žitije očišťše kriloma. podobьno kъ
 life.ACC purify.PTCP.PST.NOM.PL wing.INS/DAT.DU alike for
 CPREE PM¹⁰
lětanьju. nebesьnoumou gotovi.
 flight.DAT heavenly.DAT ready.NOM.PL
 [STAND]
 ‘having purified the life by the wings, as if ready for the heavenly flight’¹¹
 Gk. hósoi tòn bíon ekkathárantes pterou̯ díkēn pròs ptēsín ouránion hétoimoi

¹⁰ On the status of *podobьno* as a free morpheme cf. § 2.1 and 2.11.

¹¹ The Gk. prototype text, however, makes clear that ‘life’ (CPREE) is being compared to the ‘wings’ (STAND), hence the structure should have been that of § 2.1.

In the following case the similitive relation is to be inferred on pragmatic grounds achieved by means of negation of a comparative of inferiority. The scalability of the parameter does not seem to imply it has to be necessarily understood as an equative. The pro-drop construction, usual in the Gospels, confines the expression of the comparee to the desinence of the predicate verb.

- (14) (Supr 94,28–29; Severjanov 1956[1904], PCCG 31: 521, SJS II: 255)

ni m'n'e sqtъ čismenemъ
 NEG little.CPD be.PRS.3PL number.INS
 PM [CPREE] PAR
 ‘not less [they] are in number’
 Gk. *oute elleípousi tōi arithmōi*

Purely similitive construction means grammaticalized to the extent of a morpheme (free or bound) do not seem to be productive in canonical OCS. Their later development is discussed in § 2.11.

2.9 Type 1-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

In ex. (15), the STAND is omitted in the actual similitive construction, but is mentioned in the previous sentence. In some parallel texts (Zogr), the STAND is introduced anaphorically by means of the pronoun *ti* (dat.) ‘you’. The CPREE being the 2SG is to be inferred from the possessive pronoun.

- (15) (Mar 72r16–18: Mark 14.70; Jagić 1960[1883]: 178, NTG: 131 f, SJS III: 97)

[galilēaninъ esi]. i besēda tvoě
 G.NOM be.PRS.2SG and talk.NOM 2SG.POSS.NOM
 [STAND] PAR [CPREE]
podobitъ se
 resemble/accord.PRS.3SG
 PM
 ‘[a Galilean [you] are] and your speech agrees [hereto]’
 Gk. *[[kai gār] Galilaĩos ei] kai hē lalía sou homoiázeti*

2.10 Types not included in the questionnaire

The following two subtypes may be viewed as special (largely pragmaticized) cases of a similitive relation in which a whole situation (equal to or comprising a CPREE) is compared to another (equal to or comprising the STAND) under certain circumstances,

whereby CPREE and STAND may refer to two hypostases of the same thing put in comparison.

In the first case, the parameter marker is the nominal sentence *podoba [jestʷ]* = ‘there is semblance’, i. e. ‘seemingly’. equivalent to Gk. *eikós [estin]*, Lat. *verisimile [est]*. Its usual meaning, however, is modal – ‘ought to’ employed with the dative subject + infinitive. The same syntactic arrangement underlies the similitive construction. The standard is co-marked with the dative case of the comparee.

- (16) (Supr 445,3–4; Severjanov 1956[1904], PCCG 58: 783–784, cf. note 91, SJS III: 96) exhaustive

[vʷ nošti to bystʷ] i podoba bě někotoryimʷ i
 and resemblance.NOM be.IPF.3SG some.DAT.PL and
 PM [CPREE]STAND

ousnōti
 fall.asleep.INF
 [PAR]

‘[at night that was.] and [it] looked like as if some also slept’

Gk. *kaì en nuktì taūta egīneto, kaì eikós tinas kaì apokatheudēsai /*

Lat. *ac noctu ista fiebant, verisimileque erat quasdam dormivisse*

In the second case, the parameter is marked by a prepositional phrase with the same lexeme as in (16). In the example below, the comparison is drawn between bearing grass (STAND) and giving seed (CPREE).

- (17) (EuchSin 12b4–7 (ex Gen. 1.11); Nahtigal 1942: 27, Frček 1933: 669, cf. LXX: 2, SJS III: 98)

da iznesetʷ zemľ trěvʷ sěņʷ sějʷštju
 CONJ bear.PRS.3SG earth.NOM green.ACC grass.ACC sow.PTCP.PRS.ACC
 [STAND]

sěmę na rodʷ. i na podobie
 seed.ACC PREP kind.ACC and PREP likeness.ACC
 CPREE PM (= PP)

‘the earth should bear green and grass, giving seed according to [its] kind and to [its] likeness’

Frček 1933: 668–669: Gk. *eksagagētō hē gē botánēn khórtōn, speírōn spérma katà génos kaì kath’ homoiótēta*

cf. LXX: *kaì eīpen [...] hē gē botánēn khórtou speíron spérma katà génos kaì kath’ homoiótēta*

In the following example, the STM is expressed by the possessive pronoun of the standard, congruent with the nouns rendering the parameter (PM here being a prepositional phrase):

- (18) (EuchSin 10b4 (ex Gen. 1.27); Nahtigal 1942: 23, Frček 1933: 663, cf. LXX: 3, SJS III: 100)

<i>stvorei</i>		<i>člověka</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>obrazou</i>	<i>tvoemou</i>
create.PTCP.PST.NOM		man.ACC.ANIM	PREP	likeness.DAT	2SG.POSS.DAT
		CPREE		PM ₁	STAND.STM
<i>i</i>	<i>po</i>	<i>podobestvju</i>			
and	PREP	similarity.DAT			
		PM ₂			

‘having created man in your likeness and similarity’

Gk. *poiēsas tòn ánthrōpon katà tēn eikóna kai homoíōsin [...]*

2.11 Formal means of expressing similitive relation

Common similitive constructions in OCS employ particles to mark the standard, most frequently the qualitative comparison to standard is conveyed by *jakože* (*i*)¹² < *jako* + *že* ‘as/like also’, *jako* ‘as/like’ and *aky* ‘id.’ alongside several phonetic variants such as *ěko*, *ako*, *jaky*, *oky*; sometimes colloquially extended with further clitics as in *jakožese*, *jakožeto* < *jako* + *že* + *se/to*, *jakose* < *jako* + *se* (Večerka 2002: 265). These all go back to the PIE pronominal compound **Hyo-kʷo* (cf. LIPP: 193). Quantitative comparison is realized by means of the relative particles *jeliko(že)*, *ježe* ‘in as much’, *jelb*, *jelbmi*, *jelbma*, *jelbkratb* ‘id.’ based on the PIE pronominal compound **Hyo-li*, or the interrogative particles *kolb*, *koliko* ‘how (much)’ (cf. LIPP: 452, 485, 490), whereas the degree of comparison is then rendered by the adverbs *velbmi* ‘much’ or *mnogo* ‘many’.

All of these render equative relations as well, as similitive and equative readings are distinguished mostly on the basis of context. However, *že* tends to confine the degree of parameter to the equative meaning and may occur in that function with any relative, demonstrative, personal, or other pronoun (see examples in the section on equatives).

Morphological expression of the similitive relation is often effected by the instrumental case (*instrumentalis comparationis*), as the instrumental is often used to form modal adverbs meaning ‘in the way of X’. However, it depends on the comparee whether the contextual meaning is similitive or equative, cf. (5) and (34). Similitive use appears more frequently in the sources of the “extended canon”.¹³

Similitive relations may also be rendered by lexical means, as e. g. by derivatives of the root (-)*po-dob-* ‘(be) similar’ with the dative object (parallel to the Greek

¹² OCS *jakože i* has a direct Greek prototype in *hōs kai, kathōs kai*, although it frequently corresponds to simple Greek *hōs*.

¹³ Cf. after Večerka 1993: 298, *ljudi izvede. vь dne oblakъmь světlъmь a vь nošti stъlръmь ognъnlъmь* (ViMeth 1; MMFH II: 137; Lavrov 1930: 68) ‘... in the daytime like a cloud of light, at night like a column of flame’.

prototype) or expressions like *po obrazou* (Slepč) + a congruent adjective or dative/genitive object, and a range of modal predicates such as *podobá jestь*, *podobáetь*, *obyčajь jestь*, *trěbě jestь*, *godě jestь*, *lěpo jestь*, etc. (Večerka 2002: 281 includes here *verba loquendi* introducing the standard). In OCS *podobьno* ‘similarly’ / ‘like’ (adv.), equivalent to Gk. *homoiōs*, *dikēn*, appears grammaticalized to such a degree that it could function as a free morpheme (Type 2), the standard being usually marked synthetically by case, mostly the dative, or rarely hypercharacterized with an adposition (retaining the dative case) as exemplified in § 2.2.2.

Whether the adverb / modal predicate *podobno/podobně* indeed functioned already in OCS as an entirely grammaticalized monomorphemic word (as it seems in the example (13)) is not entirely certain. However, missing congruence with plural objects makes this assumption likely. In some Slavic languages, as e. g. in East Slavic varieties, it develops into a separate adposition meaning ‘like’ over the following centuries.

Another morphological way to express similatives is the combination of the adposition *po-* with the dative case of the initially possessive/affiliational adjective¹⁴ (cf. § 2.7), meaning ‘in X-way’ = ‘X-like’, syntactically equivalent to constructions *po obrazou* / *po podobiju* shown in § 2.10. The “possessor” of the quality expressed by the adjective is the standard of comparison, STM is co-expressed by the adposition *po-* and the dative-case ending (*-emu/-omu*, *-u* or *-y/-i*), while the PM is either non-existent or rendered by a verb. The occurrence of this pattern in OCS is rather limited (especially compared to its high productivity in Mod.Russ.). Depending on the comparee, the same construction may convey equative semantics. (See sub § 3.4.)

Except for the aforementioned use of *instrumentalis comparationis*, composition, and constructions in which the standard and the parameter are expressed by the same word (see § 2.10), OCS does not employ bound morphemes with similative semantics.¹⁵ Therefore, the subtypes 1 and 5 are not attested.

¹⁴ Cf. Vaillant 1958, II, 2: 602 § 295, Ślawski 1974–1979, I: 95–97.

¹⁵ Alternatively, if grading constructions of the semantic type ‘almost / nearly X’, discussed separately in § 8, are analyzable as a subtype of the similative relation (though this is not the view adopted here), one may add the use of the bound morphemes *-ovat-* and *pri-* (see in detail below).

3 Equative

3.1 Type 2-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

3.1.1 Type 2-1-1: flag is case

- (19) (Supr 505,5–6; Severjanov 1956[1904], PCCG 59: 686, SJS IV: 973)
ty besъmrъti. aky jed'nosqštъnъ otъcou
 2SG.NOM PREP=death.GEN as equal-natured.NOM father.DAT
 CPREE PM.PAR STAND
 ‘you [are] immortal since you are of equal nature with the father’
 Gk. *sù athánatos hōs homooúsios tōi Patrì*

3.1.2 Type 2-1-2: flag is adposition

This type is also represented by a productive construction involving composition (cf. Type 2-1-1 above).

- (20) (Supr 67,16–17; Severjanov 1956[1904], Vasil'jev 1898: 16, SJS IV: 974)
podražatel'e chrъstovi [...] jed'nooumni sъ agg'ely
 imitator.NOM.PL of.Christ.NOM.PL equal-minded.NOM.PL with angel.INS.PL
 CPREE PM.PAR STM STAND
 ‘imitators of Christ [...] unanimous with the angels’
 Gk. *homóphrones tōn aggélōn, therápontes toũ theoũ*

3.2 Type 2-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

3.2.1 Type 2-2-1: flag is case

The following context does not allow a clear differentiation between the equative and the similitive meaning. The example is classified according to the primary semantics of the free morpheme *тъцьно*¹⁶ ‘in the way of X’, ‘like X’.

¹⁶ In diachronic perspective *тъцьно*, like *подобъно*, can be analysed morphologically, showing at least the adjectival suffix *-(b)n-*. OCS attests, however, their extensive semantic bleaching triggering congruence-free use and a functional match with certain free grammatical morphemes in contexts with grading semantics.

- (21) (Eug 19vβ11: Ode 4; Grünenthal 1930: 25, Kolesov 1972: 58–70, Jagić 1917: 311, SJS IV: 540) (≈ Bon, Pog, Jagić 1907: 721)

dymq bo točbno bogatbstvo išteznety
 smoke.DAT for equal¹⁷.ADV wealth.NOM vanish.PRS/FUT.3SG
 STAND.STM PM CPREE PAR
 ‘for wealth will vanish like smoke’
 Gk. *kapnoū gār dikēn ho ploūtos pheūgei*

3.2.2 Type 2-2-2: flag is adposition

- (22) (Bes 30,200r11,¹⁸ PCCL 76: 1223, SJS IV: 968)

jako tbye douchb jedinako včbny jestb sb
 as DEM.NOM spirit.NOM equal.ADV eternal.NOM be.PRS.3SG PREP
 CPREE PM PAR STM
synbm
 son.INS
 STAND
 ‘as this (very) spirit is eternal, equally to the son’
 Lat. *quia idem Spiritus coaeternus est Filio*

3.3 Type 2-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

3.3.1 Type 2-3-1: flag is case

- (23) (Cloz 9a5–6; Dostál 1959: 81, 228, SJS III: 545)

čbto semou ravbno možeši izglagolati
 what.ACC this.DAT equal.ACC can.PRS.2SG utter.INF
 CPREE STAND.STM PM
 ‘what can you say equal to that?’
 Dostál 1959: 228: Gk. *tí toútou íson ékheis eipeîn* / Lat. *Quid huic rei par dicere valeas?*

¹⁷ In later sources *točbno* could acquire the meaning ‘similarly’, turning the whole construction into a similitive.

¹⁸ Cited according to SJS.

3.3.2 Type 2-3-2: flag is adposition

- (24) (Supr 348,12; Severjanov 1956[1904], PCCG 59: 588, SJS III: 545)
 [... *jaže zmija iznouri vь porodě*] *sb*
 which.ACC.PL snake.NOM loot.AOR.3SG in Paradise.LOC PREP
STM
agg'ely ravъnojo žiznъ
 angel.INS.PL equal.ACC life.ACC
 STAND PM
 '[... which the serpent looted in Paradise,] the life equal to (that of) the angels'
 Gk. [*hà óphis esulagógēsen en soi en tōi paradeisōi*] *tèn isággelon zōēn*

3.4 Type 2-4: standard marker (STM) is flag: adposition + case, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed:

- (25) (ApOchr: 27v16–17: 1 Cor. 9.8; Kul'bakin 1907: 36, NTG: 440, SJS IV: 879, 883)
eda po člověčskou se glagolę
 Q PREP human.DAT this.ACC speak.PRS.1SG
 STM STAND.[STM]
 'do I speak this as a man'
 Gk. *mē katà ánthrōpon taūta lalō*

Compare to the plain substantive in the calque translation *po člověkou* (Christ, Mak, Slepč, Šiš).

3.5 Type 2-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

In ex. (26), the correlative construction *ěkъi ... takъi* renders the Latin *qualis – talis*. The equative semantics is reinforced in OCS by the clitic particle *že* following a demonstrative or relative pronoun or a conjunction (s. also chapter 2 Similitives). Since *že* disambiguates the relation as equative, it functions as part of the parameter marker,¹⁹ cf. § 3.6. The comparee and the standard here are clauses.

¹⁹ Its status as a bound morpheme is not unambiguous, especially in *scriptio continua*. Following the accepted rendering of the passage (Schaken 1987: 226, Hamm 1979: 52) we take it as a bound element.

- (26) (KiFo 5r2–5, Schaeken 1987: 226–227, cf. Hamm 1979: 52.53, SJS IV: 954)

da ěkbi že sqtъ tvoje si.
 CONJ of.what.sort.NOM.PL be.PRS.3PL 2SG.POSS.NOM.PL this.NOM.PL
 STM

sloužъbъi vžljublenniję. takъi že mъislъmi
 service.NOM.PL love.PTCP.PST.PASS.NOM.PL such.ACC.PL=PTCL thought.INS.PL
 STAND PM CPREE

svoimi nъi tvorimъ.
 REFL.POSS.INS.PL 1PL.NOM do.PRS.1PL

‘and in the same way as these your beloved services, such also we do in [our] own thoughts’

cf. ≈ Lat. *ut quia tui est operis, si quod tibi placitum est aut cogitemus aut agamus*²⁰

3.6 Type 2-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In the following example, the construction employs comparative morphology (FM *pače*).²¹ Due to the negative polarity context, however, the actual meaning is that of an equative, which is again co-marked by the clitic particle *že* in the compound conjunction *jakože*; cf. ex. (26) in § 3.5 without an additional parameter marker.

- (27) (Bes 38,296va5,
- ²²
- PCCL 76: 1288, SJS IV: 950)

ni pače jako že dostoitъ prileža[ti] viděni božii
 NEG much.CPD CONJ befit.PRS.3SG attain.INF sight.LOC of.God.LOC
 PM STM

‘not more than one befits to attain the sight of God’

Lat. *nec plus quam debet inhaerens contemplationi Dei*

²⁰ The closest version, but obviously not the immediate prototype, is considered to be the corresponding passage from the Latin *Codex Paduanum* 47.

²¹ Despite its original comparative morphology, *pače* (derived from the adv. *pakъ/y*) is employed as a fully grammaticalized item.

²² Cited after SJS.

3.7 Type 2-7: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

E is a verb here (two entities and two predicates):

- (28) (Zogr 12v10–12: Matt. 7.12; Jagić 1954[1879]: 7, NTG: 15–16)

<i>všě</i>	<i>oubo</i>	<i>eliko</i>	<i>choštete</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>tvoręť</i>	<i>vamъ</i>
all.ACC.PL	for	as	want.PRS.2PL	CONJ	do.PRS.3PL	2PL.DAT
		STM	STAND			
<i>člověci</i>	<i>tako</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>vy</i>	<i>tvorite</i>	<i>imъ</i>	
human.NOM.PL	so	also	2PL.NOM	do.IMP.2PL	he.DAT.PL	
	-PM			CPREE		

‘for everything as [you] want that people do to you, so (also) you shall do to them’

Gk. *pánta oũn hōsa ean thélēte hína poiōsin humĩn hoi ánthrōpoi, hoútōs kai humeĩs poiēite autoĩs*

3.8 Type 2-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

- (29) (ApOchr 26v1–2: 1 Cor. 3,17; Kul’bakin 1907: 34, NTG: 430, SJS IV: 984)

<i>crъky</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>božija</i>	<i>svęta</i>	<i>jestъ</i> ,	<i>eže</i>	<i>este</i>
church.NOM	for	of.God.NOM	holy.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	as	be.PRS.2PL
STAND			PAR		STM	
<i>vy</i>						
2PL.NOM						
CPREE						

‘for the church of God is holy, as well as you are’

cf. Gk. *ho gār naōs toũ theoũ hágiós estin, hoitinés este humeĩs*

3.9 Type 2-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

In constructions of the kind, the usual meaning of the prefix *sv-* is merely sociative, equivalent to the Lat. *co-* ‘together (with)’ and produces the so-called “reciprocal equative” (per Haspelmath 2017, 9–32).²³ In OCS it may occur, however, in the equative meaning as well, cf.:

²³ I would like to express my gratitude to Paolo Milizia for prompting this reference, as well as for numerous valuable comments on a draft of this contribution.

3.11 Type 2-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

In the following example E is a pronoun; the construction implicitly compares two entities relative to the same predicate, whereas the context does not permit identification of the standard.

- (33) (ViVenc 5.23; Vašica 1929: 92, 126, Dobrovský 1819: 60, SJS IV: 216)
těm' že sobljudeniemъ mudryi. [na milostъ vsekomu gotovъ]
 same.INS consideration.INS wise.NOM [for compassion for anyone ready]
 PM PAR
 'by the same consideration [he is] wise, [ready for compassion for anyone]'
 ≈ Lat. *in discernendo providus et misereri cuiquam promptus* (the Latin passage lacks the anaphoric comparison)

3.12 Types not included in the questionnaire

The equative relation can be marked by a noun in the instrumental case, semantically equivalent to NPs or PPs expressing manner of action. The example below seems to be an instance of “reciprocal equatives” (cf. § 3.9), the reciprocity being implied by means of the copulative syntactic alignment of the compared entities.

- (34) (Pochv 113rβ25; Šachmatov/Lavrov 1899: 164, SJS III: 545) hapax legomenon in the extended canon
[въ jedinomъ souštъstvě] ravъnъstvъmъ sijajušta otъce
 equality.INS shine.PTCP.PRS.GEN father.GEN
 PM.PAR CPREE
i sьna i svętaago doucha
 and son.GEN CONJ holy.GEN spirit.GEN
 [STAND, STAND]
 'in the same (whole) nature] of the equally shining father, the son and the holy spirit'

The standard may also be a bound morpheme as the first (qualifying) member of a compound, functioning as the standard marker. The parameter is the second compound member, its marker remaining unexpressed. See ex. (35):

- (35) (Stich²⁴; Buslaev 1855: 18, *Mat.* II: 189)
moužeoumъnyimъ sъmyslomъ bѣsovъskouju dъržavou
 man.intellect.ADJ.INS sense.INS devilish.ACC state.ACC
 STAND[+STM].PAR CPREE
razdroušbъšēja
 destroy.PTCP.PST

Sreznevskij (*Mat.* II: 189) explains multiple examples of RCS *moužeoumъnyi* as *ravnyj mužū po umu* ‘equal to man in intellect’.

3.13 Formal means of expressing equative relation

Equatives are often expressed by the same means as similative or comparative constructions (s. § 2.11.). The equative reading, therefore, has to be inferred from the context. Such ‘pragmatic’ equatives are not rare in IE languages.

One of the commonest ways to render an unequivocal equative relation is the combination of the clitic particle *že* (< PIE **-g^he* cf. LIPP: 284) with a wide range of pronouns: interrogative, demonstrative, relative, even personal, etc., depending on the morphological expression of the parameter (see also § 2.11). Such clitic sequences could develop versatile functions in the course of grammaticalization. Thus *ježe* ‘as’ proves to be exceedingly isofunctional in OCS, occurring as a particle, a conjunction, or an adverb, and could be employed in both equative and comparative sense depending on the pragmatic context.

OCS possesses abundant lexical means to express equative semantics. Most frequent are adverbs such as *ravъno/ ravъně, jedinako, or jedinače*; adjectives such as *ravъnъ/ъ, jedinakъ, tъčъnъ* in the meaning ‘equal(ly)’, ‘same’ / ‘in the same way’; and also verbs from the same roots.

The standard and the comparee of an equative or a similative relation could be expressed by separate sentences or participial units, introduced by such particles as *jako, jegda(že), oky* ‘as/like’. Compare the following example with a transgressive participle:

- (36) (Supr 567,13–15; Severjanov 1956[1904], SJS I: 240, Večerka 2002: 279)
въ koemъ mѣstѣ plъzaaše douchъ. oky
 in which.LOC place.LOC creep.IPF.3SG ghost.NOM like.CONJ
zmija vъgnѣždaje sę vъ n’emъ
 snake.NOM nest.PTCP.PRS.ACT.NOM REFL in it.LOC
 ‘in which place the ghost creeps like a snake nesting (itself) in it’
 (No source text is available.)

²⁴ Cited according to *Mat.* II: 189.

4 Comparative

4.1 Type 3-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

4.1.1 Type 3-1-1: flag is case

Typical is the employment of *genetivus comparationis* (instead of the pre-Slavic ablative):

- (37) (Mar 160r4-5; Joh. 13.16; Jagić 1960[1883]: 372, NTG: 274)
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>něstъ</i> | <i>rabъ</i> | <i>bolei</i> | <i>g[ospodin]a</i> | <i>svoego</i> |
| not=be.PRS.3SG | slave.NOM | great.NOM.CPD | master.GEN | his.own.GEN |
| | | PAR.PM | STAND.STM | |
- ‘the servant is not greater than his lord’
Gk. *ouk éstin doũlos meízōn toũ kuriou autoũ*

Ex. (38) is another case with a hypercharacterized PM (in both the Greek and the OCS construction):

- (38) (Supr 375,3–4; Severjanov 1956[1904], PCCG 58: 113, Večerka 1993: 112, § 41.1d)
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>pače</i> | <i>rodъstva</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>slovo</i> | <i>ljutěje</i> |
| than.PTCL/ADV.CPD | kinship.GEN | this.NOM | word.NOM | cruel.CPD.NOM |
| PM | STAND.STM | CPREE | | PAR.PM |
- ‘this word is worse than kinship [for *Gehenna*]²⁵
Gk. *mállon dè kai tēs geénnēs toũto tò rhēma khalepóteron*

As typical for transitional forms, *pače* functions depending on the context either as a mere PM (as in ex. 38 above and ex. 45) or as indicating the degree of the parameter (cf. ex. 42), since genetically it is itself a comparative. This ambiguity evinces grammaticalization, greater functionalization, and the loss of lexical meaning (i. e. semantic bleaching). However, the process does not seem to have concluded, as *pače* lives on in the written sources of the extended canon in both functions and retains the comparative semantics ‘more (than)’.

²⁵ The Slavic translator took the Gk. *geénna* ‘Gehenna / Hell’ for a related word to *sug-géneia* ‘kindred / kinship’.

4.1.2 Type 3-1-2: flag is adposition

Ex. (39) is an instance of a comparative of majority. In this type, the standard is referred to by a prepositional phrase rendering the scope or extension of measure; it often signals a superlative reading. The corresponding Greek text employs a simple positive degree (*mégas*).

- (39) (Sav 80b19–81a2: Mark 10.44a; Ščepkin 1959[1903]: 68, NTG: 116, Večerka 1993: 244, § 98.3) (= Zogr, Ass, Mar)

<i>īže</i>	<i>ašte</i>	<i>choštetъ</i>	<i>vęštii</i>	<i>byti</i>	<i>vъ</i>
REL.NOM	if	want.PRS.3SG	high.CPD.NOM	be.INF	PREP
CPREE			PM.PAR		STM

vasъ[da bōdetъ vamъ sluga]

2PL.LOC

STAND

‘if then [someone] wants to be higher among you [should be servant to you]’

Gk. *hōs àn thēlēi mégas genésthai en humīn [ésti humōn diákonos]*

4.2 Type 3-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

4.2.1 Type 3-2-1: flag is case

Ex. (40) is an example of a rhetorical question. The parameter has a split marking: a suppletive opaque comparative *lučii* ‘better’, which is functionally equivalent to a free functional word (though retaining in OCS adjectival congruence with the nominal CPREE), and a particle (based on the instrumental of the interrogative pronoun *kolb*):

- (40) (Zogr 26r8–9: Matt. 12.12; Jagić 1954[1879]:15, NTG: 29, Večerka 1993: 243, § 97.2) (= Mar)

<i>kolъmi</i>	<i>oubo</i>	<i>loučii</i>	<i>estъ</i>	<i>člověkъ</i>	<i>ovъčęte</i>
how.much.ADV	PTCL	better.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	human.NOM	sheep.GEN
PM-		PAR.PM		CPREE	STAND.STM

‘how much better though is a human than a sheep’

Gk. *pōsōi oūn diaphérei ánthrōpos probátou*

4.3 Type 3-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

4.3.1 Type 3-3-1: flag is case

- (41) (EuchSin 76a10: Ps. 37.5; Nahtigal 1942: 227, Frček 1939: 514 = LXX: 1943, SJS III: 411) (= PsSin, Pog, Bon, Lob)

<i>ěko</i>	<i>bezakoniě</i>	<i>moě</i>	<i>prěṽzidŏ</i>	<i>glavŏ</i>
as	unlawfulness.NOM.PL	1SG.POSS.NOM.PL	surpass.AOR.3PL	head.ACC
	CPREE		PM	STAND.STM

mojŏ

1SG.POSS.ACC

‘as my unlawful deeds surpassed my head’

Gk. *hōti hai anomiai mou huperēran tēn kephalēn mou*

Here, the PM is used metaphorically.

4.4 Type 3-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

This type does not exist in Slavic as it presupposes that the case government suffices to render comparative relations. However, the regular case marking of the standard of a comparative is the genitive (superseding the ablative), which carries the greatest functional load in the whole Slavic case system.

Unlike similatives or equatives marked by case (dative, instrumental, or rarely genitive), the parameter of the comparative and the superlative has always two possible readings, either that of inferiority or that of superiority to the standard. This difference cannot be expressed in Slavic (nor generally in other IE languages) by means of (case) grammar.

4.5 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

This is another case of a hypercharacterized parameter. The PM is expressed both by the preverb *prě-* of relative (or sometimes excessive) semantics (corresponding to the Gk. *huper-* and attached to the verb) and by the adverb in the comparative degree *pače* ‘more’. *pače ježe* ‘more than’ typically renders Gk. *par’ hō, hupēr hō*.

- (42) (Christ: Rom. 12.3; Kałužniacki 1896: 130, NTG: 416, SJS IV: 990) (= Šiš, Mak)
ne přemoudřeti se pače, ježe podobajetŝ
 NEG philosophize.INF REFL more.CPD than suit.PRS.3SG
 CPREE PM STM STAND
moudrŝstvovati
 philosophize.INF
 [PAR]
 ‘do not “over”-philosophize more than [it is] appropriate to philosophize’
 Gk. *mē hyperphroneîn par’ hō deî phroneîn*

4.6 Type 3-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The expression of the standard and the parameter with analytic means allows the sentence both in Gk. and in OCS to preserve the verbal governing (in the example below, ACC of the standard and the comparee). The following is an example of adverbial comparison:

- (43) (Mar 138r5–6: John 3.19; Jagić 1960[1883]: 323, NTG: 237, Večerka 1993: 243, § 98.2) (= Ass)
vŝljubiŝe ĉlověci pače tŝmŝ, neže svěť
 love.AOR.3PL human.NOM.PL ADV/PTCL.CPD darkness.ACC than light.ACC
 CPREE-/STAND- PM -CPREE STM -STAND
 ‘humans liked darkness more than light’
 Gk. *ēgápēsan hoi ánthrōpoi mállon tò skótos è tò phōŝ*

4.7 Type 3-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

- (44) (Bes 18,89va7²⁶, PCCL 76 : 1153, SJS IV: 106)
[boga bo nasľdoujuŝtimŝ] slavňěje jestŝ porouganija
 glorious.CPD be.PRS.3SG derision.GEN
 PAR.PM
mŝľčaŝte běžati
 keep.silent.PTCP.PRS.NOM.PL flee.INF
 CPREE

²⁶ Cited according to SJS.

‘as for those inheriting God, [it] is more glorious to escape the derision in silence’

Lat. *imitatione etenim Dei, gloriosius est injuriam tacendo fugere*

4.8 Type 3-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

As a free morpheme the OCS parameter marker *pače* has a broad semantics, the exact interpretation depending totally on a given context. It also seems to occur in structures with so-called “replacive” semantics (‘rather X than Y’,²⁷ illustrated by the two examples below). This functional underspecification probably results from the transitional status of *pače* between a suffixal comparative with the parameter expressed by its root semantics ‘again’, and a fully functionalized PM particle ‘more/rather’ used with other parameters (cf. ex. 50).

- (45) (Zogr 125r16–18; Mark 15.11; Jagić 1954[1879]: 76, NTG: 132)
- | | | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>archierei</i> | <i>že</i> | <i>pomanōšę</i> | <i>narodou</i> | <i>da</i> | <i>pače</i> |
| archpriest.NOM | PTCL ²⁸ | remind.AOR.3PL | folk.DAT | that.CONJ | better/rather |
| | | | | | [PAR].PM |

<i>varaavq</i>	<i>otъpoustitъ</i>	<i>imъ</i>
V.ACC	release.PRS/FUT.3SG	they.DAT
	CPREE=	CLAUSE

‘But the archpriests reminded the people that [he should] rather release Barabbas to them’

Gk. *hoi dē arkhierēis anéseisan tōn ókhlon hína mállon tōn Barabbān apolúsēi autoīs*

- (46) (Ben: 173v; Sobolevskij 1903: 124,17; SJS III: 23; PCCL 66: 130)
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|
| <i>roman</i> | <i>že</i> [...] | <i>pače</i> | <i>podavaše</i> | <i>jemou</i> | <i>potřebnaja</i> |
| R.NOM | PTCL ²⁹ | more | give.IPF.3SG | he.DAT | the.needed.ACC.PL |
| | | PM | CPREE= | CLAUSE | |
- ‘but Roman [even] more [industriously *vel sim.*]³⁰ served him the needed [things]’
 ≈ Lat.³¹ *Romanus tamen modis congruentibus ministrare non desit.*

²⁷ I thank P. Milizia for drawing my attention to this issue; cf. also ex. (43).

²⁸ The particle is used here in adversative function.

²⁹ Again, the particle is used in adversative function.

³⁰ The semantics must be inferred from context.

³¹ The exact Lat. source of the Slavic translation is unknown. Compare the passage from the unbridged version of the vita of St. Benedict, excerpted from the dialogues with St. Gregory the Great (source: <http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu>).

4.9 Type 3-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

The following example is again a rhetorical question. As above, the adverb *kol'mi*, a lexicalized instrumental, is used. Unlike in the preceding examples for Type 10, *pače* functions here not as a free morpheme with an implied parameter in a “replacive” construction, but rather as an independent adverb in comparative degree (of the positive *paky* ‘again’), further characterized by *kol'mi*:

- (47) (Zogr 12v7–9; Matt. 7.11; Jagić 1954[1879]: 7, NTG: 15) (= Ass)
- | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| <i>kol'mi</i> | <i>pače</i> | <i>otcъ</i> | <i>vašb</i> |
| how.much.ADV | more.ADV/PTCL.CPD | father.NOM | 2PL.POSS.NOM |
| | PM | CPREE | |
| <i>dastъ</i> | <i>blagaě</i> | <i>prošęštimъ ...</i> | |
| give.FUT.3SG | good.ACC.PL | ask.PTCP.PRS.DAT.PL | |
| PAR | | | |
- ‘how much more your father [...] will give the good to those asking...’
Gk. *pósōi mállon ho patēr humōn [...] dōsei agathà toīs aitoūsīn autón*

4.10 Types not included in the questionnaire

The parameter may be multiply marked, without necessarily being hypercharacterized. OCS generally demands a particular case-form of the noun denoting the parameter (frequently the instrumental), even if the parameter marker is a free or a bound morpheme or is rendered lexically by an adjective. Note the example below, a comparative of inferiority where STAND and STM are not expressed:

- (48) (ViVenc 15,1; Vašica 1929: 105, cf. Dobrovský 1819: 58, SJS II: 254)
- | | | | | |
|-------------|------------|------------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>brat</i> | <i>ego</i> | <i>Boleslavъ</i> | <i>věkom</i> | <i>m'nii</i> |
| brother.NOM | he.GEN | B.NOM | age.INS | small.CPD.NOM |
| CPREE | | | PAR.PM- | -PM |
- ‘his brother Boleslav of minor age’
Lat. *frater ejus aetate minor ...*

OCS also attests a peculiar type of the comparative in which the standard is marked by the combination *нъ* (CONJ) + *тъčijъ* (ADV) (in several parallel texts without the conjunction) rendering the Lat. *non plus... quam*. The PM is a bound morpheme:

(49) (Bes 16 = Uvar 50bβ2; PCCL 76: 1137, SJS IV: 539)

<i>ne</i>	<i>vešte</i>	<i>postъnych[ъ]</i>	<i>нъ</i>	<i>тъчьju</i>	.36.	<i>d[ъ]nъ</i>
NEG	much.CPD	lent.GEN.PL	CONJ	only		day.GEN.PL
	PAR.PM	[STAND]	STM			STAND

ostajetъ

remain.PRS.3SG

‘it remains no more than 36 lent days’

Lat. *non plus in abstinentia quam triginta et sex dies remanent*

A special case of Type 6 occurs in a complex construction involving two entities and two predicates. Here the STM is a particle mirroring the underlying Greek phrase, co-marked with the genitive case, and the PM is a free morpheme:

(50) (PsSin 47a10–12; Ps. 36.16; Severjanov 1954[1922], LXX: 1941, Večerka 1993: 65, § 19,2)

<i>luče</i>	<i>maloe</i>	<i>pravedъnikou,</i>	<i>pače</i>	<i>bogatstva</i>	<i>grěšъnyichъ</i>
good.CPD	little.NOM	virtuous.DAT	PTCL	wealth.GEN	sinful.GEN.PL
PAR.PM	CPREE ₁	CPREE ₂	STM	STAND ₁	STAND ₂

mъnoga

much.GEN

STAND₁

‘better is the little of the virtuous than the great wealth of the sinful’

Gk. *kreïsson olïgon tōi dikaiōi hupēr ploūton hamartōlōn polūn*

Rather atypical instances of morphological gradation reportedly happen to occur in parts of speech other than the adjective, which are not gradable in the usual sense. Thus, Vaillant (1958: 572) discussed several cases (with no exact citations given) which he considered to be gradation in nouns and pronouns, akin to the derivation of comparatives from nouns in Greek or Baltic. On closer inspection it seems rather improbable that the attested morphological comparatives were built to nouns, as there always exist root-identical possessive or relational adjectives that are more likely to have served as the derivational bases in concordance with the rest of the system. Whereas only pronouns with adjectival morphology of the positive could also occasionally develop a comparative. A brief account of Vaillant’s examples is given below.

Cheroviměj ‘more in the cherubim-manner’ could presuppose the existence of the positive degree adjective *cherovimъ(i)* (not necessarily a noun). The recategorization might have been favored by the base-final *-imъ* and the semantic association with particular qualities (although a regular *sk-*suffixed relational adjective *cherovimъskъ* ‘of the cherubims’ exists). The form is a *hapax* and renders the frequent construction of enhancing the quality by means of repetition of the Greek prototype.

- (51) (Supr 458,4–5; Severjanov 1956[1904], PCCG 43: 449, note (12), SJS IV: 768, Vaillant 1958:572)

byste bo přězde cherovimъ cheroviměiša
 be.AOR.3DU for prior.ADV cherubim.GEN.PL cherubim.like.CPD.ACC.ANIM
boga vъ sebě nosěšta
 God.ACC.ANIM PREP REFL.LOC carry.PTCP.PRS.NOM.DU
 ‘[they] were prior to the cherubims, carrying in themselves the more cheru-
 bim-like God’
 Gk. [...] *gegónasi gàr prò tōn kheroubīm kheroubīm theòn en heautoīs hupsósantes*
kài phérontes

According to Vaillant (1958: 572), RCS *skotěi* ‘more bestial’ represents a comparative to the noun *skotъ* m. ‘cattle, beasts’ and *zvěrěi* ‘id.’ to the noun *zvěrъ* m. ‘id.’. However, there is a regular adjective *skotii* in canonical OCS and *zvěrii* in RCS (14th c.), both attested in the positive degree as well (SJS IV: 92, Vaillant 1958: 434, *Mat.* III: 385 and I: 965).

- (52) (ZlČě 46v7–11³²; Buslaev 1861: 486, *Mat.* I: 965, III: 385, SDRJa III: 366)

skotinu li i narku, no to[go]
 cattle.ACC if it.ACC name.PRS/FUT.1SG but this.GEN
skotěe, zvěre li prorku, no
 animal-like.CPD.NOM beast.ACC.COLL/PL if call.PRS/FUT.1SG but
togo zvě[rě]e i nerazumněe
 this.GEN beastly.CPD.NOM and unreasonable.CPD.NOM
 ‘if I name it an animal/cattle, but it [is even] more animal-like, if I call it a beast,
 but [it is even] more beastly and unreasonable’

The gradable pronouns *takъ/a/o* ‘so’ and *svoj/a/e* ‘own’ are morphologically speaking pronominal adjectives. OCS *tačaj* ‘worse’ to *takъ* ‘so’ (SJS IV: 432, Zogr, Mar, Ass) acquires pejorative semantics in comparative degree (cf. Mod. English or Mod. German *so*), whereas the positive degree adjective *takъ* could be used with neutral or meliorative semantics ‘so much’, ‘so exceptional’ (attestations and translation prototypes in SJS IV: 427). RCS *svojai* ‘more appropriate/ more own’ to the (formerly) pronominal adj. *svoj* ‘own’ (*Mat.* III: 283, 287) corresponds to the Gk. *oikeiōteros* ‘id.’

32 <http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=011&pagefile=011-0053>

- (53) (Mar 86v5–7; John 2.10; Jagić 1960[1883]: 320, NTG: 234, SJS IV: 432) (= Ass, Zogr)
вѣсѣкъ чловѣкъ прѣжде dobroe vino polagaatъ.
 any.NOM man.NOM first.ADV good.ACC wine.ACC set.down.PRS.3SG
i egda oupijotъ sę togda tačĕe
 and when get.drunk.PRS/FUT.3PL REFL then worse.CPD.ACC
 ‘any man serves good wine first, and when [all] are drunk the worse one’
 Gk. *pās ánthrōpos prōton tòn kalòn oĩnon títhēsín, kai hótan methusthōsin tòn elássō*
- (54) (GrNaz 27582–4; Budilovič 1875: 207, PCCG 35: 697, cf. note 15, *Mat.* III: 283)
paky. žalostъnyę i tĕchъ svojaišę
 very.ADV lamenting.ACC.PL and that.GEN.PL close.CPD.ACC.PL
glasy.
 voice.ACC.PL
 ‘lamenting heavily and closer [i. e. more familiar] than those voices’
 Gk. *éti tàs goeràs kai toútōn oikeiotéras phōnás*

Hence, the only example with an unattested positive degree adjective is the *hapax* comparative *cheroviměiša* (ACC.ANIM) ‘in a more cherubim-like manner’, whose hypothetical positive could have had a form regularly homonymous with the substantive (as shown above). It is doubtful whether this truly constitutes a Slavic trace of desubstantival comparison as documented in Greek, Baltic, and Indo-Iranian).

4.11 Formal means of expressing comparative relation

The usual means of expressing comparison that we encounter in early OCS are stems formed with the suffix *-jbš-* (continuing the zero grade of the PIE **-ye/os-* and inflecting in the extended form³³ increasingly according to the “soft” pattern, like active participles and gerunds). This suffix was either attached to the pure stem or more commonly to the stem extended with *-ě-* < **-ē-* < **(e)h_{1/2}-*.³⁴ From the synchronic PSl. perspective, the zero-grade and the *ē*-grade suffixes stood in complementary distribution. Zero-grade suffixes were employed with the following groups of adjectives: (a) the suppletive comparative stems, i. e. those employing a different stem in the positive degree

³³ This is the type of adjectival inflection in Slavic historically based on the incorporation of an enclitic pronoun.

³⁴ Presumably a PIE stative suffix (cf. Jasanoff 2002/2003, Vernet 2012, Ackermann forthc.) frequently found with roots generally taking ‘Caland suffixes’. The operation of the Caland suffixal derivation has been extensively investigated by Nussbaum 1976, 1998, 1999, Rau 2009, 2013 and others. Research history and major achievements are summarized in Dell’Oro 2015.

(a feature shared by several IE languages), such as OCS *bolii* (m), *bolje* (n), *boljši* (f),³⁵ *veštii* ‘greater’, *mǫnii* ‘smaller’, *loučii*, *ounii* ‘better’, *račii* ‘more preferable’³⁶; (b) PIE adjectival *u*-stems which extend their positive degree in Slavic with *-k-*, yielding the OCS suffix *-ъk-/-ok-*, in which the ancient Caland alternation with the comparative **-ye/os-* is still visible, as e.g. in *težb-kъ* ‘heavy’ vs. *tež-bi*, *sladъ-kъ* ‘sweet’ vs. nom. sg.n. *slažd-e*, nom.pl.n. *slažd-ъša*, etc.;³⁷ (c) several isolated cases, which should have been perceived as deradical formations in PSl. and deserve a separate study each. Here belong e.g. *lichъ* ‘excessive’ vs. nom./acc.n.sg. *liše*, gen.sg. *lišbša*, *ljutъ* ‘furious, severe’ vs. older (Zogr, Mar) gen.pl. *ljušt-ъšъ* and younger (Supr) *ljut-ěi* (the second group), *grъbъ* ‘untended, i. e. unlettered, rough, etc.’ vs. *grъbljъi*, *dragъ* ‘dear’ vs. *dražij*, and some others.

Most of the OCS adjectives, however, form the comparative stem with *-ě-jbš-*. The bulk of the inherited adjectives in this group go back to PIE Caland-derivatives with the suffixes *-ro-*, *-wo-*, *-lo-*, *-o-*, etc., e.g., OCS *starъ* ‘old’ vs. *starěi*, *prъvъ* ‘first’ vs. *prъvěi*, *junъ* ‘young’ vs. *juněi*, *dlъgъ* ‘long’ vs. *dlъžaje*, *ostrъ* ‘sharp’ vs. *ostrěje*, etc.

Peculiarities of the inflection of comparative degree adjectives are sufficiently discussed by Diels 1963: 198–202, Leskien 1919: 124–128, Leskien 1922: 89–92, van Wijk 1931: 194–195, Vaillant 1958: 561–590. A recent survey of the research into PSl. **ě-jbš-* is offered by Szeptyński 2017 and 2018.

OCS can combine morphological and syntactic means to express the comparative relation. If the standard of comparison is a noun or an adjective and is introduced by a particle (STM) *pače* (later *neže*, see below), the latter almost always governs the case of the standard, usually the genitive, which co-marks the standard. Seldom do we find other cases used this way (cf. Večerka 1993: 298), such as the instrumental (cf. ex. (5), semantically nearing the expression of manner of action and fitting better the similitive or the equative type) or the accusative (cf. ex. 43, with verbally governed accusative). If verbs or clauses are being compared, additional marking by case is impossible. Very rarely the expression of comparison is marked by the particle alone (Type 3.10), i. e. neither co-marked morphologically by the comparative suffix nor syntactically by case (cf. Večerka 2002: 284).

The only morpheme used in a variety of OCS contexts as a particle marking the standard in comparative constructions (and superlatives of the type CPD + ‘of all’) is *pače*. Much later sources from the 16th c. (West Slavic) and 18th c. (East Slavic) onward also attest sporadic employment of (*pače*) *neže(li)*, *neže ubo* ‘than’ (e.g. ViVenc,

³⁵ *oš-* vanishes in particular case-forms due to the auslaut laws in heavy consonantal clusters.

³⁶ According to Diels 1963: 200, this type of comparative formation also underlies such OCS adverbialized forms as *drevl'e* ‘once’, *prěžde* ‘before’, *poslěžde* ‘afterwards’, *pače* ‘more’, *jedinače* ‘even more’. The only exception is the obviously suppletive comparative *soul-ěi(š)* ‘better’.

³⁷ The suffix *-ъk-* may be retained in the comparative if lexicalized with a special meaning; cf. *gorii* ‘worse’ (with no corresponding positive in synchronic terms) vs. *gorъčěe* ‘more bitter’ to the positive *gorъkъ* ‘bitter’.

Vostokov redaction per Serebrjanskij 1929: 16 or Sys per Cantemir 1722: 187, 204, 222, etc).³⁸ *neže* has been retained in comparatives in West Slavic, e. g., in Czech and Slovak as *než*, but it was largely superseded in East Slavic by the new particle Russ. *čem* ‘than’ (originally the instrumental case of the interrogative/relative pronoun). Slovene generalized the relative pronoun *kot* ‘id.’ instead. A preposition takes over in South Slavic (Bulg. *ot* / BSC *od* ‘of’) and surprisingly also in Belar. and Ukr. *za* + GEN. ‘id.’, where it functions as an alternative to the relative *čym/čim*.

In OCS the standard and the comparee could also be expressed by independent clauses, employing the same means as smaller syntactic units, e. g. *neže iže* or *neže da* ‘than’:³⁹

- (55) (Christ: 1 Cor. 9.15; Kalužniacki 1896: 149, NTG: 440, Večerka 2002: 278)
(= Slepč, Šiš)

dobro mi pače umereti. ili pochvalu moju
good.ADV 1SG.DAT rather/better die.INF CONJ glory.ACC my.FEM.ACC
da kto ispraznitъ
that.CONJ someone destroy.PRS/FUT.3SG
‘It were better for me to die, than that someone should make my glory void’
Gk. *kalòn gár moi mállon apothaneîn è – tò kaúkhemá mou oudeis kenôsei*

Moreover, we encounter the preposition *otъ* ‘of, from’ (Gk. *pará*) as STM but contextually equivalent to ‘than’, as in ex. (56):

- (56) (PsSin 7b4–5; Ps. 8.6; Severjanov 1954[1922], LXX: 1907, SJS II: 589)
(= Pog, Lob, Bon, Par)

oumъnilъ i esi malomъ čimъ otъ
lower.PTCP.PST.NOM(PFTV) 3SG.ACC be.PRS.2SG little.INS what.INS of
anġelъ
angel.GEN.PL
‘[you] lowered him a little [lower] than the angels [are]’
Gk. *ēlátōsas autòn brakhú ti par’ aggélous*

³⁸ The oldest OCS canonic sources seem to attest the input context for the development of unequal grading constructions with *neže*: the adversative constructions *нъ... же...а* (*i*). Note the examples in Večerka 1993: 44–45.

³⁹ Abundant examples are given by Večerka 2002: 278–279.

5 Superlative

5.1 Type 4-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

5.1.1 Type 4-1-1: flag is case

- (57) (Zogr 114v2–3; Mark 12.30; Jagić 1954[1879]: 69, NTG: 122f, Večerka 1993: 244, § 98.3) (= Ass)

<i>si</i>	<i>prvnějši</i>	<i>všechъ</i>	<i>zapovědii</i>
this.NOM	first.CPD.NOM	all.GEN.PL	commandment.GEN.PL
CPREE	PAR.PM	STAND.STM	

‘this [is] the first [of] all commandments’
Gk. *haútē prôtē entolē*

5.1.2 Type 4-1-2: flag is adposition

The standard is expressed by a noun phrase, STM is a preposition. As is typical for superlatives, the STAND renders the scope of reference.

- (58) (Ass 47c8–9; Matt. 23.11; Kurz/Vajs 1955: 94, NTG: 62, Večerka 1993: 244, § 98.3)

<i>bolii</i>	<i>vъ</i>	<i>vasъ</i>
big.CPD.NOM	in	2PL.LOC (more frequent than <i>otъ</i> + Gen)
PAR.PM	STM	STAND

‘the greater among you’
Gk. *ho dè meízōn humōn*

5.2 Type 4-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

5.2.1 Type 4-3-1: flag is case

The regular pattern of this type is based on the comparative degree of the adjective or adverb (often hypercharacterized when synthetic and analytic means are combined) rendering the parameter (comparative Type 3.3.1), with the standard expressed by the pronoun *vъsv* ‘all’. Although such a superlative pattern is easily derivable from the corresponding comparative, it appears to lack even the extended corpus.

The pattern attested in ex. (59) resembles the double parameter constructions of the Old Testament (cf. also ex. 60):

- (59) (ViMeth 2, Lavrov 1930: 70, 17; SJS III: 545)
 ověchъ že maly mьnii
 that.GEN.PL PTCL minor.NOM minor.CPD.NOM
 STAND.STM PAR PM
 ‘[to] those [he was] smaller [as the] small’

5.3 Type 4-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

5.3.1 Type 4-4-1: flag is case

Morphologically the comparee is an adjective in the positive degree; superlative reading is achieved by syntactic means. The example is a case of *figura etymologica*, mirroring word-to-word the Greek separative prototype of the so-called gradational genitive, or *genitivus hebraicus*, since it had been calqued from Hebrew.

- (60) (Cloz 7a22; Dostál 1959: 205–206, Večerka 1993: 65 § 19.2, 1989: 136–137 § 64.3)
 svętaa svętychъ porъrana sętb
 saint.NOM.PL saint.GEN.PL demolish.PTCP.PRT.PASS.NOM.PL be.PRS.3PL
 PAR STAND.STM
 ‘the holy of holies are demolished’
 Gk. *tà hágia tōn hagíōn pepátētai* / *sancta sanctorum*
 (cf. Hebr. *Qōḏeš HaQōḏāšim*)

5.3.2 Type 4-4-2: flag is adposition

The parameter has no special morphological make-up but receives the superlative reading through syntax as the standard is expressed by a prepositional phrase with *vbь* ‘everyone’, rendering the SCOPE of measure.

- (61) (Venc (Nov)⁴⁰): Job 1.3; LXX: 2195, Vajš 1929, SJS II: 200)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|----------|------------------------------|
| <i>běše</i> | <i>že</i> | <i>moužb</i> | <i>ta(sic!)</i> | <i>veli</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>čbstanb</i> ⁴¹ |
| be.IPF.3SG | thus | man.NOM | that.NOM | great.NOM | and | honorable.NOM |
| | | CPREE | | PAR ₁ | | PAR ₂ |
| <i>me[žd]ju</i> | <i>vsěmi</i> | <i>otb</i> | <i>vstoka</i> | <i>sl'nca</i> | | |
| among | all.INS.PL | from | rise.GEN | sun.GEN | | |
| STM | STAND | | | | | |
- ‘and the man was the great[est] and [most] honorable among all [men] of the East’
- Gk. *kai ēn ho ánthrōpos ekeĩnos eugenēs tōn aph’ hēliou anatolōn*
cf. Vulgate: *eratque uir ille magnus inter omnes Orientales*⁴²

In ex. (62), the syntax is that of the simulative Type 1.4.2. The negative polarity context imposes the superlative reading (per Sreznevskij, *Mat* II: 984). The semantics of the preposition is that of ‘according to’, cf. § 2.7.

- (62) (ViPrEl,⁴³ SRJa.1–17 XV: 115, *Mat.* II: 984)
- | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>něstb</i> | <i>bolězni</i> | <i>po</i> | <i>bolězni</i> | <i>moei</i> , |
| NEG=be.PRS.3SG | disease.GEN | PREP | disease.DAT | 1SG.POSS.DAT |
| | CPREE ₁ | STM | STAND ₁ | |
| <i>li</i> | <i>napasti</i> | <i>po</i> | <i>napasti</i> | <i>moei</i> |
| CONJ/PTCL | plight.GEN | PREP | plight.DAT | 1SG.POSS.DAT |
| | CPREE ₂ | STM | STAND ₂ | |
- ‘there is no disease like mine nor plight like mine’

5.4 Type 4-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The co-marking of the standard with the particle is more recent in superlative constructions, whereas the regular expression is CASE or less frequently ADP + CASE (Type 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3). The superlative meaning is reinforced lexically by comparison to the standard *vsb* ‘all’.

⁴⁰ Cited according to SJS II: 200, I: LXIX.

⁴¹ One-*jer* orthography of the original.

⁴² <https://www.biblestudytools.com/vul/>

⁴³ Cited after *Mat.*

- (63) (Zogr 183v2–4: Luke 13.2; Jagić 1954[1879]: 111, NTG: 190)

mъnite li ěko galilěane sii grěšbněiše
 think.PRS.2PL PTCL/CONJ that G.NOM.PL this.NOM.PL sinful.CPD.NOM.PL
 CPREE PAR.PM

pače v̋sěchъ galilěanъ byšę ...
 than all.GEN.PL G.GEN.PL be.AOR.3PL
 STM STAND [STM]

‘[do you] think, that these Galileans were more sinful, than all [other] Galileans ...’

Gk. *dokēite hōti hoi Galilaioi hoūtoi hamartōloi parà pántas toūs Galilaious egénonto ...*

5.5 Type 4-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In ex. (64), the parameter is expressed by a noun. The analytic pattern with *izlicha* mirrors exactly the underlying Gk. construction with *eis hyperbolēn*.

- (64) (Supr 7,16–18; Severjanov 1956[1904], Trautmann/Klostermann 1934: 13)

blōdъnikъ sy izlicha pače v̋sěchъ
 fornicator.NOM be.PTCP.PRS.NOM exceedingly than all.GEN.PL
 PAR PM STM STAND[STM]

člověkъ živoštiichъ
 human.GEN.PL living.PTCP.PRS.GEN.PL

‘being a fornicator more than [= worse than] all the people living’

Gk. *ásōtos dē hupárkhōn eis hyperbolēn upēr pántas anthrōpous toūs katà tòn bíon óntas*

5.6 Type 4-7: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

In the type represented by ex. (65), the superlative meaning is derived from the negative polarity context comprising two separate syntactic units. The polyfunctional clitic particle *že* has adversative reading (cf. Gk. *dé*) and contributes to the semantic contrast between STAND and CPREE.

- (65) (Ass 64b16–18: Luke 18.19; Kurz/Vajs 1955: 127, NTG: 205, Večerka 1993: 114. § 41.5) (= Zogr, Mar*, Sav)

<i>nikto</i>	<i>že</i>	[e]*	<i>blagb.</i>	<i>tbkьmo</i>	<i>edinb</i>	<i>bogb</i>
no.one.NOM=PTCL			good.NOM	only/apart	the.only.NOM	God.NOM
STAND	STM		PAR	PM-	-PM	CPREE

‘no one [is] [as] good. only/as the only God’
Gk. *oudeis agathōs ei mē heīs [ho] theōs*

5.7 Type 4-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

In ex. (66), the number of entities is not defined. A superlative reading is conceivable on the pragmatic level:

- (66) (Zogr^b 53v25–54r1: Matt.22,36; Jagić 1954[1879]: 32, NTG: 61, Večerka 1993: 114 § 41.5; SJS I: 135) (= Mar, Ass, Sav)

<i>kaě</i>	<i>zapovědb</i>	<i>estb</i>	<i>bolbši</i>	<i>vb</i>	<i>zakoně</i>
which.NOM	commandment.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	big.CPD.NOM	in	law.LOC
	CPREE		PAR.PM	[PAR]	

‘which commandment is greater in law (= in lawfulness)’
Gk. *poía entolē megālē en tōi nómōi*

5.8 Type 4-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

This is an example of a syntactically graded noun:

- (67) (Supr 97,6–7; Severjanov 1956[1904], PCCG 31: 524, SJS IV: 17)

<i>mōžī</i>	<i>vb</i>	<i>samob</i>	<i>cvěťě</i>	<i>junosti</i>
man.NOM.PL	in	the.very.LOC	bloom.LOC	youth.GEN
[CPREE]		PM	PAR	

‘men in the very bloom of [their] youth’
Gk. *ándres en autōi tōi ánthei tēs neótētos*

The adjective *samob* is polyfunctional and may serve as the basis of several grading constructions, e. g. equatives. The exact semantics can be inferred from the context alone. In several modern Slavic languages, *samob* + positive of an adjective (or + comparative, if suppletion takes place and the inflected adjectival form is possible, developed into the most productive means of expressing superlative.

5.9 Types not included in the questionnaire

Ex. (68) is an unusual construction surfacing as a Type 4-1-1. superlative. However, here a relational (generally non-gradable) adjective is graded, as it acquires a qualifying reading in metaphorical use:

- (68) (Cloz 1b26–27, Dostál 1959: 52, Večerka 1993: 199, § 73.1 with more examples; cf. Supr 83v15–19). Cf. the direct meaning in Supr 83v15–19.

i se ěko v̄sěkogo plamene plamen'něe
 and this.NOM PTCL any.GEN flame.GEN flaming.CPD.NOM
 CPREE STM- [STM] STAND.STM PAR.PM
 'and as this [is] more flaming than any flame'

5.10 Formal means of expressing superlative relation

The superlative could be expressed formally by the bound morpheme *naji-* 'on (top)' < **nō + ?i(h)* (cf. Meillet/Vaillant 1934: 378, Diels 1963: 201, LIPP: 53, note 21) attached to the comparative (colloquially also to the positive degree) of the adjective proper. Notably, this employment is not found in canonical OCS. The prefix could also be attached to a number of adverbs meaning 'more'. In its oldest attestations, *nai-* is used in elatives rather than superlatives. It renders the Gk. *epi pleion* 'even more' and the like:

- (69) (Cloz. 8a37; Dostál 1959: 218–220, SJS IV: 90)

v̄ ty naiskorēe v̄chodit̄ d̄b̄vol̄b
 in this.ACC.PL most.fast.CPD come.in.PRS.3SG devil.NOM
 'in=to them comes the devil fastest' = 'very fast'
 Gk. *toútois málista epip̄ēd̄ai [kai epibaínei] sunekhōs ho diábolos*

The most frequent adverbs rendering the superlative of superiority are *nai-pače* (Gk. *málista*), *nai-vešte* (Gk. *hoi pleious*) in Supr and later *nai-bolie* translating in Bes the Latin *praecipue*. The superlative of inferiority does not occur with *nai-* in canonical CS, although it becomes quite productive in local idioms later on, cf. *nai-meněe*, *nai-meněši* in RCS from the 16th c. onward (SCSR II: 370, SRJa.11–17 X: 103). Superlative adverbs without a following adjective could also be used with nouns, verbs or entire clauses, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (70) (Bes 29,195α; SJS II: 292) = *magnopere*

togo nam̄ jest̄ naibole porazoum̄eti
 this.GEN 1PL.DAT be.PRS.3SG most.much.CPD understand.INF
 'of that we should understand most'

- (71) (Supr 274,26–27; Severjanov 1956[1904], SJS II 292) = Gk. *pleišta*
naivešte že přědъ sьnъmъ molitvy tvorjaše
 most.much.ADV PTCL PREP sleep.INS prayer.ACC.PL DO.IPF.3SG
 ‘did prayers mostly before going to sleep’

However, the adverb *naipače* occurs in the oldest sources with an elative meaning, as in:

- (72) (PsSin 169b2: Ps. 122.4 (= Pog, Bon); Severjanov 1954[1922], SJS II: 293, LXX: 2055)
naipače napl̃ni sje douša naša
 most.much.ADV fill.in.AOR.3SG REFL soul.NOM 1PL.POSS.NOM
 ‘overfilled [is] our soul’
 Gk. *epì pleìon eplésthē hē psukhē hēmōn*

The prefix *nai-*, obviously originating from elative expressions, acquired in later sources greater productivity in combination with adjectives in the CPD, rendering purely superlative meaning and shaping e. g. the East Slavic morphological type of the superlative. Compare:

- (73) (Naz 142r8–9 / Glaber 1549: 125,1–2; Golyšenko 1973: 391, SRJa.11–17 X: 106)
 ORuss. *na onomъ měste, kotoroe budet*
 OPol. *na onym mieŃczu ktore bedzie*
 in that.LOC place.LOC REL.NOM be.FUT.3SG
naisvēžšee i naimokrotnějšee
nafwiežŃbe y nawilgothnieiŃbe
 most.fresh.CPD.NOM and most.humid.CPD.NOM
 ‘in that place, which will be the freshest and the most humid’

Syntactic grading rendering superlative semantics is attested in the calqued so-called *grading* or *Hebrew genitive* (for which see Type 4-4-1 ex. 60) as well as the rather frequent *grading dative* in the same construction and the same function:

- (74) (Cloz 14a30; Dostál 1959: 297–299, Večerka 1993: 196) cf. (68)
vъ istinnaě svętaa svętymъ
 in truthful.ACC.PL saint.ACC.PL saint.DAT.PL
 ‘in truth the holy of holies’
 Gk. *eis tà óntōs hágia tōn hagiōn* (GEN)

6 Elative

6.1 Type 5-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

- (75) (PsSin 115a13–15: Ps. 85.15; Severjanov 1954[1922], LXX: 2003, Večerka 1993: 112, § 41,1d)

[i ty] *gospodi bože moi* [štedrǫ i]

Lord.VOC God.VOC 1SG.POSS.VOC/NOM

CPREE

prēmīlostivǫ. [trǫpǣlivǫ i prēmīlostivǫ i rěsnotivǫnǫ.]

very.merciful. VOC/NOM

PM.PAR

‘[and You,] o Lord, my god [generous and] most=very merciful [patient and most=very merciful and truthful]’

Gk. [kai sú] *kúrie ho theós* [oiktírmōn kai] *eleémōn* [makróthumos kai poluéleos kai alēthinós]

Cf. *prēmīlostivǫ*, once for the Gk. *eleémōn*, once for *poluéleos*.

6.2 Type 5-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

- (76) (Zogr 3r4–6: Matt. 4.8; Jagić 1954[1879]: 1, NTG: 7, Večerka 1993: 242, § 97.1) (= Ass, Sav)

pojǣb ego nepriěznǫ na gorǫ vysokǫ zělo

grasp.AOR.3SG he.ACC devil.NOM on mount.ACC high.ACC very

PAR PM

‘the devil took him on a very high mountain’

Gk. *paralámbanei autòn ho diábolos eis óros hupsēlòn lían*

6.3 Types not included in the questionnaire

Like similatives, elatives could be easily formed by means of composition (adjectives, nouns or verbs). The first member expresses the degree of the quality and due to its adverbial morphology retains the character of a free morpheme, while the second member renders the parameter; cf. *velǫ-lěpije* for Gk. *megalo-prépeia* ‘magnificence’, Grig 19v22 (Brandt 1894/1: 90) or *velǫ-mǫdrovati* for Gk. *méga froneîn* ‘boast’ Supr 522,11 (SJS I: 178).

- (77) (EuchSin 92b3; Nahtigal 1942: 286, Frček 1939: 554–555, Diels: 1963: 190)
prěštedry Bože i m'nogomilostive
 very.generous.NOM/VOC God.voc and much.merciful.voc
 PM PAR
 'oh, very generous God and very merciful'
 Gk. *ho panoiktírmōn òn Theòs kai poluéleos*

Another peculiar means of creating an elative effect is a *figura etymologica*, the reinforcement of the quality of the comparee by a root-identical noun in instrumental case, which has been taken word-per-word from Gk. (where dative or accusative are employed) and has the same wording in Hebrew, cf. examples (60) and (74) as well as the following:

- (78) (EuchSin 90b2; Nahtigal 1942: 279–280, Frček 1939: 550–551, Večerka 1993: 296, § 135.1a)
radostij radui sę i veseliemъ veseli
 joy.INS rejoice.IMP.2SG REFL and amusement.INS amuse.IMP.2SG
 PM₁ PAR₁ PM₂ PAR₂
 sę
 REFL
 'rejoice with joy and amuse with amusement'
 Gk. *kharāi oūn khaīre kai agalliāsei agalliō*

6.4 Formal means of expressing the elative relation

The most productive bound morpheme to express an elative meaning is *prě-* 'very', attachable to adjectives, adverbs and verbs (Sadnik/Aitzetmüller 1989: 98, 289).

Analytical expression occurs with several adverbs meaning 'very', 'exceedingly', such as *dzělo*, *vel'mi*, *jel'mi*, *pače*, *bol'vmi*, *bol'vš'mi*, *ne maly* 'not little', *jedino* 'only' = 'exceptionally'. Note that *pače* and *bol'vmi* also act as free morpheme parameter markers in comparatives of superiority.⁴⁴

In OCS as in other IE languages, elative semantics may have the same morphological marking as the superlative, the differentiation depending on the context. Mostly, the exact meaning depends on the presence or absence of the standard. However, elliptical clauses with the standard of comparison formally absent, but logically reconstructible, do not automatically render an elative meaning, cf. the following example as well as ex. (66) above:

⁴⁴ Večerka (1989: 105, 1993: 43, 1996: 130, 136–137) considers the conjunctions *i* 'and/even', *ni* 'not even', *nič'tože* / *nič'sože* 'id.', and the adjective *samъ* 'alone' to function as elative markers as well.

- (79) (Smol 1,3–4; Sumnikova/Lopatin 1963: 20)
knęzě Smolbneskyi. [...] prislať vť Rigou
 prince.NOM S.POSS.NOM send.PTCP.PST.NOM⁴⁵ in R.ACC
svojego loučbšego popa...
 REFL.POSS.ACC.ANIM good.CPD.ACC.ANIM priest.ACC.ANIM
 PAR.PM CPREE
 ‘the prince of Smolensk [...] sent to Riga his best priest [...]’

The construction employs comparative morphology, but the absence of the standard of comparison implies a superlative reading.

7 Excessive

7.1 Type 6-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The following construction is hypercharacterized, as both the adverb and the prefix convey excessive semantics:

- (80) (Ass 77b15–17: Mark 7.36–37; Kurz/Vajs 1955: 153, NTG: 106, SJS III: 441)
 (= Zogr, Sav)
i prězliča divlěachq sę
 and over.exceedingly.ADV wonder.IPF.3PL
 PM.PAR
 (*glagol’jōšte dobrě v̄se tvorit̄ i glouchyę tvorit̄ slyšati i němyę glagolati*)
 ‘and [they] exceedingly wondered, (saying: [he] does everything well, makes the deaf hear and the dumb speak)’
 Gk. *kai hyperperissōs ekseplēssonto (légontes kalōs pánta pepoíēken, kai toūs kōphoūs poieĩ akouēin kai alálous laleĩn)*

⁴⁵ The question whether the form is analyzable as the new independent perfect (without copula) remains open.

7.2 Type 6-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

As shown in ex. (81), the parameter *iz licha* or its CPD *izliše*, both denoting exceeding quality, may be additionally qualified by the parameter marker *pače* or *zělo* meaning ‘more/much’ or ‘very’ (cf. a similar context in the passage of ex. 80 above):

- (81) (Zogr 94r16-17: Mark 6.51; Jagić 1954[1879]: 57–58, NTG: 102; SJS I: 746–747)
- | | | | |
|----------|-------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>zělo</i> | <i>iz licha</i> | <i>divl'ěachq se</i> |
| and | much.ADV | exceedingly.ADV | wonder.IPF.3PL |
| | PM | PAR | |
- ‘and [they] exceedingly wondered’
Gk. *kaì lían ek perissoũ*

7.3 Formal means of expressing excessive relation

In OCS sources excessive semantics is rendered lexically, most commonly by means of the adj. *lichъ* ‘excessive’ and its comparative *liše*, or their derivatives. Several prepositions capable of entering the word structure render excessive meaning as well, cf. *prě-* ‘over’ in ex. (80). The same excessive meaning is perceivable in a couple of early RCS contexts (e. g. Izb 1073: 20) in which the parameter is expressed by the preposition *črěsъ* ‘over, through, beyond’ + ACC, rendering the Gk. *parà* and *hupèr* (SJS IV: 895, *Mat.* III: 1542), e. g. *črěsъ merou* / Gk. *parà tou déontos* ‘beyond measure’, synonymous to prep. *kromě* ‘apart from’ (cf. semantically comparable contexts in SJS II: 68).

- (82) (ApTolst: 1 Cor. 10.13, Novak 2016–2018, NTG: 442, *Mat.* III: 1542)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|--------------|-----------|----------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>ne</i> | <i>ostavitъ</i> | <i>vasъ</i> | <i>vъ</i> | <i>napasti</i> | <i>byti</i> | <i>čresъ</i> |
| NEG | leave.PRS/FUT.3SG | 2PL.ACC | in | trouble.LOC | be.INF | over |
| | <i>moženie</i> | <i>vaše</i> | | | | |
| | prowess.ACC | 2PL.POSS.ACC | | | | |
- ‘[God] will not leave you to be in trouble exceeding your prowess’
Gk. *hòs ouk eásei humās peirasthēnai hupèr hò dúnasthe*

8 Further remarks

Notably, quite a number of grading constructions exemplified above demand a broader context to be interpretable as a particular type. This is often due to isofunctionality of the formal means and persistence in grammaticalization. Thus, e. g., superlatives could have been easily derived from overmarked comparatives or elatives (with the

scope of comparison either present or absent). Therefore, the subtypes 1-3 and 5-6 of comparative constructions can always be turned into the corresponding types of the superlative by substitution of the standard of comparison with *всѣ* 'whole/all', whereas those with no explicit standard can be qualified on pragmatic grounds. For the same reason, it is not incidental that both structural types 3-3-2 (comparative) and 4-3-2 (superlative) are not attested.

Quite peculiar is the superlative type 4-4-1 (whereby the superlative reading is achieved by the repetition of the same quality), which is not derived from an OCS comparative construction but takes over the Greek model which in its turn has been taken from Hebrew.

Greater typological variation between comparative and superlative constructions is to be expected in types where the parameter is expressed lexically, being either a verb, an adjective, or sometimes a noun. Most suppletive comparatives functioning as PM show traces of comparative morphology. However, since the root is not attested elsewhere, they have been qualified here as free morphemes, although in particular contexts they may admittedly be interpreted as morphologically analyzable adjectives, which then fit type 3-7.

The same isofunctionality of formal means is characteristic of similitive and equative constructions. The choice between the two meanings made in this chapter mostly relies on the primary semantics of the parameter, whereas in actual discourse it depends heavily on extralinguistic knowledge.

Marking the standard with an adposition is peripheral in Slavic. If an adposition does occur with true comparatives or superlatives, it introduces the scope of the referents the comparee is to be compared to, meaning mostly 'among'. Similitives and equatives, however, make use of the morphological means rendering the manner of action in general. Therefore, the adposition *po* is quite productive with both similitives and equatives and in negative polarity contexts even appears in the superlative type 4-4-2.

Slavic languages dispose of morphosyntactic means of expressing a further grading relation – the **approximative**, which is strictly speaking neither equative nor similitive. The comparee is *of almost the quality* expressed by the positive. Like elatives and excessives, approximative constructions are possible only in types 9-11, as they lack a standard and thus a standard marker. The approximative could be expressed analytically, e. g. by means of such PM as OCS *maly ne* 'almost', corresponding to the Gk. *skhedón* (SJS II: 184) as a fully inflected adjective (see ex. 85 below), *mala ne* 'nearly' for Gk. *par' oligon* (SJS II: 177-178), or *вѣ malě* 'id.' (SJS II: 183) as a free morpheme, frequently detached from the parameter. All of them derive from the root *mal-* 'little'.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Večerka (1996: 124) interprets the employment of *ěko(že)* 'as if, almost' in a number of contexts as approximative as well, which would be the case of a pragmatic (i. e. contextual) reading. How-

Free morphemes as PMS (e. g. Russ., Bulg. *počti*, Belar. *amal'*, Ukr. *majže*, Pol. *prawie*, Cz. *téměř*, BSC *skoro* etc. 'almost') appear in modern Slavic languages with all parts of speech. The synthetic expression with a bound morpheme, i. e. Type 9, is restricted to adjectives (in East Slavic by means of *-ov-at-*, equivalent to the Mod. English *-ish* as in *reddish*, initially apparently restricted to the semantics of outer shape, but cf. *Mat. a tergo*: 202) and verbs (e. g. by means of *pri-*, which is the morphological marker of a separate semantic group of verbs of incomplete action in Mod. Russian).

Type 9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

- (83) (Šestodn. Io. Ex 48α; Popov 1879, Gorskij / Nevostruev 1857: 8, SRJa.11–18 VIII: 81)

[A ... <i>Vasilbi</i>]	<i>oblo</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>krugovato</i>	<i>tělo</i>	<i>nebesnoe</i>
	spheric.ACC	and	roundish.ACC	body.ACC	celestial.ACC
			PAR.PM	[CPREE]	

propovědaetъ

preach.PRS.3SG

'[and ... Basil] preaches of a spherical and roundish celestial body'

Type 10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

- (84) (Grig 26r18–19: Prov. 5.14; Ribarova/Hauptova 1998: 103, SJS II: 183, LXX: 2108)

<i>въ малѣ</i>	<i>бычѣ</i>	<i>въ</i>	<i>въсѣякомѣ</i>	<i>злѣ</i>
nearly	be.AOR.1SG	in	any/every.LOC	evil.LOC
PM				-PAR-

'nearly in every evil [I] was'

Gk. *par' olígon egenómēn en pantì kakōi*

ever, most of his examples convey similitive semantics. For example, he translates Supr 79,15–17: *my jakože izmrĕli bĕchomъ sъnomъ* / Gk. *hēmeīs apò toū hūpnou apenekrōthēmen* as 'we would almost die in sleep/while sleeping' (2002: 275–276), although the context disambiguates the passage when the guards of the 40 martyrs explain: *omъ že bŷdĕ въ всѣ ношѣ i vñesaapo vŷboudi ny* 'but he kept awake the whole night and suddenly woke us up', where *jakože* in fact marks a similitive: 'we were asleep as if we were dead'.

The same meaning is conveyed by the combination of the free morphemes *maly ...ne*:

(85) (Christ: Acts 13.44; SJS II: 184, Kałużniacki 1896: 31, NTG: 340–341)

maly sę ne vsb gradъ sъbra
 almost REFL NEG all.NOM town.NOM gather.AOR.3SG
 PM- -PM PAR
 ‘almost the whole town gathered together’
 Gk. *skhedòn pāsa hē pólis sunékhthē*

References

Abbreviated sources: Manuscripts

- AlF² – Liber Abecedarium, 17th c., cyr.⁴⁷
 ApOchr – Praxapostolus Achridanus, 12th c., cyr.
 ApTolst – Praxapostolus Tolstovianus, 14th c. cyr.
 Ass – Evangeliarium Assemani, 10th–11th c., glag.
 Ben – Vita s. Benedicti Nursini, 14th c., cyr.
 Bes – Homiliae s. Gregorii Magni, 13th c., cyr.
 Bon – Psalterium Bononiense, 13th c., cyr.
 Christ – Apostolus Christinopolitanus, 12th c., cyr.
 Clem – Sermo s. Clementis, 16th c., cyr.
 Cloz – Glagolita Clozianus (homiliae), 11th c., glag.
 CMLab – Officium ss. Cyrilli et Methodii e breviario Labacensi, 10th/14th c., glag.
 EuchSin – Euchologium Sinaiticum, 11th c., glag.
 EuchSin2 – Euchologium Sinaiticum, new founds, 11th c., glag.
 Eug – Fragmenta Eugeniana (psalterium), 11th c., cyr.
 Grig – Paroemiarion Grigorovicianum, 12th–13th c., cyr.
 GrNaz – XIII orationes s. Grigorii Nazianzeni (Theologi), 11th c. cyr.
 Izb 1073 – Collectio (russico-palaeoslovenica), anno 1073, cyr.
 KiFo – Folia Kijevensia (missale), 10th c., glag.
 KiTu – Opera Cyrilli Episcopi Turovensi, 12th c., cyr.
 Lob – Psalterium e codice Lobkowicziano-Pragensi, 14th c., glag.
 Mar – Codex Marianus (tetra-evangelium), 10th–11th c., glag.
 Mak – Praxapostolus Macedonicus, 12th c., cyr.
 Naz – Liber Observator (*Naziratel’*), 16th c., cyr.
 Nov – S. Venceslai Vita palaeoslov. archivi capituli Noviani, 15th c., glag.
 Ochr – Fragmenta Achridana (evangeliarium), 11th c., glag.
 Ostr – Evangeliarium Ostromiri, 11th c., cyr.
 Pog – Psalterium Pogodinianum, 12th c., cyr.
 PsSin – Psalterium Sinaiticum, 11th c., glag.

⁴⁷ Unedited manuscript cited here after SRJa,11–17 and *Mat*.

Pochv	– Sermo panegyricus de ss. Cyrillo et Methodio, 12 th c., cyr.
Sav	– Liber Sabbae / Savvina Kniga (evangeliarium), 11 th –12 th c., cyr.
Slepč ⁴⁸	– Praxapostolus Slepčensis, 12 th c., cyr.
Smol	– Pactum Smolencense, anno 1229, cyr.
Supr	– Codex Suprasliensis, (vitae, homiliae), 11 th c., cyr.
Šestodn.lo.Ex.	– Hexaameron Ioanni Exarchi, anno 1263, cyr.
Siš	– Praxapostolus Sišatovacensis, 14 th c., cyr.
Stich	– Sticherarion anno 1157, cyr.
Sys	– Liber Systema, anno 1722, cyr.
Up	– Litterae presbyteri Upyri Lichii (exempl.), anno 1047 ⁴⁹
Uvar	– Varias lectiones e manuscriptis, collectio Uvaroviana 509, 15 th c., cyr.
ViVenc	– S. Venceslai Vita palaeoslovicae rec. (Nikol'skiana), 16 th c., cyr.
ViMeth	– Vita Methodii, 12 th c., cyr.
ViPrEl	– Vita Elisei Prophetae, 14 th –15 th c., cyr.
ViTheSt	– Vita Theodori Studiti, 12 th c., cyr.
Zach	– Paroemiaron Zacharianum, anno 1271, cyr.
ZICě	– Catena Aurea, 14 th c., cyr.
Zogr	– Codex Zographensis (tetra-evangelium), 10 th –11 th c., glag.
Zogr ^b	– Codex Zographensis: Folia 41–57v (younger part), glag.

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⁴⁸ Slepč Kiev = Kiev fragment, Slepč mp = main part, Slepč Plov = Plovdiv fragment

⁴⁹ Unedited manuscript cited after Sreznevskij, *Mat.*

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8 Brittonic

1 Introduction

This study looks at the Brittonic sub-group of the Celtic languages: Breton, Cornish and Welsh. These are traditionally treated as separate languages from the middle of the sixth century AD, with an initial split into Old Welsh on the one hand, and Old South-West British on the other, which later split further into Breton and Cornish, perhaps around the eighth century. This latter split is difficult to document, and Breton and Cornish (and perhaps also Welsh) may have remained mutually intelligible for much longer than this (Schrijver 2011a: 4–5). The ‘old’ stages—Old Welsh, Old Breton and Old Cornish—are all fairly poorly attested, and most of the extant material is in the form of interlinear glosses in Latin manuscripts. These do not include examples of many of the phenomena we are interested in, and therefore the corpus used for this study consists mainly of Middle Welsh, Middle Breton and Middle Cornish. The time periods of the three languages are given below.

Old South-West British (previously Old Breton, Old Cornish)	9c to 11c	Middle Breton	end of 11c to mid-17c	Early Modern Breton	mid-17c to end of 18c
		Middle Cornish	12c to end of 16c	Late Cornish	extinct by the end of 18c (revival in 20c)
Old Welsh	mid-8c to mid-12c	Middle Welsh	mid-12c to c. 1500	Early Modern Welsh	c. 1500 to c. 1700

Although the ‘middle’ period for all the three languages is traditionally given as beginning around the same time, there is a major difference between Welsh and the other two languages. While we have several manuscripts written completely in Welsh from the thirteenth century onwards, full-length texts in Middle Breton and Cornish only exist from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Because Middle Breton and Cornish examples are generally later than Middle Welsh ones, and also because of the availability of searchable corpora for Middle Welsh, most of our examples in this chapter come from this language. Given the time gap between early Middle Welsh and the earliest Middle Breton and Cornish, it is possible that, although some of the formations discussed below are not attested in Breton and Cornish, we might expect to find some examples if we were to find earlier texts in these languages.

Our data comes from a range of texts including prose and sometimes poetry. Examples were initially collected from reference books such as Evans (1964) and the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru/A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (Thomas et al. 1950–; abbreviated *GPC*) and from text corpora (these are listed in the bibliography). The

biggest Middle Welsh text corpora (*Rhyddiaith Cymraeg* 1300–1425, ed. Luft et al. and *Rhyddiaith 13g.*, ed. Isaac et al.) contain prose texts of various types, including the well-known *Mabinogion* corpus of narrative tales (including the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*), law texts and historical texts (e. g. translations of Geoffrey of Monmouth). While the manuscripts can be dated fairly accurately, the exact date of most of the texts is still debated; for example, the suggested dates for the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi* range from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. For Early Modern Welsh and Modern Welsh up until 1850, Willis & Mittendorf (2004) cover a wide range of texts of very different registers, from the first Welsh translations of the Bible to travel writing in an informal register. Where relevant, we give some examples from Present-day Welsh and these come from the *CEG* corpus edited by Ellis et al. (2001).

Additional examples are available on <https://gitlab.uzh.ch/paul.widmer/mhiet-voll-gradation>.

2 Similitive

2.1 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

2.1.1 Type 1-3-2: flag is adposition

Two verbs can express similitive degree in Middle Welsh:

1. *tebygaf*: *tebygu* ‘to be(come) similar (to), resemble; liken, compare; assimilate’
2. *cyffelybaf*: *cyffelybu* ‘to compare, make alike, assimilate; be similar to, resemble, match; imitate; hint, allude, refer’

With both verbs, the standard is marked by the preposition *i* ‘to’.

- (1) Middle Welsh (Gwaith Llywelyn Goch ap Meurig Hen p. 45 (poem 8.52–3), ed. Johnston 1998, 14th c.):
- Rhy=debygu Lleucu Llwyd / i hardd flodeuros gardd gain*
 PTCL=liken L.L. to beautiful sunflower.PL garden fair
 PM CPREE STM STAND
 ‘having compared Lleucu Llwyd to the beautiful sunflowers of a fair garden’

Middle Breton has a verb *hualaff* ‘to liken’ (derivative of the adjective *hual* ‘like, similar’) (GIB 1171 f.; Ernault 1888 s. v. *hual*; cf. also *heuelebecat* (GIB 1219) derived from *heuelep*):

- (2) Middle Breton (*Buez Santez Nonn*, ll. 1548–50, ed. Le Berre et al., 1999, 16th c.):
- | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|--------------|------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>Ouz vn</i> | <i>clezeff</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>pep</i> | <i>queuer</i> | / | <i>vn</i> | <i>barner</i> | <i>mat</i> |
| to | a | sword | from | every | point | a | judge | good |
| STM | STAND | | | | | CPREE | | |
| <i>hep</i> | <i>nep</i> | <i>atfer</i> | / | <i>a</i> | <i>hauulier</i> | <i>etre=n</i> | <i>gueryn</i> . | |
| without | any | delay | PTCL | is to be likened | among=the | people. | | |
| | | | | PM | | | | |
- ‘a good judge – for sure – is to be compared before the people to a sword in every point’

In Middle Cornish, only the negative form of the cognate verb is attested: *defaleby* ‘to disfigure, deform’ (also a derivative of *hauual* ‘like, similar’) (Williams 1865 s. v. *defaleby*, *hauual*); the positive form is not attested in texts.

2.2 Type 1-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

2.2.1 Type 1-4-2: flag is adposition

The preposition MW *mal* (later *fal*, *fel*), MB *euel*, *evel*, *eval* (OB *amal*), MC *avel* ‘like’ can be used in the similative construction CPREE + STM + STAND:

- (3) Middle Welsh (*Efengyl Nicodemus*, NLW Peniarth 5 (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch), 32v, ed. Luft et al. 2013, 14th c.)
- | | | | | |
|----------|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| <i>a</i> | <i>=e</i> | <i>wisc</i> | <i>mal</i> | <i>eiry</i> |
| and | =his | dress | like | snow |
| | CPREE | | STM | STAND |
- ‘and his clothes (were) like snow’

While e. g. ‘clothes like snow’ (meaning ‘as white as snow’) is possible in Middle Welsh, we are not aware of any examples of adjective + *mal* + standard. This is possible in Modern Welsh, e. g. *gwydr gwyn fel llaeth* [glass white like milk] ‘a glass white like milk’ (CEG corpus). This construction is, however, attested in Middle Cornish: *Fenten bryght avel arhans* (fountain bright like silver) ‘a fountain bright like silver’ (*Origo Mundi* l. 771, ed. Norris 1859). This similative construction is similar to the equative discussed in 3.1.1 (e. g. ‘as white as milk’) with the exception that the similative construction lacks a parameter marker.

2.3 Types not included in the questionnaire

The following is a possible example with three entities and three predicates in Middle Welsh:

- (4) Middle Welsh (*Peredur*, NLW Peniarth 4 (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch), p. 35v, ed. Luft et al. 2013, 14th c.)

<i>a</i>	<i>chyffelybu</i>	<i>duhet</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>vran</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>gwynder</i>	<i>yr</i>	<i>eira</i>	
and	comparing	blackness	ART	crow	and	whiteness	ART	snow	
	PM	PAR	CPREE			PAR	CPREE		
<i>a</i>	<i>chochter</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>gŵaet</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>wallt</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>wreic</i>	<i>uwyhaf</i>	<i>a</i>
and	redness	ART	blood	to	hair	ART	woman	most	PTCL
	PAR	CPREE	STM	STAND					
<i>garei ...</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>=e</i>	<i>chnawt...</i>	<i>yr</i>	<i>deu</i>	<i>van</i>	<i>gochyon</i>	<i>yg</i>	
love.IPFV.3SG	and	=her	skin	ART	two	spot	red.PL	in	
		STAND		STAND					
<i>grudyeu</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>wreic</i>							
cheek.PL	ART	woman							

‘and he compared the blackness of the crow and the whiteness of the snow and the redness of the blood to the hair of the woman he loved the most...and to her skin...(and) to the two red spots on the cheeks of the woman’

3 Equative

3.1 Type 2-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

3.1.1 Type 2-1-2: flag is adposition

In Middle Welsh, the most common way of forming equatives is by adding *-(h)et* (/-(h)ed/) to the adjective. This form is preceded by the particle *cyn/cy* (also spelled *ky(n)* in Middle Welsh orthography; see below for more discussion of this particle). Equative degree is marked twice on the adjective in this construction: by the bound morpheme *-(h)et* and the free morpheme *cyn/cy*. The standard is identified by *a* ‘as’ (Modern Welsh *â*) before consonants and *ac* /ag/ (ModW *ag*) before vowels. This *a(c)* is homophonous with the preposition *a(c)* ‘with’ and is likely to be the same word in origin; we therefore treat it as a preposition here. *Cyn/cy* causes soft mutation of the following consonant, while *a(c)* causes aspirate muta-

tion.¹ Alongside this way of forming equatives, there is another with the free morpheme *mor* ‘as’ + adjective (see 3.2.1 below).

- (5) Middle Welsh (*Peredur*, NLW Peniarth 7, 9r, ed. Luft et al. 2013, 14th c.)
- | | | | | | | | |
|----------|------|---------------|------------|------------|---------------|----------|--------------|
| <i>a</i> | =y | <i>devrud</i> | <i>oed</i> | <i>kyn</i> | <i>gochet</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>gwaet</i> |
| and | =her | cheek.DU | be.PST.3SG | EQD | red.EQD | as | blood |
| | | CPREE | | PM | PAR-PM | STM | STAND |
- ‘and her cheeks were as red as blood’

Furthermore, *cy* sometimes seems to occur as a bound morpheme *cy-*, where it is pronounced /kə-/, e. g. *niuer kyhardet a hwnnw* ‘a host as beautiful as that’ (*hard* ‘beautiful’) (*Owein*, Jesus College Oxford MS 111 (Llyfr Coch Hergest), 157r, see Luft et al. 2013). These are quite rare, and we cannot be sure that *cy-* is indeed prefixed in such instances, as word division in medieval Welsh manuscripts is not always reliable (short function words are sometimes written together with a following noun). *Cyn*, which we know to be a free morpheme /kin/ from its use in Modern Welsh, can sometimes be written together with the adjective (e. g. *kyngochet* ‘as red as’ for *kyn gochet*, *Owein* 156r, see Luft et al. 2013). This possible prefixal usage of *cy* may have been influenced by that of a homophonous prefix *cy-* which may be of a different historical origin (see 3.6).

Middle Breton also has the suffix *-(h)et*, but it has not survived in its original equative function that we still find in Middle Welsh. Instead, it is confined to the so-called ‘exclamative’, that is, an adjectival form expressing admiration, blame, surprise, etc. (Hemon 1975: 63–64), e. g. *caezret den* ‘what a fine man!’ (*caezr* ‘fine’). We agree with Hemon and Schrijver (2011b: 392) that this construction is probably equative in origin, like its Welsh counterpart, and the exclamative function is a further development from that. There is no trace of this suffix in Cornish, as far as we are aware.

3.2 Type 2-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

3.2.1 Type 2-2-2: flag is adposition

As discussed above, degree is marked in Middle Welsh by a combination of the bound morpheme *-(h)et* added to the adjective, and the free particle *cyn/cy*. This is paralleled

¹ On the initial consonant mutations in the Brittonic languages, see for Modern Breton Ternes (2011: 458–461); for Cornish, Williams (2011: 304–305); for Modern Welsh, Awbery (2009: 376–381) and Middle Welsh, Schumacher (2011: 112–113).

in Breton by the use of the cognate particle *ken* (also spelled *quen* in Middle Breton), which has the dialect variants *kel* and *ker* (Hemon 1975: 48). Unlike Welsh, where the adjective also has to be suffixed with *-(h)et* in this construction, Breton *ken/quen* is followed by the simple form of the adjective (see above on the ‘exclamative’ use of *-(h)et* in Breton). The standard is identified by phrasal *ha(c)*, *ha(g)* /*ag*/, *eguit*, or *euel*, *evel* ‘as’. Example (5) above serves to illustrate the Welsh construction, while (6) is given for Breton:

- (6) Middle Breton (*Le mystère de Sainte Barbe* 294, date 1557, ed. Ernault 1888)
- | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------|------------|
| <i>quen</i> | <i>disaczun</i> | <i>euel</i> | <i>vn</i> | <i>caz</i> |
| EQD | cruel | as | a | cat |
| PM | PAR | STM | STAND | |
- ‘as cruel as a cat’

When the standard is one of the standard pronominals, it is preposed:

- (7) Middle Breton (*Le mystère de Sainte Barbe* 269, date 1557, ed. Ernault 1888)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| <i>da</i> | <i>quen</i> | <i>bilen</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>da</i> | <i>quen</i> | <i>vil</i> |
| you | EQD | despicable | and | you | EQD | evil |
| STAND | PM | PAR | | STAND | PM | PAR |
- ‘as despicable and as evil as you’

In Breton, it is also possible to repeat the parameter and degree for comparee and standard (this is also mentioned in the Introduction to this volume, where (8) is given as example (64)):

- (8) (Early) Modern Breton (*D’an Dreinded Santel*, Morvan 1889: 9)
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|------------|------------------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| <i>an</i> | <i>tri</i> | <i>person=ze</i> | <i>zo</i> | <i>ker</i> | <i>koz</i> | <i>ha</i> | <i>ker</i> | <i>koz</i> |
| ART | 3 | person=DEM | is | EQD | old | and | EQD | old |
| CPREE.STAND | | | | PM | PAR | | PM | PAR |
- ‘those three persons are equally old’

All three Brittonic languages have another equative construction in addition to the ones discussed above. This involves the degree particle *W mor*, *B* and *C mar* ‘as, so’ (probably in origin a form of the adjective *W mawr*, *B meur*, *C mur* ‘big’) followed by the basic form of the adjective. Cornish also has another equative particle *maga* ‘as’. These are followed by *W a(c)*, *B ha(c)/ha(g)*, *C ha(g)*, *avel* ‘like, as’ to identify the standard:

- (9) Middle Welsh (*Gwyrtheu Mair*, NLW Llanstephan 27 (Llyfr Coch Talgarth), 173v, ed. Luft et al. 2013, 14th c.)

<i>gŵeithret</i>	<i>mor</i>	<i>dybryt</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>hŵnnŵ</i>
act	EQD	vile	as	that
CPREE	PM	PAR	STM	STAND

‘an act as vile as that’

Dialects of Modern Welsh in Merioneth, Montgomery, and some areas in the south-east show a ‘mixed’ construction using *mor* + ADJ-*ed*, e. g. *mor ddued â* ‘as black as’ (A. R. Thomas 2000: 474; cf. P. W. Thomas 2006: 231).

3.3 Type 2-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Not attested. Note, however, that the marker *a/ac* ‘as’ used in the Middle Welsh equative constructions to mark the standard could also be analysed as a particle, although it derives from the preposition *a/ac* ‘with’. We analyse *a/ac* in equative constructions as a preposition, while recognizing that a fully synchronic analysis could treat it as a particle.

3.4 Type 2-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The degree markers MW *cyn/cy*, MB *ken* and W *mor*, MB and MC *mar* can all be used without degree being explicitly expressed. Such phrases can have an exclamative force (Evans 1964: 43). There are two such Old Welsh examples side by side in the glosses on Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria*: *mortru* ‘so sad’, from *tru* ‘sad, wretched’ (a gloss on Latin *heu* ‘ah!, alas!’); *mor liaus* ‘how many!’ (glossing *quam multos*) (Russell 2017: 150 (l. 176), Falileyev 2000: 114–115). Note also the use of MW *mor* followed by the copula in exclamations, e. g. *mor wyt da* ‘how good you are!’ (Evans 1964: 43); this suggests that *mor* was in origin a form of the adjective and that we could read this example literally ‘a big thing (it is) that you are good.’

- (10) Middle Breton (*La Vie de Sainte Nonne* l. 2043, ed. Le Berre et al., 1999, 16th c.)

<i>den</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>sanctel</i>
man	EQD	saintly
CPREE	PM	PAR

‘so saintly a man’

3.5 Types not included in the questionnaire

We have not been able to find examples of comparisons with two entities and two predicates in any period of the Brittonic languages. They are theoretically possible in Modern Welsh and native speakers are able to translate e. g. ‘you are as clever as I am stupid’; this, however, is not necessarily evidence that this type truly exists in Welsh, since (bilingual) speakers were simply translating them from English and they were generally unfamiliar with the construction. In Middle Welsh, our sense is that such expressions would make use of abstract nouns in *-(h)ed* rather than the equative (see 3.6 where it is suggested that these abstract nouns may be the source of the equative construction). While not an exact example of this, the following sentence from *Pwyll* is instructive, with *gwynned* ‘whiteness’ and *coched* ‘redness’:

- (11) Middle Welsh (*Pwyll*, NLW Peniarth 4 (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch), 1r, ed. Luft et al. 2013, 14th c.)
- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| <i>Ac</i> | <i>ual</i> | <i>y</i> | <i>llathrei</i> | | <i>wynnet</i> | <i>y</i> | <i>cwn,</i> | <i>y</i> |
| and | as | PTCL | shine.IPFV.3SG | | whiteness | ART | dog.PL | PTCL |
| <i>llathrei</i> | | <i>cochet</i> | <i>y</i> | <i>clusteu</i> | | | | |
| shine.IPFV.3SG | | redness | their | ear.PL | | | | |
- ‘and as the whiteness of the hounds shone, so the redness of their ears shone’

Evans (1964: 42) describes examples such as (11) as ‘affective’, expressing admiration or surprise (he translates ‘exceeding whiteness’, ‘exceeding redness’). In our view, this might simply be analysed as an equative-like construction, which could be rephrased with something like ‘their fur was as white as their ears were red’. This suggests that instead of an equative construction with two entities and two predicates, Welsh is more likely to make use of abstract nouns to express such meanings.

3.6 Formal means of expressing equatives

-(h)ed

As already discussed, the equative forms in *-(h)ed* based on adjectives are restricted to Welsh. They may be nominal in origin (Schumacher 2011: 134–135 “Adjektivabstraktum” and cf. ex. 11 above). Griffith (this volume) analyses the Irish equative suffix *-ithir/-idir* as containing a cognate nominal abstract suffix *-eth/-ed* combined with a suffix *-ir*. Beside this, Old Irish has a formation *com-* + adj. (cf. Meid 1967), e. g. *comdhub fri h-éc* ‘as black as death’. More work is needed to establish the status of this construction in Brittonic.

cyn/cy

As for the particle(s) or prefixes *cyn/cy*, these forms present a problem of analysis and these remarks should be regarded as provisional pending further research. All three Brittonic languages show a form with a prefixed *cy-* but they appear to be mainly relic forms, e. g. B *quehit*, *keit* ‘as long’ (*het*, *hed* ‘length’) and C *kemmys* ‘as much as’ (= W *cymaint*, B *quement*), *kepar* ‘like, as’ (= B *par*, W *cymmar*), *kynyuer* ‘as many as’ (= W *cynifer*), *ketoth* ‘as quick as’ (cf. W *tuth* ‘movement’) (Hemon 1975: 51, Lewis 1946: 21); the Cornish examples quoted by Lewis (1946: 21) suggest the last two could be used with equative syntax, e. g. *ketoth ha’n ger* ‘as swift as the word’ (= ‘no sooner said’). In Welsh, there are two variants, a vowel final *cy-* (pronounced /kə-/) and a consonant-final *cym-/cyf-*, e. g. *cyfurdd* ‘of the same rank’ (*urdd* ‘rank, order’), *cymonedd* ‘so noble, as noble (as)’ (*bonedd* ‘nobility’), *cyhyd* ‘of the same length, as long’ (*hyd* ‘length’); these are clearly products of word-formation and not comparative forms of adjectives. Both are derived from the prefix **kom-*, cf. Irish *com-*, e. g. OIr *comlín* ‘of equal number’. *Kyf-* generalised from **kom-* + a stem with an initial vowel, and *kyn-* perhaps from **kom-* + consonant-initial stem where there was assimilation to a dental. Notably these forms are analysable as **kom-* + noun and in this respect differ from the forms in *cyn* where what follows is an adjective.

In a number of ways, the accented particle, Welsh *cyn*, Breton *quen*, *ken*, has proved more problematic; in the first instance, insofar as it is mentioned at all, there is confusion as to how it is to be analysed, whether as a prefix (Schumacher 2011: 134) or a preposition (Thurneysen 1946: 237). Medieval word-spacing is of little help as there is considerable variation as to whether there is a space between it and the following equative (e. g. *kyngochet* ‘as red as’ for *kyn gochet*, *Owein* 156r, see Luft et al. 2013). However, it cannot be a prefix as the modern pronunciation is /kin/ rather than /kən/ which it would be as a prefix, e. g. Welsh *cyn gynted â* /kin gânted a/ ‘as soon as’; cf. Middle Welsh *kyn deccet* ‘as fair (as)’ (W *teg* ‘fair’), *kyn huotlet* ‘as fluent as’, *kyn urasset* ‘as thick as’; note that where *kyn-* is prefixed in these forms the following consonant is lenited. This seems to be the pattern most often when the equative suffix *-(h)ed* is used. In Breton, *quen* is usually written as a separate word, e. g. *quen guenn han nerch* ‘as white as the snow’. On the other hand, its origin remains a problem though the most likely possibility is that it is somehow related to the *cy-* (< **kom*) prefix. The relationship between an apparently stressed *cyn* and an unstressed *cy-* (corresponding to Breton *quen* and *ke-*) presents some of the same features as Welsh *rhy* /r^hi/ ‘too’ which seems to be the stressed equivalent of MW perfective particle *ry* /rə/ (cf. also alternations like *tra*, *traw*, *dros*, etc. and discussion in Schumacher 2012). In some cases the stressed forms may have arisen from a secondary stressing of an originally unstressed form, but the details are as yet unclear.

Case as standard marker

It would appear that in the Brittonic languages there is no evidence for original case-forms marking gradation (alongside other markers) in the way that happens in Irish (and in other languages; e. g. Latin *quam* beside the use of an ablative).

There is, however, one possible trace of this pattern to be found in the syntactical variation after the preposition (originally a comparative form) *kyn(n)* ‘before (originally ‘earlier than’)’. It is usually argued that as *kyn* shifted towards prepositional usage, the medieval pattern of using *no(c)* ‘than’ (e. g. *kyn no’r oet* ‘before his time’, lit. ‘earlier than the time’) gradually disappeared (Evans 1948–1950; 1979–1980; summarised in Evans 1964: 43–44). However, the distribution of constructions with and without *no(c)* is more complicated: in Middle Welsh *no(c)* and MB *nac* is significantly rare before nouns and verbal nouns, but much more common before pronouns (both personal and demonstrative); in more complex forms, e. g. possessive pronoun + verbal noun the distribution is more mixed. More research is needed on this, and in particular the data needs to be sifted out more clearly so as to understand whether there is any difference in distribution between verse and prose. However, it may be that, rather than there being a straightforward development from comparative (+ *no(c)*) to preposition, it might be worth exploring the hypothesis that originally different syntactical patterns were used with nouns and pronouns; with *kyn* + (verbal) noun, the pattern may reflect an original case form (as a standard marker, like in Early Irish) after *kyn* rather than loss of *no(c)*. Another issue to be explored is why earlier examples (as in the Book of Aneirin) of 3 sg. possessive pronouns after *no(c)* show *noe* rather than *noc y*; does this suggest that the -c is a late development perhaps on the analogy of *a(c)* ‘and’ *na(c)* (negative particle)?

Diachrony of the different equative expressions

In Middle Welsh, the two strategies described in 3.1.1 and 3.2.1 exist side by side, namely *cyn/cy* + adj-(h)et (where degree is marked twice) and *mor* + adj. There is no quantitative study of the comparative frequency of the two strategies, but our impression is that *mor* + basic form of the adjective gains in frequency in the Early Modern Welsh period. The two strategies may always have been features of particular registers, perhaps with *mor* + adjective as a more colloquial variant, as is the case in Modern Welsh. In Modern Welsh, especially in the colloquial register, *mor* + adj is the standard way of forming equatives, with the *cyn* + adj-ed strategy still existing especially in high-frequency phrases, e. g. *cyn lleied â* ‘as little as’ with the irregular equative *lleied* of *bychan/bach* ‘little, small’. Another one is *cyn gynted â* ‘as soon as’ (Thomas 2006: 223–239). Such phrases are probably learned as a whole and are not evidence of the productivity of the pattern with *cyn*. There is also a dialect dimension, with the *cyn* + adj-ed formation still being productive in southern dialects, as seen with English loanwords, e. g. *ffein* ‘fine’, *cyn ffeined* ‘as fine’ (Watkins 1961: 160).

In Breton, on the other hand, *mar* + adjective has become mostly obsolete in Modern Breton (Hemon 1975: 51) while *ken* (also realised as *kel* or *ker* depending on

the following word) followed by the basic form of the adjective is the standard way of forming equatives (Jouitteau; http://arbres.iker.cnrs.fr/index.php?title=Ken,_ker,_kel). In Cornish, as discussed above, we only have the *mar* + adj pattern (alongside another particle *maga* + adj). All in all, it appears that analytic equative formations have become more common with time in all of the Brittonic languages, with the synthetic formation surviving alongside it in Welsh only.

Irregular forms

It is probably useful to discuss the irregular patterns of gradation all in one place. Brittonic languages, like all other IE languages, have a group of adjectives where the patterns of marking gradation are irregular; they are the typical adjectives, ‘big’, ‘small’, ‘good’, ‘bad’, etc. In fact, in many cases in the Brittonic languages the irregular forms do have some regularity built into them, but it is simply different to the regular patterns.

‘big’	Positive	Equative	Comparative	Superlative
Welsh	<i>mawr</i>	<i>kymaint</i>	<i>mwy</i>	<i>mwyhaf</i>
Cornish	<i>mur</i>	<i>kemmys</i>	<i>moy</i>	<i>moyha</i>
Breton	<i>meur</i>	<i>quement</i>	<i>muy</i>	<i>muyhaff</i>

‘good’	Positive	Equative	Comparative	Superlative
Welsh	<i>da</i>	<i>cystal</i>	<i>gwell</i>	<i>goreu</i>
Cornish	<i>mas</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>dha</i>	<i>gwell</i>
Breton	<i>mat</i>	<i>koulz</i>	<i>guell</i>	<i>guelhaff</i>

‘near’	Positive	Equative	Comparative	Superlative
Welsh	<i>agos</i>	<i>kyn</i>	<i>nesset</i>	<i>ness</i>
Cornish	<i>ogas</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>ogas</i>	<i>nes</i>
Breton	<i>hogos</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>hogos</i>	<i>nes</i>

Irregular equatives do not usually match the pattern of the comparatives and superlatives as they often take nominal syntax, but the most common irregular pattern is one where the comparatives and superlatives are built on the same stem which is not that of the positive, e. g. W *mawr* : *mwy*-, *agos* : *ness*-, etc. It is also clear that such patterns go back to the Common Brittonic period, as they are similar in all Brittonic languages, and, to a lesser extent, Goidelic. There are some subsequent regularisations, e.g. the extension of *gwell*-/ *guell*- to the superlative in Cornish and Breton, or the sporadic addition of *-(h)af* to *goreu* in Middle Welsh, and generally regularisation seems to have begun earlier in Breton than in Welsh in that MW preserves a far higher number of irregular forms. The most striking feature of these irregular patterns is the lack of the comparative suffix (W *-ach*, C *-a*, B *-och*), while most superlatives, however irregular

the stem, still have the superlative suffix. These comparatives reflect developments from different case forms of the older inherited Common Celtic comparative ending **-yu:s* (< IE nom. **-yo:s* beside an oblique stem **-yos-* (giving *-och*); cf. Schrijver 2007, 2011a: 44–45); this explains the vocalism of, for example, W *mwy* < **ma:-yu:s* (cf. *mawr* ‘big’ < **ma:-ro-*) beside MW *moe* < **ma-is* in adverbial usage (Schrijver 2007: 311), W *hyn* ‘older’ (cf. *hen* ‘old’) < **sen-yu:s*.

4 Comparative

4.1 Type 3-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

4.1.1 Type 3-1-2: flag is adposition

The standard way of forming comparatives in the three Brittonic languages is adding the ending W *-ach*, B *-och* (also spelled *-oh*, *-o* in Middle Breton and *-oc’h* in Modern Breton) and *-ac’h* (very rare, see Hemon 1975: 53), C *-(h)a/-e* to the basic form of the adjective (for the origin of these markers, see Schrijver 2007: 215–17, 2011a: 44–45). The parameter marker *-ach* is attested in Old Welsh, although these are single word glosses with no comparee indicated: *guobriach* (from *gwofri* ‘dignified’) (Falileyev 2000: 71, 97). The standard is marked by W *no(c)* and C *ages* (*agis/es/ys/ey*s) which we analyse as particles (see 4.5 below). Breton has two markers to mark the standard, the particle *eguet/ eget* ‘than’ and also the preposition *eguit/ evit* ‘for’:

- (12) Early Modern Breton (*Christmas Hymns*, l. 34, ed. Hemon 1956, 17th c.)
- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>caletoh</i> | <i>evit</i> | <i>main</i> |
| hard.CPD | than | stone.PL |
| PAR.PM | STM | STAND |
| ‘harder than stones’ | | |

Generally, the comparative adjectives function as attributives but there are hints that at an earlier stage it might have been possible to use them predicatively; for example, the unexpected use of lenition after a masc. sg. noun in MW, e. g. *ny welsei dyn weith degach* (for *tegach*) ‘a man had not seen fairer work’ might point to an original predicative syntax. However, Schrijver (2007) has argued that the comparatives must have been attributive at an earlier stage, since the ending can only come from the non-nominative form of the comparative, which means the comparative must have been attributive at that point.

4.2 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The standard is indicated by the particles W *no(c)* ‘than’ (*no* before consonants, *noc/nog/* before vowels), B *eguet/ eget*, C *ages* (*agis, es, ys, eys*). Breton also uses the preposition *eguit/ evit* ‘for’ as a marker (see 4.1.1).

- (13) Middle Welsh (*Peredur*, NLW Peniarth 4 (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch), 42r, ed. Luft et al. 2013, 14th c)

<i>Danhed</i>	<i>hiryon</i>	<i>melynyon</i>	<i>melynach</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>blodeu</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>banadyl</i>
tooth.PL	long.PL	yellow.PL	yellow.CPD	than	flower.PL	ART	broom
CPREE			PAR-PM	STM	STAND		

‘long yellow teeth yellower than the flowers of the broom’

4.3 Type 3-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Another way of forming comparatives, in addition to the one discussed above in 4.1–4.2, is to use the degree marker W *mwy*, B *muy*, C *moy* ‘more’ with the basic form of the adjective. These markers are in origin the suppletive comparative forms of W *mawr*, B *meur*, C *mur* ‘big’. The standard is indicated as with the analytic comparative, discussed above. We are not aware of any examples with this construction in Middle Welsh, where all examples of the comparative are formed with the synthetic marker *-ach* added to the adjective. The first examples of *mwy* + adjective appear in Early Modern Welsh. This may be a parallel development to the grammaticalization of *llei* ‘smaller’ (comparative of *bach/bychan* ‘small’) as a degree marker for the comparative of inferiority (see below). For the corresponding analytic superlative formation, see 5.2.1. The first Cornish examples that we are aware of appear in the play *Beunans Meriasek* dated to 1504. All three examples in this text (see Lewis 1946: 19) could be perhaps read as having a superlative, rather than comparative, meaning and no standard is indicated. For Breton, Hemon (1975: 60) seems to suggest that this analytic construction is only possible with past participles used adjectivally, and he only lists examples in the superlative (see 5.4), the earliest of which is from 1576. There are some examples with other adjectives, however. The earliest we were able to find are two examples from the first half of the seventeenth century, including (14), interestingly with a code switch with the French adjective *désireux*. This is also the case with the second example (*muy angelic* ‘more angelic’, from *Confessional dastumet eves an Doctoret Catholic Apostolic Romain*, 1612).

- (14) Late Middle Breton (*Buhez Sant Euzen*, date 1623, p. 36 (Le Menn 2002: 120))
- | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------|---------------|------------|-----------------|------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>an</i> | <i>pobl</i> | <i>commun</i> | <i>muy</i> | <i>desireux</i> | <i>d=e</i> | <i>cleuet</i> | <i>oz</i> | <i>sarmon</i> |
| ART | people | common | more | desirous | to=3sg | hear.INF | at | sermon |
| CPREE | | | PM | PAR | | | | |
| <i>eut</i> | <i>vn</i> | <i>all</i> | | | | | | |
| than | one | other | | | | | | |
| STM | STAND | | | | | | | |
- ‘the common people more eager to hear him preaching than any other’

In Modern Welsh, the analytic construction is common especially with long adjectives of three or more syllables. In the Early Modern Welsh corpus by Willis & Mittendorf (2004), there are 32 examples (33 tokens) of *mwy* + adjective of fewer than three syllables. On the other hand, there are 23 examples (34 tokens) of *mwy* + adjective of three or more syllables, so the spread of the analytic construction is not clearly driven by long adjectives. There are also two examples of *mwy* followed by an adjective with the synthetic comparative marker *-ach* (*mwy tybyccach* ‘more similar’, *mwy hyfach* ‘braver’ by Ellis Roberts, 1783, see Willis & Mittendorf 2004).

As for the comparative of inferiority, Modern Welsh has a degree marker *llai* ‘less’ (MW *lleï*) to mark this degree. This is historically the suppletive comparative form of *bach/bychan* ‘little, small’. The standard is indicated by the particle *na(g)* ‘than’ (MW *no(c)*). Similarly to the degree marker *mwy* ‘more’ for the comparative of superiority, this marker is not attested in Middle Welsh. The Early Modern Welsh corpus yields no examples either, suggesting perhaps that *llai* developed into a comparative marker even later than *mwy* ‘more’ (although late attestation does not mean it did not exist earlier). Example (15) is from Present-day Welsh:

- (15) Present-day Welsh (*CEG*)
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|-----------|------------|-------------|----------|
| <i>tân</i> | <i>yn</i> | <i>llai</i> | <i>pwysig</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>=’r</i> | <i>sawl</i> | <i>a</i> |
| fire | PTCL | less | important | than | =ART | those | REL |
| CPREE | | PM | PAR | STM | STAND | | |
| <i>achubwyd</i> | | <i>ohono</i> | | | | | |
| save.PST.IMPERS | | from it | | | | | |

‘a fire [may be] less important [to report] than those who were saved from it’

We were not able to find examples of MC *le* ‘less’ (or the superlative *leia*, *lyha* ‘least’) + adj. as an analytic comparative. Middle Breton has lost the irregular comparative forms of ‘small’ (Old Breton still has *lei* ‘less’, see Lewis & Piette 1966: 16), but it is worth noting the Modern Breton pattern of *di-X-oc’h* (with a negative prefix added to a comparative) as in *difalloc’h* ‘less weak/evil’, *dizroukoc’h* ‘less dangerous’.

4.4 Type 3-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The analytic construction W *mwy*, B *muy*, C *moy* ‘more’ + adj., discussed above in 4.3, can be used on its own without a following standard marker and standard. Some examples like this can be translated with exclamative force (‘so careful’ in (16)). Example (16) is also the earliest attested example of the analytic construction *mwy* + adj. in Welsh, alongside another example (*mwy gogoneddus* ‘more glorious’) in the same text.

- (16) Early Modern Welsh, 1588 Bible translation (see Willis & Mittendorf 2004)

<i>a</i>	<i>chan</i>	<i>fod</i>	<i>yn</i>	<i>fwy</i>	<i>gofalus</i>	
and	by	be.INF	PTCL	more	careful	
				PM	PAR	

‘and because he was so careful’

W *llai* ‘less’ + adj. can also be used on its own without an explicit standard of comparison:

- (17) Present-day Welsh (CEG)

<i>âi</i>	=’r	<i>ddaeear</i>	<i>yn</i>	<i>llai</i>	<i>ffrwythlon</i>	
go.IPFV.3SG	=ART	earth	PTCL	less	fruitful	
	CPREE			PM	PAR	

‘the earth turned less fruitful’

4.5 Formal means of expressing comparatives

The standard marker MW *no(c)* (later *na(c)/na(g)*)

Welsh *no(c)* (also in early Welsh *nogyt*) has no parallels in the other Brittonic languages (where we find C *ages*, B *eget* and *evit*). A detailed discussion of the possible origins of MW *no(c)* and later *na(c)* by Laker (2008) connects them with the negative particles, Welsh *na(c)/na(g)* and Irish *nách* (for dated and inadequate suggestions, see Morris-Jones 1913: 243, 447; and Pedersen 1909–1913: I. § 285; for pleonastic negatives in Welsh, cf. also Willis 2011: 24–40). Laker (2008) calls *no(c)* and *na(c)* negative comparative particles (NCP) in their use in comparative constructions. Interestingly, it has also been proposed that English *nor* ‘than’ as a NCP (in dialects of southern England, Scotland and Ireland and also in Scots) arose due to substrate influence from MW *no(c)* and *na(c)* (Laker 2008; Filppula, Clemola & Paulasto 2008: 99–102). For an earlier proposal that OE *bonne* ‘than’ contains an NCP *-ne* but without the argument for substrate influence, cf. also Joly 1967 (rejected by Mitchell 1985: § 302 and Laker 2008). Laker (2008: 14–17) also explores, but then rejects, the possibility that

the English pattern was influenced by French. As with all these topics, more work is needed.

Irregular forms

For discussion, see 3.6.

5 Superlative

5.1 Type 4-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

5.1.1 Type 4-1-2: flag is adposition

The standard way of forming superlatives in all the three medieval Brittonic languages is adding the ending MW *-(h)af*, MB *-(h)af(f)* or *-añ* and MC *-(h)a/-e* to the basic form of the adjective (for the origin of these markers, see Schrijver 2011a: 44–45). Note that the Cornish ending does not differ from that of the comparative, while Breton and Welsh have distinct markers for the two. The *-h-*, which is often omitted in spelling, is historically part of the ending and causes unvoicing of /b, d, g/, e. g. W *caled* ‘hard’, superlative *caletaf* ‘hardest’. The final *-f*, pronounced /v/ in Welsh and /v̥/ in Breton, is lost in the modern languages. The standard marker is Welsh *o*, B/C *a* ‘of, from’. The marker is homophonous with the preposition W *o* and B/C *a* ‘from, of’ and we therefore treat the marker as such as well (compare the same treatment of the marker *a/ac* above in 3.3).

- (18) Middle Welsh (NLW Peniarth 9, *Ystoria Carolo Magno: Can Rolant*, 54r, ed. Luft et al. 2013, 14th c.)

<i>y</i>	<i>pagan</i>	<i>cadarnhaf</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>=r</i>	<i>byt</i>
ART	pagan	tough.SPD	from	=ART	world
	CPREE	PAR-PM	STM	STAND	

‘the toughest pagan in the world’

There are examples of superlatives in Old Welsh and Old Breton glosses, although without standard and parameter markers. The endings are OW *-(h)am* /-(h)av/, OB *-(h)am* /-hañ/. The first Old Welsh example is *hinham* ‘oldest’ (glossing Latin *patri-cius*), the superlative of *hen* ‘old’, but probably used here as a noun ‘head, chief, superior, lord’. Another example may be Old Welsh or Old Breton, as some of the examples in the manuscript (MS Angers 477) are difficult to assign to one language or the other: *pellaham* ‘farthest’, the superlative of W/B *pell* ‘far’ (Falileyev 2000: 84, 129).

5.2 Type 4-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

5.2.1 Type 4-2-2: flag is adposition

Like the comparative, the superlative also has a free morpheme degree marker, attested at least in Welsh and Breton. For Cornish, we did not find examples, but a more detailed search is needed. These markers are W *mwyaf*(*f*), B *muy(h)aff* ‘most’ for the superlative of superiority and W *lleiaf*(*f*) ‘least’ for the superlative of inferiority. These are the irregular superlatives of ‘big’ and ‘small’ (see 3.6). The standard marker is *o* ‘of’ as with superlatives formed with the bound suffix (see 5.1). Again, similar to the comparative, the analytical superlative construction is not attested until the Early Modern Welsh period. The earliest attestation of *mwyaf* ‘most’ + adj. is in 1595:

- (19) Early Modern Welsh (Huw Lewys, 1595, *Perl mewn adfyd*, ed. Willis & Mittendorf 2004)
- | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|----------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>bateloed'</i> | <i>enbydus,</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>mwyaf</i> | <i>dialeddus</i> |
| battle.PL | perilous | and | most | grievous |
| CPREE | | | PM | PAR |
- ‘perilous and most grievous battles’

The corresponding construction with *lleiaf* ‘least’ is not attested in the Early Modern Welsh corpus by Willis & Mittendorf (2004) and only seems to appear in the Modern Welsh period (examples can be found in *CEG*). We did not find examples of this construction with *C leia, lyha* ‘least’, but more detailed work is needed on this.

5.3 Type 4-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The superlative forms discussed in 5.1.1 can be used without the standard being overtly expressed.

- (20) Middle Welsh (*Peredur*, NLW Peniarth 7, 15r, ed. Luft et al. 2013, 14th c.)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|----------|------------|---------------|
| <i>ny</i> | <i>myn</i> | <i>honno</i> | <i>namyn</i> | <i>y</i> | <i>gwr</i> | <i>dewraf</i> |
| NEG | want.PRS.3SG | she | except | ART | man | brave.SPD |
| | | | | CPREE | | PAR-PM |
- ‘she wants none but the bravest man’

5.4 Type 4-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The analytic superlative described in 5.2.1 can be used without the standard and standard marker being expressed explicitly. The Breton example given here has a past participle form used adjectivally.

- (21) Middle Breton (*Buhez an Itron Sanctes Cathell* 31, 16th c., ed. Ernault 1887: 92; cf. Hemon 1975: 60)
- | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|---------------|--|
| <i>ma</i> | <i>muyaff</i> | <i>caret</i> | |
| my | most | love.PTCP.PST | |
| | PM | PAR | |
- ‘my most beloved one’

5.5 Formal means of expressing superlatives

The diachrony of the synthetic and analytic comparative constructions

The patterns of the use of analytic parameter markers W *mwy*, B *muy*, C *moy* ‘more’/W *mwyaf*, B *muy(h)aff* ‘most’ and W *llai* (MW *llel*) ‘less’/W *lleiaf* ‘least’ to form comparatives and superlatives have never been mapped out in the Brittonic languages, and this is also the case of the corresponding English markers *more/most* and *less/least*, as far as we are aware. For English, the *OED* (s. v. *more, most*) states that “it is uncertain to what extent the emergence of periphrastic comparison in English was influenced by analogy with French comparison with *plus* and *le plus* or Latin comparison with *magis* and *maxime*”, and confusion with adjectives in *-most* (e. g. *foremost*) and the use of the superlative *most* to denote ‘greatest in size’ are also mentioned as possible sources for the construction. It is likewise unclear whether the Brittonic analytical markers may have arisen as a result of language contact with English, (Norman) French or even Latin. The earliest attestations in Welsh appear in the Early Modern Welsh period (only for *mwy/mwyaf* ‘more/most’ + adj., while we have to wait until Modern Welsh for *llai/lleiaf* ‘less/least’ + adj.). For the use of these markers in Present-day Welsh, see Thomas (2006: 230–231). Breton and Cornish examples appear around the same period, namely from the sixteenth century onwards.

The earliest attestation of *more* + adj. as an analytical comparative in English is in the thirteenth century (*OED* s. v. *more*), making it early enough to be the consequent source of the Welsh construction. Interestingly, while the periphrastic comparative and superlative of inferiority (*llai* ‘less’/W *lleiaf* ‘least’ + adj.) appears very late in Welsh (as far as textual attestations are concerned), its first attestation in English is earlier than that of *more/most*, namely in the Old English translation of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* of 950AD where it is a translation from Latin and so may have been calqued on it (see Jäger & Walkden, this volume).

Irregular forms

For discussion, see 3.6.

6 Elative

6.1 Type 5-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Welsh uses a range of bound and free morphemes to mark elativity. It may be the case that at an earlier stage the free morphemes were sub-literary and so only emerge in the sources at a later stage. The most common bound morphemes are the prefix *go-* ‘rather, somewhat, quite’ (lit. ‘under’) and the adjectival suffix (added to adjectives) *-aidd* which often corresponds approximately to English *-ish*, e.g. ‘blackish’ (Zimmer 2000: 467–484).

- (22) Middle Welsh (*Gereint*, NLW Peniarth 4, 67v, ed. Luft et al. 2013, 14th c.; cf. Morris-Jones 1913: 439)

<i>Marchawc</i>	<i>mawr</i>	<i>go=chrwn</i>	<i>penn isel</i>	<i>go=athrist</i>
knight	great	quite=stooped	head low	quite=sad
CPREE		PM=PAR		PM=PAR

‘a great, somewhat stooped, head-down, rather sad knight’

6.2 Type 5-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Bound morphemes, prefixed or suffixed, are more common in Middle Welsh, while in Early Modern Welsh and later free morphemes become very common. There are numerous adverbial elements which are used and here only the most common are noted. Of necessity they come from early modern and modern sources. For Modern Breton we may note the following: *tom mad/meurbet* ‘quite/very hot’; *gwell dom* ‘extremely hot’; *tom-ik* ‘a bit hot’; and cf. also *gwell-ik-oc’h* ‘a bit better’, and *gwell-o’ch-ik*; *tomik mat* ‘assez chaud’; and with reduplication *tom tom* ‘very hot’.

(23) Present-day Welsh (CEG)

Amrywiai='r ysgolion hyn yn ddirfawr o rai
vary.IPFV.3SG=ART school.PL these PTCL huge from those
CPREE
gweddol dda i rai a gynhelid mewn ystafell fechan
fairly good to those REL hold.IPFV.IMPERS in room small
PM PAR
dywyll
dark

'these schools varied hugely from fairly good ones to those held in a small dark room'

Eitha, earlier (and in formal Welsh) *eithaf*, is in origin a superlative 'furthest', while *gweddol* is an adjective meaning 'approximately, fairly'. On the other hand, *braidd*, which can often have predicative syntax, seems to mean 'hard, difficult' and so perhaps used in the sense of 'with difficulty' (see the extra examples under Type 5-10 in the Brittonic data on <https://gitlab.uzh.ch/paul.widmer/mhiet-vol1-gradation>).

7 Excessive

7.1 Type 6-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

A few examples are found in Old and Middle Welsh of a prefix *gor-* (lit. 'over') to indicate excess and examples can be found in Breton, e. g. *gourfaot* 'over-abundant', *gourhen* 'very old, too old'. But generally, even in the medieval period, it is superseded by the forms using a free morpheme.

(24) Old Welsh (Juvencus 3, early 10th c., see McKee 2000: 270)

mi=telu nit gur=maur
my=retinue NEG too=big
CPREE PM=PAR
'my retinue is not too big'

7.2 Type 6-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The more common type is Middle Welsh *rwy*, later *ry*, Modern Welsh *rhy*, Cornish *re*, Breton *re* ‘too’ followed by an adjective.

(25) Middle Welsh (*Ystoria Bown de Hamtwn*, 13b, ed. Watkin 1958, 14th c.)

<i>ry</i>	<i>anesmwyth</i>	<i>yv</i>	<i>dy</i>	<i>varch</i>	<i>di</i>
too	un-smooth	be.PRS.3SG	your	horse	your
PM	PAR		CPREE		

‘your horse is too restless’

7.3 Formal means of expressing excessives

Welsh *rhy* /r^hi/ ‘too’ seems to be the stressed equivalent of MW perfective particle *ry* /rə/.

They seem to have the same relationship to each other as the apparently stressed *cyn* and *cy-* (corresponding to Breton *quen* and *ke-*) (see 3.6 above; cf. also alternations like *tra*, *traw*, *dros*, etc. and the discussion in Schumacher 2012).

8 Summary

Several points arise from this discussion of gradation in Brittonic languages; some are practical, and others are of greater linguistic interest.

Among the former is the issue of the patchiness of the data and the difficulty of finding examples of features which one suspects are actually in the language(s). In part this is because for all these languages far-ranging and thorough databases are only just beginning to be developed and so it is simply not easy to find examples.

Two points are worth noting in the latter category. First, the complexity of the structures involved in equatives, and also their historical origins; much more work is needed on this. Secondly, the rise of analytical parameter markers in the comparatives and superlatives is evidenced very late, often in the early modern period. One might wonder whether they are really that late or whether they operated from an earlier period at a sub-literary level and only later on surfaced in texts. While such markers could easily have arisen independently, because they appear in Latin, English and French, the languages with which speakers of Brittonic languages came into contact at various periods, they could also have arisen through contact.

Abbreviations

B	Breton
C	Cornish
CEG	Ellis et al. <i>Cronfa electroneg</i>
GIB	Hemon, <i>Geriadur Istorel</i>
GPC	Thomas et al., <i>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru</i>
MB	Middle Breton
MC	Middle Cornish
ModW	Modern Welsh
MW	Middle Welsh
NLW	National Library of Wales
OB	Old Breton
OC	Old Cornish
OW	Old Welsh
W	Welsh

Corpora

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9 Continental Celtic

1 Introduction

By ‘Continental Celtic’ we mean the Celtic languages attested on the European continent in antiquity. It is here assumed that indigenous texts are extant in three Continental Celtic languages: Lepontic, Gaulish, and Celtiberian.¹ The question of whether or not Lusitanian is a Celtic language is currently under discussion (see Untermann 1987, Wodtko 2010, Vallejo 2017). The Celticity of Tartessian is as yet unproven (see Koch 2014, Eska 2014, Kaufman 2015). The transmission of Galatian in Asia Minor is onomastic only (Freeman 2001).

Gaulish, Lepontic, and Celtiberian are languages of fragmentary attestation.² Their indigenous transmission is exclusively epigraphical. It is supplemented by onomastic material and occasional glosses in different linguistic traditions, such as Latin (see, e. g., Blom 2011).

1.1 Lepontic is transmitted from the 6th c. BC until possibly around 100 BC in Northern Italy, in the area of the Great Lakes, basically north of the river Po.³ It is attested in somewhat less than 300 inscriptions, mostly on ceramics and stone, also on coins. Of these, more than half are below word status; linguistically usable texts are less than 100; and texts consisting of more than 2 words are fewer than 20. All Lepontic texts are written in a specific variety of the Etruscan alphabet, traditionally called the ‘North Etruscan alphabet of Lugano’, or simply the ‘Lepontic alphabet’. Texts in the Latin alphabet are in the Latin language containing only Celtic onomastic material (e. g. MCI 59, 64, 67). Younger Lepontic texts are sometimes difficult to distinguish from Gaulish texts in Northern Italy.

The vast majority of Lepontic inscriptions comes from funerary contexts. The stones are grave-stones, the inscribed pottery are grave-goods. New texts in the Lepontic alphabet have been discovered more recently in the Val Brembana, Carona, Bergamo. No definitive edition of these is yet available. See the preliminary discussions in Casini et al. 2008, 2014, Casini & Fossati 2013, Motta 2008, 2010, 2015. If these texts really are in the Lepontic language, they would change the statistics for text-types by adding rock inscriptions and quite possibly increasing the number of texts of a reli-

¹ The position of Lepontic as a separate language or as a dialect of Gaulish is debated, see Uhlich 1999 and 2007, Eska 2009, 24.

² For the terminology see Untermann 1989.

³ The texts have been collected by Morandi 2004 and by Leplex. The abbreviation MCI followed by a number refers to Morandi’s edition. The so-called Lunigiana stelae (MCI 272–74) are not considered Lepontic here.

gious character in the narrow sense, so that the current preponderance of funerary contexts might be moderated.

1.2 Gaulish is attested in several hundred inscriptions from perhaps the 3rd century BC to at least the 3rd century AD. The earliest texts come from southern Gaul and are written in the Greek alphabet (therefore called ‘Gallo-Greek’). There are Gaulish texts from Italy in the Lepontic alphabet (called ‘Gallo-Etruscan’) and, from about the beginning of our era, texts in the Latin alphabet (‘Gallo-Latin’) from all over Gaul.⁴ Attestation in the Greek alphabet is on stone, on ceramics, natural rock, and coins. Texts are grave-stones, dedications, possessors’ and producers’ marks. In Gallo-Latin, texts on stone are comparatively rare, but there are many on *instrumentum*, including on lead, on which some of the longest Gaulish texts preserved are found, and on a variety of private items, such as spindle-whorls.⁵ Gallo-Etruscan texts, dating from about the 3rd century BC, again are grave-stones, a dedication, and names on ceramics which may name the owner or the donor.

1.3 Celtiberian is attested in a central-northeastern area of the Iberian Peninsula from about 200 BC until the beginning of our era.⁶ The oldest texts are coin legends, the most important text type are juridical and legal inscriptions on bronze, such as *tesserae hospitales*, but also longer decrees made by towns. Funerary and religious contexts are not well represented,⁷ but there are some short inscriptions on pottery and on items of metal other than bronze, apparently of a private nature. The number of linguistically usable texts is about 100, in addition to some 50 coin legends. Most texts are written in the Celtiberian semi-syllabary, but some are in Latin script.

1.4 As has already been mentioned, all the languages in question here are of fragmentary attestation, *Trümmersprachen*. In its own time, such a language may well have been the most important and often the only language spoken by its speakers; the speakers therefore had full linguistic competence in their language and the language was in no way endangered. However, modern scholars do not have much linguistic competence in these languages, because they are attested only in texts which are not fully understood. This can be, and in our case is, connected to a situation where only a few texts, and short ones at that, are preserved at all. Yet Etruscan is a language

⁴ Texts are edited in the volumes of RIG with supplements in *ÉC* from volume 25 (1988). The number given to texts here refers to this edition.

⁵ For Gaulish lead inscriptions see recently *ÉC* 38 (2012), 139 ff., *ÉC* 39 (2013), 135 ff.; for stones and public texts Lambert 2018. For spindle-whorls see also Dondin-Payre 2007.

⁶ Texts are edited in MLH IV, referred to here by their number preceded by K. Coin legends are edited in MLH I, with a number preceded by A. New finds are regularly published in the journal *Palaeohispanica*.

⁷ For recently found grave-stones see Rodríguez Simón & Díez de Pinos López 2014, Gorrochategui 2014, Gorrochategui 2017, Gorrochategui & Simón Cornago 2018.

of fragmentary attestation attested in almost 10,000 texts, not all of which are short (although most are). The term ‘language of fragmentary attestation’ thus does not necessarily imply a dying language; nor does it necessarily imply a small corpus. What it does imply is that modern linguists do not understand it well.

This entails a problem with the onomasiological approach. It is possible that the constructions we are looking for are simply not attested in the corpus. But what is attested is not well enough understood to allow for a full assessment. As these languages are still in the process of being decoded, the predictability of constructions is very limited. A linguistic description of such languages therefore usually starts from the semasiological approach. In the case of Indo-European languages, this is supported by the historical-comparative method, which allows for equations of lexical and morphological features with corresponding items from better-known linguistic systems. Morphological observations lead to hypotheses concerning the function of forms. These must then be tested against the context. In many cases, ambiguities will remain.

1.5 Starting from possibly suffixal formations, the assumption that these are grading forms rests on the comparison of the shape of the suffix with other languages, in which it has a grading function. The base to which the suffix is added must be suitable for such a function. Yet it is the phrasal context which permits a description of the grading strategy involved. Where no context exists or where it is not sufficiently clear, the construction cannot be classified. This is the case for most attested forms which qualify as possibly graded on morphological grounds. All purely onomastic attestations are affected.

Thus Lepontic *uvamo-*, the first member of the compound *uvamokozis* (MCI 180), has been interpreted as equivalent to Vedic *upamá-* ‘highest’. While this interpretation is not unreasonable, the syntactic environment is neutralised in composition.

The same holds for Gaulish *andamo-*, attested as the first member of the name *Andamorix*. The etymological connection with Latin *infimus* and Vedic *adhamá-*, as set out by Lambert 2014, leads to the plausible interpretation of *Andamorix* as a theophoric name ‘Rex inferorum’, but it can tell us nothing about the expression of the standard in a corresponding syntagma.⁸

Further examples, with the superlative suffix *-isamo-*, include the name *Belisama*, probably *olusami* (Chartres, ÉC 39, 135) and possibly *sedagisamo* in unclear context on the Châteaubateau tile (L-93).

Similar formations with regard to the suffix *-amo-* added to local adverbs in Celtiberian are: **usama**, **-ud̄** / *Uxama* ‘highest’ < **ups-*, attested as place-name and personal name;⁹ UERAMOS (see 5.1.); and perhaps the place-name *Uama* (attested

⁸ Moreover, if *andamica* attested on ceramics from Lezoux (L 144–45) is correctly understood as ‘of lowest quality’, the derivation in *-ica* from a superlative base would suggest lexicalisation of *andamo-*. For this and similar words see RIG II.2, 169 f. For Gaulish words in general see also DLG.

⁹ For details on Celtiberian lexemes, see MLH V.1.

for the Baetica), which could be from earlier **upama* and might belong with the form UAMUŞ (Bronze of Novallas) for which more context is needed.¹⁰ The superlative formation in *-isamo-* is attested in the place-name *Segisama* ~ ‘the strongest’ and the coin legend **sekisamos** (A.69). There may be further such names, e.g. the coin legend **letaisama** (A.68) and the personal name **melmantama** (K.1.3).

1.6 Forms probably belonging to the common lexicon are Gaulish *mesamobi* and *neddamon*. They seem to correspond lexically to the suppletive Old Irish superlatives *messam* ‘worst’ to *olc* ‘bad’ and *nessam* ‘nearest’ (MW *nessaf*) to *ocus* (MW *agos*) ‘near’. *mesamobi* is attested in an unclear context on the plate of Lezoux (L–66). It has been suggested that the sequence *mesamobi molatus* means “praise by the worst” (McCone 1996: 111).¹¹ If so, *mesamobi* is a substantivised superlative in the instrumental plural, and not part of a grading construction. Substantivisation is also the usual interpretation of *neddamon* in the following phrase (found on a vessel):

- (1) L–50
neddamon delgu linda
 nearest.GEN.PL hold.1SG drink.ACC.PL
 ‘I hold the drinks of the nearest.’¹²

Continental Celtic as yet shows no evidence of comparatives in **-tero-*. Celtiberian **lestera** (K.1.3 Ü) is probably a noun, **steroi** (BB IV) perhaps a pronoun.¹³

2 Superlative

While no evidence has been identified for similitive, equative, and comparative forms and constructions, there may be Celtiberian examples where the superlative degree is expressed by a bound morpheme and the standard is found in the genitive plural.

The texts in question were located on the rock wall of an open air sanctuary (MLH IV 618 ff., Beltrán Lloris et al. 2005, 931 ff.). The first one is lost and known only from a drawing. It reads:

¹⁰ Celtiberian forms transmitted in the Latin alphabet are written here in capital letters, forms attested in the indigenous semi-syllabary are in bold. For the etymological interpretation of the place-name *Uama* see MLH VI, 737; for the Novallas bronze see the preliminary account by Beltrán et al. 2013.

¹¹ For *molatus*, cf. OIr. *molad* m. u ‘praise, praising’.

¹² The Celtiberian word **uela** in K.6.1 has been tentatively compared with the suppletive comparative Welsh *gwell* ‘better’. The following word, in the sequence ... **erna uela tikerdebod** ..., has been read as an ablative **tikerdetad** (Jordán 2004, 315). But the interpretation is very uncertain.

¹³ On BB IV see Villar et al. 2001 and Beltrán Lloris 2002.

- (2) K. 3.18
 TUROS CARORUM UIROS UERAMOS
 NOM GEN.PL NOM NOM

UIROS UERAMOS has been interpreted as ‘highest man’ on etymological grounds. Here, UERAMOS is a superlative formation < *uperamos, where the suffix *-amo-* is attached to a local adverb (cf. 1.5 above). TUROS is a well-attested personal name. CARORUM is a Latin genitive plural. It might be the expression of the standard. If so, the text can be translated: ‘Turos the highest man of the Caro(-group).’ But the syntactic structure is ambiguous. Alternatively we might construe a meaning: ‘Turos of the Caro(-group), highest man.’ In this case CARORUM would merely qualify TUROS, the standard would be left unexpressed.

The intrusion of a Latin inflected form, the genitive plural CARORUM, into a Celtiberian syntagma is quite remarkable. The same sequence – and possibly the same person – recurs in another text found in the same location:

- (3) K.3.17
 TUROS CARORUM COTIRIQUM
 NOM GEN.PL GEN.PL

Here, TUROS CARORUM is followed by COTIRIQUM, a Celtiberian gen.pl. The reading of CARORUM is uncertain, the word might rather be CAROQUM. If that were the case, the individual name TUROS is possibly followed by two family names in the gen.pl.¹⁴ Assuming that TUROS CARORUM in the lost inscription K.3.18 is the same person, one might wonder if the reading – which cannot be verified – should again be the family name CAROQUM. In this case the second alternative above would seem more likely, i. e. CARORUM would be a modifier of TUROS, the standard of UIROS UERAMOS would be unexpressed.

On the other hand, a further text from the same place reads:

- (4) K.3.7
 UORAMOS EDNOUM¹⁵
 NOM GEN.PL?

UORAMOS could here be a variant of UERAMOS, with /O/ perhaps conditioned by analogy to the local adverb *wo ‘under’ < *upo; cf. OIr. *for* ‘on, above’ with *-o-* in

¹⁴ Although a single family name is the norm, two are found occasionally, e. g. K.1.3 III–57: **turaios litanokum kurmilokum**.

¹⁵ This is preceded by K.3.6: CALAITOS, a well-known personal name, which has sometimes been read as part of the same text expressing the comparee; however, the style of writing makes this unlikely, see MLH IV 630.

analogy to *fo*. EDNOUM could be a Celtiberian gen.pl. **ednowum*. UORAMOS EDNOUM has been interpreted as “highest of birds” (de Bernardo Stempel 2003, 48 f.). While the lexical meaning of EDNOUM cannot yet be verified, it is unlikely that it is a family name. As a gen.pl., it might again express the standard. The gen.pl. here follows the superlative, while it precedes it in the previous example. It is not yet clear whether this order has an impact on the construction.¹⁶

3 Other structures: Elatives, excessives, expressions of minority or similarity

Many Continental Celtic names, particularly personal names, have been interpreted as containing grading prefixes, mostly of intensifying nuance. But while this is a real possibility, it is usually impossible to evaluate intensifying or diminutive value in such cases. These shades of meaning are often difficult to grasp in extinct languages,¹⁷ and in languages of fragmentary attestation, there is an obvious danger of making arbitrary choices. Presumed prefixes with potentially grading function might alternatively be local adverbs forming prepositional governing compounds. In other cases, the presumed prefix may be a preverb, and the noun formed with it might be a deverbal derivative rather than a simplex to which a prefix is then added.¹⁸ For this reason, a list of allegedly grading prefixes in Continental Celtic seems dispensable here.

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¹⁶ UERAMOS recurs in the acc.sg. in a further inscription from the same place, where the syntax is unclear; thus K.3.11: UELSAM (acc.sg.) TICINO (gen. sg.) UERAMOM TUROS OILOBOS (dat./abl. pl.).

¹⁷ See e. g. the hesitation of DIL s.vv. with regard to the meaning of *airnocht* and *frithnocht*.

¹⁸ For this issue see Wodtko 2013 with some examples from Continental Celtic languages.

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Aaron Griffith

10 Goidelic

poisit ... ni derscaigh do ní. Superlait dno ni derscaighther di. Comparait immorro derscaighidh di neoch, derscaighther di
–Auricept 694

‘the positive does not surpass anything; the superlative, however, is not surpassed; the comparative surpasses something and is surpassed’¹

1 Introduction

This chapter examines adjective gradation in the Goidelic branch of Celtic, as represented by Early Irish (attested c. 700 – c. 1200). Goidelic is comprised of the Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx languages, but all of these descend from Early Irish, which is a cover term for Old Irish (c. 700 – 950) and Middle Irish (950 – c. 1200). That these two periods are taken together is a result of the complicated attestation of the language, in which texts composed in the Old Irish period are frequently found only in manuscripts written much later, sometimes even into the early modern period. As a result, genuine Old Irish forms often appear beside innovative Middle Irish and Early Modern Irish forms in the same text, which fact makes it difficult to determine the age of any individual feature.

For this chapter, the primary data is taken, whenever possible, from manuscripts written in the Old Irish period. This guarantees the Old Irish age of the feature.² The texts thus represented are those found in the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*. This data has been supplemented with searches of Old Irish texts found in Middle Irish sources and especially with smart searches of the electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language (eDIL). A full list of cited texts can be found at the end of the chapter.³

1.1 General observations on Early Irish adjectives

Early Irish adjectives have morphologically expressed positive, equative, comparative, and superlative degrees. Of these, only the positive can be used attributively, where

1 For an interesting contribution on the metaphors underlying the descriptions of grades of comparison, see Russell (2020).

2 Note, however, that since most such texts are Old Irish glosses to Latin base texts, the possibility of influence from Latin is real. In most cases, evidence from other texts and other periods confirms the authenticity of the construction in the glosses, but in some rarely attested types, it is hard to be certain.

3 Additional data are available at <https://gitlab.uzh.ch/paul.widmer/mhiet-vol1-gradation>.

it agrees with the noun it modifies. All other degrees of adjectives are restricted to predicative position; a quasi-attributive use of such degrees is achieved via a copular relative clause, e. g. ‘the man who is best among us’ (predicative) instead of ‘the best man among us’ (attributive). A positive adjective in predicative position (like one in attributive position) agrees with the subject of the clause, but the other degrees have fixed forms, i. e. no agreement at all.

Most adjectives are regular and follow a standard pattern, given below:

sen ‘old’ *sinithir* ‘as old as’ *siniu* ‘older’ *sinem* ‘oldest’

Nonetheless, there are a small number of very common adjectives that have irregular and / or suppletive forms. In these cases, the comparative is frequently the most irregular, as it generally exhibits a suppletive stem without the usual comparative morphology, while the superlative most frequently has regular morphology attached to the suppletive stem of the comparative, with the notable exception of *dech* ‘best’. It is harder to make such generalizations about the equatives, however. Descriptive details can be found in *GOI* (235), but a short list is given here as well:

Positive	Equative	Comparative	Superlative
<i>accus</i> ‘near’		<i>nessa</i>	<i>nessam</i>
<i>becc</i> ‘small’		<i>l(a)ugu</i>	<i>lugam</i>
<i>il</i> ‘many’	<i>lir</i>	<i>lia</i>	
<i>maith</i> ‘good’		<i>ferr</i>	<i>dech / deg</i>
<i>mór</i> ‘great, much’	<i>móir</i>	<i>mó(o)</i>	<i>moam</i>
<i>olc</i> ‘bad’		<i>messa</i>	<i>messam</i>
<i>remur</i> ‘thick’	<i>reimir / remithir</i>		
<i>trén</i> ‘strong’	<i>tresithir</i>	<i>tressa</i>	<i>tressam</i>

Many of the irregularities found here in Old Irish are found also in British Celtic (see Nurmio, Russell, this volume). Brief notes on the historical morphology of the formations are given below in the sections on individual constructions.

2 Similitive

Early Irish has no morpheme to express a similitive degree, but rather uses prepositions, verbs or adjectives with an appropriate meaning: *amal* ‘like’, *cosmail* ‘like, similar’, *écsamail* ‘unlike, dissimilar’, *cummae* ‘same’, *samlaitir / samlaigidir / in-samlathar* ‘compares, is like’, *cosmailigidir* ‘compares, resembles’.⁴ The verb or adjective

⁴ All of these forms, with the exception of *cummae* ‘same’ are ultimately related, as they are derived from the noun *samail* ‘likeness, similarity’. The preposition *amal* ‘like’ loses its initial *s* because it is an unaccented clitic.

usually uses a preposition (either *do* or *fri*, apparently without difference of meaning) as marker of the standard of comparison (STM). The coordinating conjunction *ocus* ‘and’ is also found with some adjectives as a marker of standard of comparison (STM), usually in an equative meaning, but also sometimes as a similitive (see (4) below).

2.1 Type 1-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

2.1.1 Type 1-2-1: flag is case⁵

- (1) *co-nda marb hó thoil cholno amal crist*
 so.that-am dead from desire of flesh like Christ.ACC
 (CPREE) PAR PM STAND.STM
 ‘so that I am dead as to the desire of the flesh, like Christ’ (Wb. 19a17)

The preposition *amal* is the standard Old Irish preposition in this usage, though in Middle Irish one finds also *imbar* (see example (36) below).

2.2 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

2.2.1 Type 1-3-2: flag is adposition

The type is attested with adjectives (example (2)) and rarely with verbs (example (3)).

- (2) *cia-su chosmail fris-in canoin*
 though-is similar to-the text
 [CPREE] PM STM STAND
 ‘(he has here a commentary,) although it is similar to the text’ (Ml. 68b5)

⁵ As Old Irish examples are now going to be presented, three short comments on the glossing are in order. First, as this chapter concentrates on the expression of adjective gradation, there is little space for discussion of the morphophonology of the language or its complicated relationship to the orthography. Frequently, there is no overt orthographic expression of a particular distinction, but we can be assured of that distinction’s presence. The interested reader can consult any of the standard handbooks for relevant discussion. Second, the term conjugated preposition is used in Old Irish linguistics to indicate a preposition with affixed / clitic person and number (and occasionally gender) marking. This marking is obligatory in Old Irish for any preposition with a pronominal object and takes the place of a tonic pronoun. The conjugated preposition *friu* (see main text below page 239) is thus *fri* ‘to’ plus affixed morphology indicating a 3PL object. The final point concerns the use of the raised dot , which is a convention in the discipline to separate the pretonic from the tonic part of the verbal complex (see GOI 25).

- (3) *is friss na-samlur*
 is to.he PRV-it-compare.1SG
 STM.STAND CPREE·PM
 ‘it is to him that I compare it’ (Wb. 3c6)

2.3 Type 1-7: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

- (4) *is cosmail s3n dano ocus intan fo-ndaim .i. a cumscugud*
 is similar this then and when suffers i its change
 PM CPREE STM STAND
in .u.
 into u
 ‘this is like when *i* suffers its change into *u*’ (Sg. 11a1)

The standard can be a phrase, as here, or simply a noun.

2.4 Types not included in the questionnaire

Compounds

The noun *samail* ‘likeness, similarity’ can be combined with nouns indicating the standard of comparison (the initial *s-* is lost in composition; see also footnote 3 above). In this case, there is no standard marker, though one could argue that the fact that the noun expressing the standard appears in composition form as the first compound member is itself the standard marker. Note that the compound itself is an adjective and thus agrees with the comparee.

- (5) *co-mbad adr-amail in macc*
 so.that-is.PST.SBJV.3SG father-likeness.NOM the son.NOM
 STAND-PM CPREE
 ‘so that the Son would be like the Father’ (Wb. 6d6)

This construction is only found infrequently in Old Irish, but a search in eDIL indicates increasing frequency in Middle and Early Modern Irish.

2.5 Formal means of expressing similatives

See above at the beginning of the section.

3 Equative constructions

Unlike most other Indo-European languages, Irish has an equative morpheme, which is *-ithir* / *-idir* in non-suppletive formations, e. g. *ardithir* ‘as high as’ from *ard* ‘high’. The ending is sometimes accompanied by a vowel change in the adjectival root, cf. *gel* ‘white’ beside *gilithir* ‘as white as’ as in example (6) or *sen* ‘old’ beside *sinithir* ‘as old as’ as given above. Etymologically, the equative morpheme was an abstract in *-eth* / *-ed* (cognate with Middle Welsh *-et* / *-ed* < **-iseto-*) plus a final *-ir* that must have come from the irregular formations (Jasanoff 1988–90: 187–8). For the irregular formations, some of these also appear to be from abstracts, specifically the petrified genitives of substantivized adjectives, as in *remor* ‘thick’, equative *reimir* ‘as thick as’ < ‘of a thickness (with)’ (see Jasanoff 1988–90: 186–188, Bergin 1946). Both of these formations connect the equative to a nominal abstract. Beside them is found a further formation with what is essentially an equative prefix as a compound with the parameter (e. g. example (9)). The constructions which are found are the following:

3.1 Type 2-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

3.1.1 Type 2-1-1: flag is case

- (6) *ba gilithir snechtae*
 was white.EQD snow.ACC
 [CPREE] PAR.PM STAND.STM
 ‘it was as white as snow’ (TBF § 9 l. 77)

The following two examples show that the construction of *com-* + noun or adjective is more or less synonymous with the equative of the adjective, and that both can be construed with the accusative. Interesting also is that in example (7) the noun *méit* ‘size, greatness’ has been outfitted with equative morphology. The difference between noun and adjective seems not to be a particular barrier in Early Irish. It should be noted that examples with this noun taking the equative suffix are found first in Middle Irish copies of Old Irish texts. Since the prefix *com-* could appear with either noun or adjective, this may have aided the adding of *-ithir* to nouns.

- (7) *lochaid... co-met sinchu*
 mouse.NOM.PL EQD-size fox.ACC.PL
 CPREE PM-PAR STAND.STM
 ‘mice... as large as foxes’ (ZCP xxx 132.13)

- (8) *medithir sinnchu*
 size. EQD fox.ACC.PL
 PAR.PM STAND.STM
 ‘as large as foxes’ (Alex. 749)

3.1.2 Type 2-1-2: flag is adposition

- (9) *bit com-lín fri fæ̃r*
 will be EQD-number to grass
 PM-PAR STM STAND
 ‘they will be equal in number to grass’ (Ml. 90b8)

3.1.3 Type 2-1: flag is other bound morpheme

- (10) *is firithir ad-fiadar*
 is true.EQD is.told.REL
 [CPREE] PAR.PM STAND.STM
 ‘it is as true as what is reported’ (Líadain and Cuirithir p. 24 l. 9)

This is an example of a rare type where the standard marker is present in the relative morphology of the verb *ad-fiadar* [að iəðər], i. e. in the (unwritten) lenition of the *f*. The relative verb has a zero-antecedent, which is taken here as a bound morpheme (see *GOI* 315–16, Ó Cathasaigh 1990 on zero-antecedents)

3.2 Type 2-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

This category is surely a Latinism, as it is found only in a single text glossing Latin commentary on the Psalms, but it is given here for reference.

- (11) *fīu*
 STM
 ‘as’
 glossing *quam* in: *tam immobilis celsusque est quam mons*
 ‘as immobile and elevated **as** is a mountain’ (Ml. 134c2a)

A similar use is found also in comparatives (see (22) below). The word *fīu* normally means ‘worthy’.

3.3 Formal means of expressing equatives

The marking given above in (6) and (9) is fairly straightforward, with two equivalent variants of marking the equative parameter and two equivalent variants of marking the standard of comparison. This yields four possible combinations: *-ithir* ending + case flag, *-ithir* ending + prepositional flag, *com-* prefix + case flag, and *com-* prefix + prepositional flag. The prepositional flag, however, appears to be quite rare after the *-ithir* ending, while the case flag is less common after the *com-* prefix. It seems likely that chronology of the formations is relevant for explaining this distribution. Both the prefix and suffix variants of equative marking have pendants in the British Celtic languages (see the corresponding chapter in this volume), though in both cases the matches are not exact. Nonetheless, the match of Old Irish *-ithir* with British Celtic *-et* appears more archaic, though more work needs to be done on this question. At the same time, Indo-European comparative evidence suggests that the case marking flag is more archaic than the prepositional flag in general with adjectival gradation. Putting these facts together suggests that type 2-1-1 is older, with 2-1-2 being added (still prehistorically) as a competing variant. The two patterns ended up getting crossed, leading to the possibility of the less common variants as well. One extra wrinkle to add is that the case marking flag would have become less clear over time for some nominal stems, since final vowels began to collapse to schwa during the course of the Old Irish period. This factor would tend to favor prepositional flags at the expense of case marking flags. The whole issue requires further investigation, however.

Interestingly, there are no Old Irish examples known to me in which the standard of comparison is a pronoun. One would expect to find a conjugated preposition, as in **com-lín friu* ‘equal in number to them’ (parallel to (9) above). The strategy seen in (6) would not have been available in Old Irish, since independent personal pronouns had a very restricted distribution in the language, being essentially limited to extra-clausal position and in use as copular predicates (García Castillero 2013). Perhaps this restricted distribution can be linked to the unequal distribution of equative variants noted in the previous paragraph. That is, if case marking as flag is older, pronouns simply would not have been available as standards of comparison in some early pre-stage of the language. Later, after type 2-1-2 had arisen, pronouns and standards of comparison would have become possible, but it seems that their use was not taken up despite the possibility. Of course, given the relatively small corpus size, their absence from the early written record may simply be accidental.

To express a pronominal standard of comparison, a variant developed in which (6) and (9) were blended in a new way: the genitive case came to be used, either in the form of a clitic possessive pronoun (see (12)) or as a flag on a following noun (see (13)):

- (12) *ni-raibi ríam a chom-fíal*
 NEG-was before his EQD-generous/generosity
 [CPREE] STAND.STM PM-PAR
 ‘never before was there so generous (a king) as he’ (Met. Dinds. iv 344.75)
- (13) *ni-boi do rá-chlaid ag Niall comh-maith Conaill*
 NEG-was of great-offspring to Niall EQD-good C.GEN
 CPREE PM-PAR STAND.STM
na a chom-fíal
 or his CPD-generous/generosity
 STAND.STM PM-PAR
 ‘there was not one of the great sons of Niall as good as Conall or as generous as he’ (MR 152.2)

While the chronology is not yet clear, it appears that cases like (12), with a possessive pronoun, are attested slightly earlier (in Middle Irish manuscripts) than cases like (13), with a genitive noun (mostly Early Modern Irish). Indeed, it is interesting that the earliest example known to me of a genitive noun, found in (13) above, also contains an example of type exemplified by (12). It therefore seems plausible that the use of the genitive possessive pronoun (as in example (12)) arose first, precisely to allow the expression of personal pronouns as standards of comparison with equatives. Then, on that model, genitive nouns followed. This leaves unanswered the issue noted above: why speakers did not simply use a conjugated preposition. At present, this appears unanswerable. Nonetheless, the sequence of events sketched here seems both plausible and able to explain the attested patterns in Early Irish equative use. A further possibly chronological issue is the fact that the parameter after the equative element *com-* can be either an adjective or a noun. It is not clear whether there are any chronological development here or whether both possibilities arose at the same time. Further investigation might reveal a pattern here (see also example (7) above).

4 Comparative

Early Irish has a regular comparative marker *-(i)u*, which continues the inherited Proto-Indo-European nom. sg. masc. **-iōs*, which was also a comparative marker. For the irregular adjectives, many of which end in *-a*, Jasanoff (1988–90) has suggested that this ending, too, was inherited, in this case from the nom. sg. neuter **-is*, though with considerable inner-Celtic remodeling that need not be gone into here. The attested types are the following:

4.1 Type 3-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

4.1.1 Type 3-1-1 flag is case

- (14) *a molad maissiu Maenib*
 his praise splendid.CPD treasures.DAT.PL
 CPREE PAR.PM STAND.STM
 ‘his praise [is] more splendid than treasures’ (Thes ii 295.7)

As was noted above for equatives, there is a systematic problem when the standard is a personal pronoun: since this would require an independent pronoun in a case-marked position, which was impossible in Old Irish, a pronominal standard of comparison with comparatives appears impossible. While this appears to have been tolerated in Old Irish for equatives, it was not for comparatives. To fill this hole, speakers of the language used a particle (see below in 4.3).

4.2 Type 3-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

This type is represented exclusively by verbs, and thus the subtypes are determined by verbal valency and subcategorization requirements.

4.2.1 Type 3-3-1: flag is case

- (15) *as·ingaib·side mod*
 PV·exceeds-3SG measure.ACC
 PM-CPREE STAND.STM
 ‘it exceeds the measure (which is proper for inflicting vengeance)’ (Ml. 57d16)

4.2.2 Type 3-3-2 flag is adposition

- (16) *dí·róscái di hilib*
 PRV·surpasses of many.DAT.PL
 PM.[CPREE] STM STAND
 ‘it surpasses many’ (Sg. 42a1)

4.3 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

- (17) *ba uissiu fáilte dom-sa úaib-si ol daas*
 would be fitting.CPD joy to.1SG-1SG from.2PL-2PL than be.3SG.REL
 PAR.PM CPREE STM
- brón*
 grief
 STAND
 ‘joy from you to me would be more fitting than grief is’ (Wb. 14d10)

As seen in (17), the standard of comparison is marked by a particle *ol* (originally a preposition) and then followed by a form of ‘to be’, which varies by person and tense to indicate the standard. Cf. examples (18) and (19) for examples with different persons and tenses:

- (18) *is sochruidiu láam ol dō-sa*
 is pretty.CPD hand than be.1SG-1SG
 PAR.PM CPREE STM STAND
 ‘(the) hand is prettier than I’ (Wb. 12a21)

- (19) *fobúith ba deidbiriu dún-ni immormus ...*
 because was reasonable.CPD for.1PL-1PL sin
 PAR.PM CPREE

ol mbói do-som
 than was for.3SG-3SG
 STM STAND
 ‘because it was more reasonable for us to sin... than it was for him (to sin)’
 (Wb. 9c10)

In early Old Irish, the verb following the comparative particle *ol* is always formally the substantive verb, but syntactically it is functioning as a copula. This syntax limits the kinds of constructions that can be found in this stage of the language.

As has been argued in Lash (2012), however, there was a change to comparative syntax within Old Irish. The original standard marker for comparatives, *ol*, fused with *daas*, the form of the substantive verb which most frequently followed it, yielding a new standard marker *oldaas* (or its variant *indaas*). This change meant that a new verb needed to be introduced:

- (20) *bed uilliu indaas rondbóí m' ingnae*
 would be great.CPD than was my understanding
 PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘(I have not desired anything that) was greater than my understanding’
 (Ml. 136b7)

While the two systems were in competition, eventually the system in (20) won out, and the standard of comparison marker in Middle Irish became *indás* / *indá* / *inná* and Modern Irish *ná*. See also below for one entity and two predicates.

The following is given in *GOI* (232) as quite exceptional, since it is a rare case of the particle not being followed by a verb in Early Irish. It is unclear whether this is simply a rare usage or an error of some kind.

- (21) *ba córu bid for náimdib imma-bertha ol for*
 was fitting.CPD were against enemies take.action.2SG than against
 PAR.PM CPREE STM
legi
 physicians
 STAND
 ‘it would be more fitting if it were against enemies that you took action than
 against physicians’ (TBC¹ 2863 ff.)

4.4 Type 3-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Like (11) above, this category is surely a Latinism, as it is found only in a single text glossing Latin commentary on the Psalms, but it is given here for reference.

- (22) *fíu*
 STM
 ‘than’
 glossing *quam* in: *magis quam in nobis*
 ‘more **than** in us’ (Ml. 94d5)

4.5 Type 3-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Type 3-9 is simply type 3-1 without the expression of the standard and standard marker.

A second, more straightforward example of this type is:

- (26) *Corbbán ro-chind for crábud*
 Corbán surpassed upon piety
 CPREE PM PAR
 ‘Corbán, who surpassed in piety’ (Met. Dind. iv 340.13)

4.8 Types not included in the questionnaire

4.8.1 One entity and two predicates

Given that comparatives, like all non-positive grades of adjectives in Old Irish, can only appear predicatively, it is logical that in most cases the verb ‘to be’ will follow the standard marker. Nonetheless, other verbs can appear in this position, once the reanalysis (noted above) of *ol daas* ‘than is’ = STM + verb as *oldaas* ‘than’ = STM has taken place.

- (27) *is móa don-gní-som oldaas don-tlucham*
 is big.CPD he does it than we ask it
 PAR.PM CPREE STM STAND
 ‘he does it more than we ask it’ (Wb. 21d9)

4.9 Formal means of expressing comparatives

The comparative has considerably more types than either similatives or equatives. Part of this may simply be due to the fact that it is much more commonly attested than either, but it may also have to do with the fact that it is an older category than the other two. It is interesting to note that despite the age of the category, there does not appear to be significant diachronic development of the types or marking, apart from that noted above in connection with the particle marking the standard (STM; see Lash 2012).

it is one of a vanishingly small number of comparative constructions of minority that turned up in searches. I would like to thank Paul Russell for chasing this textual reference down.

5 Superlative

The superlative in Old Irish, like the comparative, has a solid Indo-European pedigree. The PIE form was **-isto-*, though a variant in **-isṃmo-* common to Italo-Celtic (see Cowgill 1970 on the Italo-Celtic form) was the latest ancestor of the Common Celtic **-isamo-* found as the regular superlative ending. As with most other categories of gradation, there is a small category of adjectives with an irregular superlative, in this case from **-sṃmo-* > **-samo-*, essentially the regular ending with irregular loss of the **-i-*. These differences are, however, not important for identifying the types of superlative construction found. One important diachronic development is that the morphological superlative just described above is lost in Middle Irish, being replaced by the comparative form as described in section 4 above. Context and the standard marker then are used to determine whether the superlative or comparative meaning is intended.

5.1 Type 4-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

5.1.1 Type 4-1-1: flag is case

- (28) *is cáiniu-side fídhellaib*
 is beautiful.CPD-3SG chessboards.DAT.PL
 PAR.PM-CPREE STAND.STM
 ‘it was the most beautiful of chessboards’ (lit. ‘it was more beautiful than chessboards’) (TBF § 8 l. 65)

Marking the standard via case is only possible in Middle Irish, by which point the morphological comparative has ousted the superlative. Context indicates which meaning is intended.

5.1.2 Type 4-1-2: flag is adposition

- (29) *is é laech as áildem ro-boí de*
 is he warrior who.is beautiful.SPD was of
 CPREE PAR.PM STM
feraib Érenn 7 Alban
 men Ireland and Scotland
 STAND
 ‘he is the most beautiful warrior of the men of Ireland and Scotland’ (TBF § 11. 2)

5.2 Type 4-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

5.2.1 Type 4-3-1: flag is case

- (30) *is etach doroisce cach n-etach socraid hi*
 is garment which.surpasses each garment beautiful.ACC.SG she
 CPREE PM STAND.STM PAR
 ‘it is a garment which surpasses every beautiful garment’ (Thes ii 326.34)

In this example, it seems that the parameter marker ‘surpasses’ (understood here as a superlative because of the quantifier ‘each/every’) is separated from the parameter ‘beautiful’ itself. If this is true, then the parameter and parameter marker need not always form a constituent, as suggested in the introduction to this volume. An alternative is to assume that the standard is rather an unexpressed adjective *socraid* ‘beautiful’ modifying the comparee, in which case the two are indeed adjacent.

5.2.2 Type 4-3-2 flag is adposition

- (31) *du-roscibet-sidi hua etrachtai cumachtai sech cech*
 PRV-will.stand.forth-3PL from splendor of.power beyond every
 PM-CPREE PAR STM STAND
riga
 kings
 ‘they will be preeminent in splendor of power beyond all kings’ (Ml. 84b1)

Note that this verb also can express comparison, as in (15) above, but the context (i. e. the quantifier ‘each/every’; cf. also (30)) makes it clear that this is a superlative.

5.3 Type 4-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

- (32) *is ed laithe inso as síam*
 is it day this which.is long.SPD
 CPREE PAR.PM
 ‘this is the day which is longest’ (TBF § 11 l. 103)

The following is an example for the relatively uncommon superlative of minority.⁷

- (33) *in sēt is ditogaidi⁸ somaíne*
 the treasure which is undesirable.CPD profits
 CPREE PAR.PM
 ‘the treasure which is least desirable for profits’ (AL iv.28.18 comm. = CIH I, 213.22 (also III, 910.31–2))

5.4 Type 4-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

- (34) Early Modern Irish
an t-aon mac Gaoidhil as lugha dob olc i n-Albain
 the one son of Gaels who.is small.CPD was bad in Scotland
 CPREE PM PAR
 ‘the one son of the Gaels who is by no means the least distinguished in Scotland’
 (FM v 1662.20)

This is an example of a superlative of minority, formed like the comparative of minority in (25) above. Because of its late attestation, the superlativity is expressed via comparative morphology.

5.5 Type 5-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

- (35) *do-roscaimis*
 PV·are.pre-eminent.1PL
 PM.CPREE
 that we would have been pre-eminent (Ml. 32a21)

This example is a gloss on Latin *nos... eminere* ‘that we stand out’, and as such it may simply be a sentence fragment, in which case it is not a good representative of this type. On the other hand, it fulfills the requirements for this type as it appears in the manuscript.

⁷ I would again like to thank Paul Russell for chasing down this textual reference.

⁸ It should be noted that eDIL (s. v. *dithogaide*) gives the meaning as ‘not to be chosen, undesirable’. This suggests that they may see this as a participle of necessity, in which case it would not belong to adjective gradation. It seems more likely, however, that this is simply a Middle Irish spelling of the comparative (for superlative) of an adjective in *-de*.

5.6 Formal means of expressing superlatives

The etymological connections of the superlative morphemes have been discussed above, as has the loss of the morphological superlative in Middle Irish. These are the main pertinent facts for expressing the superlative. One further point concerns the standard marker (STM). When present, it is usually the preposition *de* ‘from, out of’, which continues various genitival functions. This makes a good deal of sense within the Indo-European languages, since the genitive is often used as a standard marker in the superlative. The one deviation from this concerns when a verb expresses the superlativity. In such cases, the valency and subcategorization of the verb override the normal appearance of *de* as standard marker (STM).

6 Elative constructions

There are a large number of prefixes used to express elativity in Early Irish. By definition, these do not have a standard marker (STM) or standard (STAND), thus limiting the types of constructions that may appear.

6.1 Type 5-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

- (36) *carpat imbar rīg-raith ro-mōir*
 chariot like royal-fort very-large
 CPREE PM-PAR
 ‘a chariot like a very large royal fort’ (TBC² 2330)

This example shows a similitive construction (cf. (1) above) containing an elative, though only the elative is glossed. This type is very common.

6.2 Formal means of expressing elatives

There is a very large variety of vocabulary used to express the elative, though there is only one type of construction, as seen above. The following list, gathered via a search in eDIL for ‘very’, gives the prefixes that can regularly express the elative, together with an indication of their earliest attestation:

- (37) *ad-* (OIr), *a(i)n-* (also negative prefix; common from MIr), *air-* (MIr), *aith-* (MIr), *com-* (Early Modern Irish), *dag-* (MIr), *der-* (**de-ro-*; OIr), *dí-* (OIr), *ér-* (**ess-ro-*; OIr), *for-* (MIr), *imm-* (OIr), *immar-* (**imm-ro-*; MIr (with nouns and verbs)), *in-* (MIr), *ro-* (OIr), *rug-* (OIr), *so-/su-* (OIr), *tre(m)-* (OIr)

All of these prefixes appear as the first member of a compound, and none can appear as independent words. There are, however, also a number of adjectives and nouns (i. e. free morphemes) that can also be used as the first member of a compound to express elative meaning:

- (38) *dían* ‘swift’, *fír* (‘true’ cf. older English *very* < Fr. *vrai*; OIr), *glé* ‘clear’, *il* ‘many’, *lár* ‘middle’, *lomm* ‘exact’, *lór* ‘enough’, *mór* ‘much, large’, *sár* ‘act of excelling’, *trom* ‘heavy’, *tul* ‘protuberance’

Many of these free morphemes are limited to a small number of expressions where they can have elative meaning. In some cases, the original construction was probably that of a *dvandva* in which the first member was reinterpreted as an intensive: *dían-díchra* ‘very eager’ < ‘swift-eager’ (CCath 5754).

While it might be expected that the superlative could also be used to express elative meaning, no examples have yet been found. Indeed, *GOI* (232) notes that ‘the superlative does not seem to be used for merely heightened emphasis. This is expressed rather by means of prefixes’.

7 Excessive constructions

The elative and excessive are essentially identical in formation and are often difficult to keep apart. The types found are the following:

7.1 Type 6-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|---------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|------------|----------|
| (39) | <i>fer...</i> | <i>nadip</i> | <i>ru-becc</i> | <i>nadip</i> | <i>ro-mar</i> | <i>bed</i> | <i>a</i> |
| | man... | may.not.be | very-small | may.not.be | very-large | would.be | his |
| | | | PM.PAR | | PM.PAR | | |

sommse

wealth

CPREE

‘a man... whose wealth would not be too little nor too much’ (Thes ii 241.8–9)

7.2 Types not included in the questionnaire

- (40) *in cumce in taige duit ale?*
 Q.be narrow the house to.2SG then
 PAR CPREE
 is the house too narrow for you then? (LU 9194, Fled Bricrenn)

In this example, there is no formal marking on the parameter *cumce* ‘narrow’, but the context makes clear that an excessive is to be understood.

7.3 Formal means of expressing excessives

This category is not well-recognized. While eDIL gives elative meaning for many preverbs, it does not do so for the excessive, though a closer examination of the translations of many of the elatives reveals that an excessive meaning is more appropriate. The list of prefixes given above in (37) as elatives is therefore also relevant here for excessives. The one excessive that does not appear also to have elative expression is that given in (40), where a positive of the adjective is interpreted as an excessive.

8 Further Remarks

Most work on gradation in Early Irish has been done from a historical-comparative approach, meaning that the morphological exponents of gradation have been examined closely. Other means of expressing the concepts, for instance the use of the positive or relative with excessive force, have remained largely untouched. This contribution attempts to fill the largest gaps in our understanding of the range of possibilities, but there is certainly more work to be done. For instance, a very frequent strategy for gradation in Early Irish is the creation of compounds. The same first compound elements that form adjective grades can also be used with nouns and even verbs. Some of these formations are indicated here, but an investigation squarely aimed at these strategies would surely uncover additional notable facts. Hopefully, some of the work here will spark further investigations.

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11 Old Nordic

1 Introduction

In this chapter, we follow Bandle et al. (2002–2005) in using the term ‘Old Nordic’ (henceforth ON) for the North Germanic language of the Nordic countries from around 1100 to around 1350. The chapter thus covers both what is variously called ‘Old Norse’, ‘Old West Nordic’, or ‘Old Icelandic-Norwegian’ (including the language on the Faroe Islands), henceforth OWN, and what is referred to as ‘Old East Nordic’ (comprising Old Danish, Old Swedish, Old Gutnish), henceforth OEN. OWN has been the subject of much more extensive study than OEN, presumably in part because of its extensive literary tradition (notably the Icelandic sagas), in part because of the existence of a written standard, constructed *post hoc* in the 19th century (see e. g. Berg 2014), and in part because it is slightly more conservative overall. OEN, in contrast, has mainly been studied from the point of view of Danish and Swedish linguistic historiography, and rarely in a pan-OEN perspective. As is often pointed out, contact with and translation from continental European languages, mainly Latin and Low German, have played an important and increasing role in the history of the OEN written languages (Wollin 2002), in contrast to the history of written OWN. It is, however, not clear that any differences between OWN and OEN in the domain of gradation are due to contact-induced change.

The differences between the OEN and OWN are small for the period described here – even more so for gradation. Yet it seems that periphrastic expression may be somewhat more common in OEN than in OWN, in line with the former being slightly more innovative, in general. Conversely, constructions with a suffix for degree in combination with case may be slightly more common in OWN than in OEN. For example, the comparative of superiority can be expressed by the suffix *-ari/-ri* in combination with the genitive case in OWN (see section 4.1.1), whereas in OEN, the comparative suffix *-are* is more commonly used in combination with the particle *än* (see section 4.4).

The general differences within OWN (i. e. between Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic) are negligible, and almost none pertain to gradation. Within OEN, the general differences between Old Danish (ODa.) and Old Swedish (OSw.) are somewhat more substantial, in particular as far as phonological features are concerned, but again, there are no major differences pertaining specifically to gradation. For example, suffixes such as *-are* (comparative) and *-ast-* (superlative) as well as the most frequent standard marker particle *än* are attested both in in ODa. and OSw. Unless otherwise specified, examples given for OEN in this chapter are from OSw. sources in the original spelling; OSw. lemmas are referred to in the form given in Söderwall (1884–1973).

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All examples are specified as either OEN or OWN. However, this does not mean that the construction in question occurs only in this branch. Rather, it reflects that we have stayed fairly close to our sources; we only list what we have found.

In terms of inflectional morphology, the most grammaticalised form of gradation, the different onomasiological functions (equative, similitive, etc.) are usually expressed in the same way. The sections on constructions expressing gradation have taken functions as the starting-point, but in section 4.8, we take the morphology and not the functions as our starting-point. (For semantic perspectives on gradation in the modern languages, see e. g. Lundbladh 1988, Lie 1996, Spilling & Haugen 2013.)

In our description of ON, we draw on the grammatical tradition, represented by such works as Noreen (1904, 1923) and Nygaard (1905) and surveys and basic grammars such as Delsing (2002), Kristoffersen (2002), Mørck (2005), and Haugen (1995), as well as dictionaries such as Söderwall (1884–1973) and Fritzner (1954 [1886–1896]). Many examples have been borrowed from these. However, we have also carried out searches using different digital resources such as the OSw. corpora available via *Korp* (Borin, Forsberg & Roxendal 2012), and the Medieval Nordic Text Archive (*Menota*), which consists of over 40 OWN and OSw. manuscripts from approximately 1200–1350. The corpus of ON texts used in this study consists of sagas, mythological literature, religious texts, law texts, courtly literature, and translations of chivalric romance and religious texts.

The grammatical literature on ON links gradation primarily to adjectives, and typical examples show gradation expressed by suffixation. The positive has no suffix of its own, the comparative and superlative do. This reflects a more general characteristic of ON adjective paradigms: It is the comparative and the superlative that go together. (This may be a universal tendency.)

A standard example of adjective gradation is positive OSw. *hwiter* ‘white’ (nominative masculine), comparative *hwitari*, superlative *hwitaster* (Noreen 1904: 355); similarly OWN *spakr* ‘wise, meek’ – *spakari* – *spakastr*. At least in the more conservative OWN, the word for ‘more’ *meirr* has not truly acquired the function of grading adjectives in the period described here. In keeping with the grammatical tradition, we list ON adjectives in the masculine nominative singular indefinite, unless otherwise stated.

Most adjectives inflect for degree, and most members of other word-classes do not; but some other words can also inflect for degree, notably some clear-cut adverbs. This is not surprising, since the line between adjectives and adverbs can blur. Examples include ON *opt* ‘often’, comparative *optar*, superlative *optast*; ON *fram* ‘forward’, *fra(m)mar*, *fram(m)arst*. Possible candidates for gradation also include less than a handful of pronouns, such as ON *fár* ‘few’ (e. g. Delsing 2002: 933), OEN *margær* / OWN *margr* ‘many’. The status of these words as pronouns is debatable, however; they can be considered ‘pronominal adjectives’, in which case it is less surprising that they inflect for degree.

Participles hardly inflect for degree in ON; in the modern daughter languages, both past and present participles are gradable, but only by periphrasis, unlike ‘true’ adjectives, among which some grade by periphrasis, some by suffixation. In OSw. the present participle can never have an inflectional comparative or superlative, the past participle only rarely, as in *drófdhaster* ‘more sorrowful’ (Noreen 1904: 356), compare *drófdhr* ‘sorrowful’ and infinitive *drófa* ‘make sorrowful’. The same appears to hold for OWN (Noreen 1923: 298).

In modern Scandinavian, nouns can also be graded, typically in such a way that one entity is compared with respect to two properties, such as in Norwegian Bokmål *Han er mer filosof enn lingvist* ‘He is more (of a) philosopher than (a) linguist’. Such examples are hard to come by in ON texts; presumably, they were rare, if they existed at all.

For the modern languages, the Norwegian, Swedish, and Faroese reference grammars treat adjective gradation as inflection (Faarlund et al. 1997: 350, Telemann et al. 1999: 195, Höskuldur Thráinsson et al. 2012: 106). The three-volume Danish grammar, by contrast, takes gradation to be derivation, on syntactic (not morphological) grounds (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 186–187). This difference is not due to empirical differences between the languages; rather, it reflects somewhat different analyses, the details of which are not important here. The received opinion for ON is that gradation is inflection, and we shall follow this tradition. Yet the issue is debatable even for ON and this is not surprising: While adjective gradation (comparison) traditionally is seen as inflectional, it clearly has more in common with derivation than e. g. number and definiteness agreement on adjectives does. (It carries more meaning and it is typically not an automatic consequence of grammatical rules.) In Booij’s (1996) terminology, the comparative and superlative of adjectives are ‘inherent’ inflection, at least in many languages, while e. g. plural and definite are ‘contextual’ inflection.

2 Similative

2.1 Type 1-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In OWN, the particle *svá* ‘so’ (etymologically related to English, German *so*, spelled *sua* in the following example) is frequently used to express similative comparison, with the particle *sem/sum* ‘like, as’ (etymologically related to English *same*) as marker of the standard.

(1) OWN (Didr.)

hans hörund var sua hart sem sigg
 his skin.NOM be.PST.3SG EQD hard.NOM as hard.skin.NOM
 CPREE PM PAR STM STAND
villigaltar eða horn
 wild.boar.GEN or horn.NOM
 ‘His skin was as thick as a wild boar’s skin or horns’

2.2 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

Similitive comparison with the particle *sem/sum* ‘like, as’ (written *som* in the OEN example) as marker of the standard is very often used without an expression of a parameter marker (cf. 2.1 Type 1-6). In the OWN example the comparee (*he*, i. e. *Flosi*, or more specifically his face) is first figuratively compared to blood, and the parameter ‘red’ can be inferred. In the following comparisons within the same example, the parameters ‘pale’ and ‘black’ are given explicitly. The particle *svá* is used adverbially with the meaning ‘in such a way’ in this example, not as a parameter marker.

(2) OWN (Nj.)

Flosa brá svá við at hann var í andliti
 F.DAT stir.PST.3SG so at that he.NOM be.PST.3SG in face.DAT
 CPREE
stundum sem blóð en stundum fölr sem
 sometimes like blood.NOM and sometimes pale.NOM as
 STM STAND PAR STM
gras, en stundum blár sem hel
 grass.NOM and sometimes black.NOM like Hel.NOM
 STAND PAR STM STAND
 ‘Flosi was so stirred that his face was sometimes like blood, and sometimes pale as grass, and sometimes black as Hel [= the underworld]’

(3) OEN (Di. 1)

han var tiwkker oc starker som en
 he.NOM be.PST.3SG fat.NOM and strong.NOM as INDF.NOM
 CPREE PAR PAR STM STAND
rise
 giant.NOM
 ‘he was fat and strong as a giant’

In OWN, the adverb *svá* ‘so, such’ (cf. 2.1 Type 1-6) is sometimes added directly to the particle *sem* in similitive constructions:

(4) OWN (Flat.)

<i>Konungr</i>	<i>fór</i>	<i>til</i>	<i>orrostu</i>	<i>naudigr</i>	<i>í mót</i>	<i>syni</i>
king.NOM	go.PST.3SG	to	battle.GEN	unwilling.NOM	against	son.DAT
	CPREE				PAR	
<i>sínum</i>	<i>svá</i>	<i>sem</i>	<i>Davíð</i>	<i>í mót</i>	<i>Absaloni</i>	
his.DAT	so	like	D.	against	A.DAT	
	STM		STAND			

‘The king went unwillingly to battle against his son, like David against Absalom.’

The particle *sem/sum* is also used as marker of clausal standards:

(5) OWN (Greg.)

<i>Stundum</i>	<i>jarmaði</i>	<i>hann</i>	<i>sem</i>	<i>geit</i>	<i>eða</i>	<i>hrein</i>
sometimes	bleat.PST.3SG	he.NOM	as	goat.NOM	or	squeal.PST.3SG
	CPREE		STM	STAND		CPREE
<i>sem</i>	<i>svín.</i>					
as	pig.NOM					
STM	STAND					

‘Sometimes he [= the devil] would bleat as a goat or squeal as a pig.’

3 Equative

3.1 Type 2-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

3.1.1 Type 2-1-1: flag is case

Comparison of equality can be expressed by marking the adjectival parameter with prefixes such as *jafn-/jam-* (OWN) and *iäm-* (OEN) (spelled *äm-* in the following example) and the standard being marked by means of the dative case. The prefix derives from the adjective *jafn/iämn* ‘equal, even’ (etymologically related to English *even*, German *eben*, see section 3.3.1 Type 2-3-1). This kind of equative is not rare, but not as frequent as the alternative with preposition (section 3.1.2 Type 2-1-2).

(6) OWN (Vígagl.)

<i>spyr</i> ,	<i>ef</i>	<i>þeir</i>	<i>þykkjast</i>	<i>jafnsnjallir</i>	<i>honum</i>
ask.PRS.3SG	if	3PL.NOM	seem.PRS.3PL	EQD.good.NOM	he.DAT
		CPREE		PM.PAR	STAND.STM

‘asks if they are as good as him’

(7) OEN (Lg. 385)

<i>comodus</i>	<i>war</i>	<i>[ey]</i>	<i>ämdygdheliker</i>	<i>sinum</i>	<i>fadher</i>	<i>marco</i>
C.NOM	be.PST.3SG	not	EQD.virtuous.NOM	his.own.DAT	father	M.DAT
CPREE			PM.PAR		STAND.STM	

‘Commodus was not as virtuous as his father Marcus’

3.1.2 Type 2-1-2: flag is adposition

When the equative is expressed by prefixes such as *jafn-/iäm-* (as in 3.1.1 Type 2-1-1), the standard marker can also be expressed by a preposition meaning ‘with’, and that is probably a more frequent option than the one without preposition (3.1.1 Type 2-1-1).

(8) OEN (Di. 75)

<i>iak</i>	<i>är</i>	<i>äy</i>	<i>nw</i>	<i>jämredder</i>	<i>mz</i>	<i>tik</i>
1SG.NOM	be.PRS.1SG	not	now	EQD.ready.NOM	with	2SG.ACC
CPREE				PM.PAR	STM	STAND

‘I am not as ready as you.’

3.2 Type 2-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

3.2.1 Type 2-2-1: flag is case

In OEN, the equative can be marked by free morphemes such as the adverb *lika* ‘equally’ (etymologically related to English *like*, German *gleich*). The standard marker is in the dative case. This type of equative is less frequent than the alternative with preposition (3.2.2 Type 2-2-2).

(9) OEN (SD NS 2: 53 (1408))

wari ... mik ok minum arfwm lika mektoghir
 be.SBJV 1SG.DAT and my.DAT.PL heir.DAT.PL EQD entitled.NOM
 [CPREE] STAND.STM PM PAR
at opbära ... the päninga summona
 to collect.INF DEM.PL money.GEN.PL sum.PL.DEF
 ‘[he] shall be as much entitled to collect those sums of money as I and my heirs’

3.2.2 Type 2-2-2: flag is adposition

When the equative is marked by *lika* in OEN (cf. 3.2.1 Type 2-2-1), the marker of the standard can also be expressed by a preposition such as *mäþ* ‘with’ (spelled *mz* in the following example, etymologically related to German *mit*). The word *sem* ‘like, as’ is probably more common in such cases in OWN, with the particle *svá* ‘so, such’ as equative marker (see 3.5 Type 2-6).

(10) OEN (Di. 205)

the wore lika gambla mz thitmar
 3PL.NOM be.PST.3PL EQD old.NOM.PL with T.
 CPREE PM PAR STM STAND
 ‘they were as old as Thitmar’

3.3 Type 2-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

3.3.1 Type 2-3-1: flag is case

The equative can be marked by adjectives such as *jafn* (OWN) / *iämn* (OEN) ‘equal, even’ (spelled *jemn* in the following example), and the standard marker, i. e. the reflexive *sic* in the example below, is in the dative (as in 3.1.1 Types 2-1-1 and 3.2.1 Type 2-2-1):

(11) OEN (Bil. 300)

han föddis vp j fadhurs gardhe mz
 he.NOM raise.PST.PASS.3SG up in father.GEN farm.DAT with
sinom brödher [...] sic jemnum at alder
 his.own.DAT brother.DAT 3SG.REFL.DAT EQD.DAT at age
 CPREE STAND.STM PM PAR
 ‘he was raised on his father’s farm with his brother [...] who was his age’

The adjective *líkr* has a function similar to an equative marker in OWN; again, the standard marker is in the dative:

- (12) OWN (Gunl.)
- | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------|-------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>ef hann væri</i> | <i>þér</i> | <i>líkr</i> | <i>í</i> | <i>skaplyndi</i> |
| if he.NOM be.PST.SBJV.3SG | 2SG.DAT | EQD.NOM | in | disposition.DAT |
| CPREE | STAND.STM | PM | PAR | |
- ‘If he were of a similar disposition to you’

This construction is not very frequent.

3.3.2 Type 2-3-2: flag is adposition

When the equative is marked by adjectives such as *jafn/iämn* ‘even, equal’ (spelled *jampn* and *iafnt* resp. in the following examples), the marker of the standard can also be expressed by a preposition such as *við/viþ* ‘with, at’ (spelled *widh* in the OEN example, etymologically related to English *with*).

- (13) OEN (Bil. 569)
- | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|----------------|------------|----------------|-----------|------------|
| <i>byghde</i> | <i>wp</i> | <i>stadhin</i> | <i>swa</i> | <i>godhan.</i> | <i>at</i> | <i>han</i> |
| build.PST.3SG | up | city.DEF | so | good.ACC | that | he |
| | | | | | | CPREE |
-
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|------------|
| <i>dömdis</i> | <i>jampn</i> | <i>widh</i> | <i>siälft</i> | <i>rom</i> |
| deem.PST.PASS.3SG | EQD | with | itself | R. |
| | PM | STM | STAND | |
- ‘built up the city in such a good shape that it was deemed the equal of Rome itself’
- (14) OWN (Alex.)
- | | | |
|-------------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| <i>ok jafn við aðra</i> | <i>í</i> | <i>fjárlátinu</i> |
| and EQD with other.PL | in | property.loss.DEF.DAT |
| PM STM STAND | PAR | |
- ‘and lost equally much as others’

3.4 Type 2-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

When the marker of the equative is expressed by prefixes such as *jafn-/jam-/jäm-* ‘even, equal’ (cf. 3.1.1 Type 2-1-1), the marker of the standard can also be expressed by *sem/sum* ‘like, as’ (cf. 2.1 Type 1-6 and 3.2.2 Type 2-2-2), spelled *som* in the following OEN example:

(15) OWN (Barl.)

jamvitr maðr sem konungr
 EQD.skilful.NOM man.NOM as king.NOM
 PM.PAR CPREE STM STAND
 ‘as skilful as the king’

(16) OEN (RK 1)

wy ärom ämdughande som i
 1PL.NOM be.PRS.1PL EQD.fit as 2PL.NOM
 CPREE PM.PAR STM STAND
 ‘we are as fit as you’

3.5 Type 2-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In OWN, the particle *svá* ‘so’ is frequently used to express the equative, with *sem* ‘like, as’ as marker of the standard (cf. 2.1 Type 1-6):

(17) OWN (Klm.)

svá fáliða sem þeir eru
 so few.NOM.PL as they.NOM be.PRS.3PL
 PM PAR STM STAND
 ‘as few as they are’

In OEN, *iämt* (an adverbial form of the adjective *iämn* ‘equal’; spelled *iämpt* in the following example) can be used as an expression of the equative, with the particle *sum* (spelled *som* in the example) as a marker of the standard:

(18) OEN (SD 5: 383)

thee göra iämpt offta vrätt som rätt
 3PL.NOM do.PRS.3PL EQD often wrong as right
 PM PAR CPREE STM STAND
 ‘they do wrong as much as right’

3.6 Type 2-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

The particle *sum/sem* ‘like, as’ can be used as marker of the standard in equative expressions where the parameter marker is not expressed. This type is not as frequent as 3.4 Type 2-5, which adds the prefix *jafn-/iämn-* ‘even, equal’ to the adjective.

- (19) OWN (Didr.)
oll klæði þin eru lit
 all.NOM.PL clothe.NOM.PL your.NOM.PL be.PRS.3PL of-colour.NOM.PL
 CPREE PAR
sem mín
 as my.NOM.PL
 STM STAND
 ‘all of your clothes are of the same colour as mine’

3.7 Type 2-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

This type is similar to 3.1.1 Type 2-1-1, with a prefix such as *jafn-/jam-/iäm-* ‘even, equal’ as degree marker:

- (20) OWN (Gyl.)
átta gullhringar jafnhöfgir
 eight.NOM golden.ring.NOM.PL EQD.heavy.NOM.PL
 CPREE PM.PAR
 ‘eight golden rings of the same size’
- (21) OEN (MB 1: 189)
jak skal ater koma til thik a iämlanga
 1SG.NOM shall.PRS.1SG back come.INF to 2SG.ACC on EQD.long
 PM.PAR
dagh
 day
 CPREE
 ‘I shall come back to you on the equally long day (= the same day next year)’

3.8 Type 2-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Free morphemes such as *jafnt/iämnt* and *líka/líka* can be used to express equative degree without the expression of a standard and a standard marker (cf. 3.5 Type 2-6):

(22) OWN (Bós.)

er jafnt langt í millum allra
 be.PRS.3SG EQD far in between all.GEN.PL
 PM PAR

‘is equally far between them all’

(23) OWN (Bp.)

hann skyldi líka vel framfylgja erindum
 he.NOM would.PST.3SG EQD well proceed.INF duty.DAT.PL
 PM PAR

‘he would just as willingly proceed with his duties’

(24) OEN (ST 451)

the waro ... badhe líka gamble
 3PL.NOM be.PST.3PL both.NOM EQD old.NOM.PL
 CPREE PM PAR

‘they were both the same age’

3.9 Type 2-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

Adjectives such as *jafn/iämn* ‘equal, even’ can express equative degree without the expression of a standard:

(25) OWN (Pamph.)

oc met þui at þit erot iofn
 and because that 2DU.NOM be.PRS.2PL EQD.NOM
 CPREE PM

‘and because you are equal’

(26) OEN (Bir. 4)

the thre persone waro ok äru
 DEF.NOM.PL three person.NOM.PL be.PST.3PL and be.PRS.3PL
 CPREE

i allom thingom iämnna
 in all.DAT.PL thing.DAT.PL EQD.NOM.PL
 PAR PM

‘those three persons were and are equal in all things’

4 Comparative

4.1 Type 3-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

4.1.1 Type 3-1-1: flag is case

In OWN, the comparative is typically expressed by the inflectional suffix *-ari* or *-ri* (for information on inflection classes, see section 4.8). The standard can be in the genitive case (though this is rare in OEN):

- (27) OWN (Hák. Hkr.)
Gamli Eiríksson var þeirra nökkuru ellri
 G.NOM be.PST.3SG 3PL.GEN somewhat old.CPD
 CPREE STAND.STM PAR.PM
 ‘Gamli [lit. the old one] Eiríksson was somewhat older than them’

An alternative interpretation would be that the genitive here is a partitive genitive (see Toft 2009: chapters 6 and 8 for discussion of this notion) rather than a true comparative case. It is not trivial to choose between these interpretations, in this particular example. In other cases, however, the partitive interpretation seems less plausible:

- (28) OWN (Hom.)
þess meir er hann drekker þess
 CORREL.GEN much.CPD that he.NOM drink.PRS.3SG CORREL.GEN
 PAR_{STAND} PAR.PM PAR_{CPREE}
meir þyrstir hann
 much.CPD thirst.PRS.3SG he.NOM
 PAR.PM
 ‘the more he drinks, the more thirsty he gets’

The dative and the genitive compete in such constructions, i. e. the standard marker can alternatively be in the dative case:

- (29) OWN (Gyl.)
því harðara er Þórr knúððist
 CORREL.DAT hard.CPD that Þ.NOM struggle.PST.3SG
 PAR_{STAND} PAR.PM
 ‘the harder an effort Þórr made ...’

Furthermore, the comparative suffix, combined with *hverr* ‘each’ as a modifier of the standard and the dative case as marker, is sometimes used to express superlative meaning in OWN (cf. Nygaard 1905):

(30) OWN (HH Hkr.)

<i>Tryggvi</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>hverjum</i>	<i>manni</i>	<i>meiri</i>	<i>ok</i>	<i>sterkari</i>
T.NOM	be.PST.3SG	each.DAT	man.DAT	big.CPD	and	strong.CPD
CPREE		STAND.STM		PAR.PM		PAR.PM

‘Tryggvi was the biggest and strongest of all men [bigger and stronger than every other man]’

4.2 Type 3-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

4.2.1 Type 3-3-1: flag is case

Sometimes, transitive verbs (most notably *ivirganga* ‘surpass’, lit. ‘go over’) are used to express the comparative of superiority. The standard is the object of *ivirganga*, and is therefore marked with the accusative case:

(31) OEN (KL 190)

<i>hwilkin</i>	<i>som</i>	<i>iwir gik</i>	<i>alla</i>	<i>andra</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>atirhalde</i>
REL.NOM.SG	REL	surpass.PST.3SG	all.ACC.PL	others.ACC.PL	in	abstinence.DAT
CPREE		PM	STAND.STM			PAR

‘who surpassed all others in abstinence’

4.3 Type 3-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

4.3.1 Type 3-4-2: flag is adposition

In OEN, the preposition *ivir* ‘over’ (cf. English *over*, German *über*) can be used to mark the standard when the parameter is an adjective and the degree is not expressed:

(32) OEN (Bir. 3: 315)

<i>thin</i>	<i>ordh</i>	<i>äru</i>	<i>söt</i>	<i>owir</i>	<i>honagh</i>
YOUR.NOM.PL	word.NOM.PL	be.PRS.3PL	sweet	over	honey
CPREE			PAR	STM	STAND

‘your words are sweeter than honey’

4.4 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The standard is often marked with the particle *en/än* ‘than’ (probably related to Gothic *þana*) when the degree is expressed by the inflectional suffix *-ari/-ri* (cf. 4.1.1 Type 3-1-1):

(33) OWN (OT.)

<i>Hann</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>ellri</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>Ólafr</i>
he.NOM	be.PST.3SG	old.CPD	than	Ó.NOM
CPREE		PAR.PM	STM	STAND

‘He was older than Olaf’

This is the default way of expressing this type of comparative in OEN, with the degree expressed by the inflectional suffix *-are* or *-re*; the particle is again *än* (spelled *æn* in the example):

(34) OEN (Bu. 4)

<i>Hua</i>	<i>war</i>	<i>starkare</i>	<i>æn</i>	<i>samson</i>
who.NOM	be.PST.3SG	strong.CPD	than	S.NOM
CPREE		PAR.PM	STM	STAND

‘who was stronger than Samson’

The derivational negative prefix *ú-/ó-* ‘un-’ combined with the comparative suffix is sometimes used to express the comparative of inferiority. The marker of the standard is the particle *en* ‘than’.

(35) OWN (Yng. Hkr.)

<i>hann</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>ósterkari</i>	<i>í</i>	<i>leikinom</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>Alfr</i>
he.NOM	be.PST.3SG	NEG.strong.CPD	in	game.DEF.DAT.PL	than	A.NOM
CPREE		PAR.PM			STM	STAND

‘He was weaker than Alfr.’

(36) OEN (Bir. 1)

<i>tholike</i>	<i>äru ...</i>	<i>omillare</i>	<i>än</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>som</i>	<i>han</i>
such.NOM.PL	be.PRS.3PL	NEG.mild.CPD	than	DEM.NOM.PL	REL	he.ACC
CPREE		PAR.PM	STM	STAND		

korsfästo
crucify.PST.3PL

‘such people are crueller than those that crucified him’

4.5 Type 3-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In OWN, the expression *frá því* (spelled *frá þí* in the example below; literally ‘from that’) is sometimes used to express the comparative (cf. Fritzner 1886: 471), as in the following example, where it may be seen as an equivalent of English ‘much more’:

- (37) OWN (Stj.)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|--------------|------------|------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>feitr</i> | <i>ok</i> | <i>dígr</i> | <i>frá</i> | <i>þí,</i> | <i>sem</i> | <i>flestir</i> |
| fat.NOM | and | huge.NOM | from | that.DAT | as | most.NOM.PL |
| PAR | | PAR | PM | | STM | STAND |
| <i>men</i> | | <i>aðrir</i> | | | | |
| man.NOM.PL | | other.NOM.PL | | | | |
- ‘much bigger and fatter than most other men’

In OWN, the adverb *verr* ‘worse’ can sometimes be used to express the comparative of inferiority, with the particle *en* ‘than’ as marker of the standard. In such cases the adjective typically relates to a past participle, as e. g. *ættborinn* below relates to *borinn* ‘born’ from *bera* ‘carry; give birth’:

- (38) OWN (OH Hkr.)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>er</i> | <i>engi</i> | <i>várr</i> | <i>verr</i> | <i>ættborinn</i> | <i>heldr</i> | <i>en</i> |
| be.PRS.3SG | none.NOM | our.NOM | bad.CPD.NOM | of.birth.NOM | rather | than |
| | | | PM | PAR | | STM |
| <i>Ólafr</i> | | | | | | |
| Ó.NOM | | | | | | |
| STAND | | | | | | |
- ‘none of us are of less high birth than Olaf’

4.6 Type 3-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

This type, with degree expressed by an inflectional suffix, is attested in both OWN and OEN.

(39) OEN (MB 1)

<i>the</i>	<i>wärdhning</i>	<i>som</i>	<i>äldre</i>	<i>brodher</i>	<i>bör</i>	<i>til</i>
DEF.NOM	honour	REL	old.CPD	brother	be.entitled.PRS.3SG	to
			PAR.PM	CPREE		

rätta

right.GEN

‘the honour that an older brother is entitled to’

4.7 Type 3-10: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In the daughter languages of ON, the comparative of superiority can be expressed not only by affixes, but also by periphrasis. Compare Swedish *intressantare* ‘more interesting’ (with affixation) vs. Norwegian Nynorsk *meir interessant* (with periphrasis). It is uncontroversial that periphrastic comparison represents an innovation in North Germanic; in ON, it is clearly marginal empirically. Indeed, at most a handful of examples can apparently be identified, including:

(40) OWN (Falk & Torp 1900: 88)

<i>meirr</i>	<i>leiðr</i>
more	disliked
PM	PAR

The expression above is used alongside the affixal *leiðri* (ibid.). Another example of periphrastic expression of gradation is OWN *mest virðr* ‘most esteemed’ (Nygaard 1905: 66, Hkr., see 5.3, Type 4.10). The fact that the words *virðr* and *leiðr* originate as past participles may perhaps be relevant for these examples, even if Noreen (1904: 356) presents one OEN example, *drófdhaster* ‘most sorrowful’, in which the past participle is subject to affixal comparison. Still, this is an exception. The main point is that periphrastic gradation hardly occurs in ON (cf. Haugen 1995: 139).

4.8 Formal means of expressing comparatives

Adjectives are usually graded by means of suffixes. Compare OSw. *hwas* ‘sharp’ (definite/‘strong’ inflection, see below, with phonological assimilation of the masculine nominative singular *r*) – *hwassare* – *hwassaster*; *valdogher* ‘big’ – *valdoghare* – *valdoghaster* (Noreen 1904: 356); OWN *hvass* ‘sharp’ – *hvassare* – *hvassastr*; *spakr* ‘wise, meek’ – *spakare* – *spakastr* (Noreen 1923: 298). There are also other morphological means of showing gradation, such as vowel change and suppletion (see below).

For a very few adverbs, we find a comparative marker OEN *-mer*, OWN *-meir*, e. g. OSw. *optarmer* ‘more often’ (alternatively *optari*), OWN *ofarmeir* ‘upper’. This marker is related to the element found in periphrastic comparison in the modern languages, as in Norwegian *mer gammaldags* / Faroese *meiri gammaldags* ‘more old-fashioned’ (and to English *more*, German *mehr*). The element *-mer/-meir* can be found after a stem that already has been subjected to comparison by suffixation, both in OEN and in OWN. In ODa. and to some extent OSw. the marker *-mer* is somewhat more common also with adjectives (Brøndum-Nielsen 1962: 124).

It is customary to posit three inflection classes for adjectives. We follow Kristoffersen (2002), whose three classes are slightly unconventional.

Class I takes the suffixes *-ari*, *-ast* in the comparative and the superlative respectively in OWN. In OSw. the suffixes have *a*, in ODa. they often have *æ* (i. e. *-æri*, *-æst*). This difference is phonological. Class I adjectives show inflection by suffixation only. In the ‘strong’/indefinite inflection, they have a bisyllabic suffix in the comparative (unlike class II and III adjectives) and a monosyllabic suffix in the superlative. Compare OWN *spakr* – *spakari* – *spakastr* (‘wise’, masculine singular nominative: positive, comparative, superlative), OSw. *hwas* – *hwassare* – *hwassastr* (‘sharp’, masculine singular nominative: positive, comparative, superlative). This is the most common pattern of adjective gradation; it is much more type-frequent and productive than classes II and III. Thus, in ODa. it includes *krank* ‘sick’ and *slem* ‘mean’ (Brøndum-Nielsen 1962: 125), both presumably of Low German origin.

In ODa., at least, the comparative of class I adjectives with stems ending in *-r* is sometimes subject to haplology. For example, the adjective *svær* ‘big, heavy’ (positive accusative singular non-neuter), sometimes forms a comparative *svære* instead of expected *sværære* (Brøndum-Nielsen 1962: 126).

In the comparative and the superlative, there can be insertion of a consonant (*v* or *j*), if mostly in OWN and the early stages. Thus, at least in the earliest language, the comparative and superlative of *fōlr* ‘pale’ is *fōlvári*, *fōlvástr* with an inserted *v* (instead of *fōlári*, *fōlástr*), while *nýr* ‘new’ compares *nýjári*, *nýjástr* with an inserted *j* (instead of *nýári*, *nýástr*) (Hagen 1980). Insertion of *v* is found also for e. g. *frær* ‘fertile’, *glöggr* ‘bright’ and *rōskr* ‘quick’ (comparatives *frævári*, *glöggvári*, *rōskvári*). The traditional label for such adjectives is *wa-/wō*-stems. Insertion of *j* is found also for e. g. *fátōkr* ‘poor’, *ríkr* ‘mighty’, and such adjectives are called *ja-/jō*-stems. Class I adjectives without insertion are *a-/ō*-stems, traditionally. The consonant insertion is not phonological. For both subgroups, one finds variation in the sources. Thus *nýr* can have a comparative without *j*-insertion (*nýrri*) and the comparative of *rōskr* occurs also without *v*-insertion (*rōskari*). In later OWN, insertion becomes less common, especially of *j*. Consonant insertion is also less common in OEN.

For a number of class I adjectives, viz. those that end in OWN *-inn*, *-ill*, *-an*, *-all* in the masculine nominative singular, there is regular vowel deletion in gradation. Thus OWN *heiðinn* ‘heathen’ compares *heiðnari*, *heiðnastr* (and not **heiðinnari*, **heiðinnnastr*), OSw. *fæghin* ‘happy’ compares *fæghnare*, *fæghnaster* (with deletion of *i*), OSw. *ūsá* ‘bad’ com-

pares *ūslare*, *ūslaster* (with deletion of *a*). This deletion of an unstressed vowel is phonologically motivated; the adjectives that undergo deletion are therefore traditionally not labelled a ‘class’. Unlike consonant insertion, vowel deletion is the rule also in OEN.

Class II is characterized by the suffixes *-ri* and *-st* in the comparative and superlative; if phonologically possible, these adjectives usually also have vowel change (historically *i*-umlaut) of the stem in the comparative and the superlative. Class II has fewer members than class I, but more than class III. The comparative suffix is monosyllabic, the superlative suffix does not constitute a syllable. Examples include OWN *langr* ‘long’ – *lengri* – *lengstr*, OWN *stórr* ‘large’ – *stórri* – *stórstr*. While vowel change is common in class II, some non-umlauted comparatives also occur, e. g. OSw. *norre*, *ofre* (OWN *nørðri*, *ófri*). There are class II adjectives where stem vowel change is phonologically impossible, such as OWN *hreinn* ‘clean’ – superlative *hreinstr*.

Class III adjectives are suppletive. Examples include OWN *góðr* ‘good’ – *betri* – *bestr*, OEN *gamall/gambli* ‘old’ – *ældri* – *ælstær/ælsti* (Delsing 2002: 933). For these adjectives, the positive has a different stem than the comparative and superlative. The comparative and superlative suffixes in class III are identical to those of class II (*-ri*, *-str*). Adjectives in class III are few and easily listed, unlike those in class I. Most of the adjectives in class III display a very high token-frequency, however.

There can be analogically motivated vacillation and changes between the classes. For example, the comparative of the OWN adjective *djúpr* ‘deep’ is either *djúpari* with class I affix and no vowel change or *dýpri* with class II affix and vowel change (Noreen 1923: 300). The typical direction for these analogies is towards class I.

Mixed inflection, also known as heteroclisis (see Maiden 2009), is found, but only rarely. OEN examples include *vegligr* ‘splendid’ – *vegligri* (class II suffix) – *vegligastr* (class I suffix) (Noreen 1923: 300–301).

A few adjectives are defective, having no positive; examples include OEN *ófri* ‘upper’ (superlative *óværstær*), OWN *eystri* ‘Eastern’ (superlative *austastr*). These adjectives usually take class II suffixes. They often have a spatial meaning and relate to an adverb; thus OEN *ófri* ‘upper’ is often seen as the comparative of *yfir* ‘over’, OWN *eystri* as the comparative of *austan* ‘eastwards’. (This may be ‘word-class changing inflection’, cf. Haspelmath 1996.) While the adjectives can occur pre-nominally and attributively, the adverbs cannot. Semantically, it is not entirely clear whether this should be seen as gradation (cf. Lie 1996 for Modern Norwegian).

ON displays much cumulative exponence, so that an inflectional category typically interacts with at least one other in its formal realisation. Gradation interacts above all with definiteness. The positive and the superlative are found in both the definite (‘weak’) and the indefinite (‘strong’) declension. The comparative, by contrast, does not show a contrast between the definite and the indefinite form. In other words, the definiteness distinction is neutralized in the comparative; comparatives are invariably definite, formally, but nevertheless used in both syntactically definite and syntactically indefinite contexts. (In younger OEN, gender also interacts with gradation, in that the gender distinction is neutralized in the comparative and the superlative.)

5 Superlative

5.1 Type 4-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

5.1.1 Type 4-1-1: flag is case

In OWN, the superlative suffix *-ast/-st* is typically combined with the genitive as marker of the standard. (This type is less common in OEN.)

- (41) OWN (Gyl.)
Þjalfi var allra manna fóthvatastr
 Þ.NOM be.PST.3SG all.GEN.PL man.GEN.PL fast.SPD.NOM
 CPREE STAND.STM PAR.PM
 ‘Thjalfi was the fastest of all’

5.1.2 Type 4.1.2: flag is adposition

This type combines the superlative suffix of the adjective with a preposition, typically *af* ‘of’, that marks the standard; it is well attested in both OWN and OEN.

- (42) OWN (Skáld.)
hamarrinn var beztr af öllum
 hammer.DEF.NOM be.PST.3SG good.SPD.NOM of all.DAT.PL
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
gripunum
 valuable.DEF.DAT.PL
 ‘The hammer was the best of all the precious things’

- (43) OEN (KS 40)
han är dyrastr af allom creaturom
 he.NOM be.PRS.3SG valuable.SPD.NOM of all.DAT.PL creature.DAT.PL
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘he [man] is the most valuable of all creatures’

5.2 Type 4-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

An adjective with the superlative suffix (a bare superlative) is used without any expression of the standard when the standard can be inferred:

(44) OWN (Guðr.)

Mik veit ek á moldu munarlausasta
 me.ACC know.PRS.1SG 1SG.NOM on earth.DAT unhappy.SPD.ACC
 CPREE PAR.PM

‘I know I am the most unhappy one on earth’

(45) OEN (MB 1)

tha war älzste brodher prester i hwarie släkt
 then be.PST.3SG old.SPD.DEF brother.NOM priest.NOM in every family
 PAR.PM CPREE

‘at that time, the oldest brother in every family was a priest’

5.3 Type 4-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

As mentioned in the introduction, periphrastic expression of comparison is marginal in ON. However, a few examples are attested, including:

(46) OWN (Nygaard 1905: 66, Hkr.)

mest virðr
 most esteemed
 PM PAR

(See also 4.7 Type 3-10)

6 Elative

6.1 Type 5-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The bare superlative (see 5.2 Type 4-9) is used to express an elative in OEN:

(47) OEN (MB 1)

Fore thy äru Swerike oc Götland älzsta
 therefore be.PRS.3PL S.NOM and G.NOM old.SPD.NOM.PL
 CPREE PAR.PM
land
 country.NOM.PL
 ‘therefore Svealand and Götaland are very old countries’

In OWN, bare superlatives can be combined with definite articles such as *hinn* when they are used to express an elative (see Nygaard 1905: 62). In such cases, however, the construction does not imply definiteness:

(48) OWN (Yng. Hkr.)

hann var mikill maðr ok hinn
 he.NOM be.PST.3SG large.NOM man.NOM and DEF.NOM
 CPREE
vænsti
 beautiful.SPD.NOM
 PAR.PM
 ‘He was a large and very handsome man’

6.2 Type 5-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Several adverbs, such as OWN *mjök*, *drjúgum*, *nökkuru*, *heldr*, *harðla* and *muni/muns*, all meaning ‘much, rather, fairly’, are used to express elative degree. The same holds true for OEN adverbs such as *mykit* or *höghelika*.

(49) OWN (Ey. Flat.)

þeir váru ok mjök jafnaldr
 they.NOM be.PST.3PL also much of.same.age.NOM.PL
 CPREE PM PAR
 ‘They were also about the same age’

(50) OWN (Flat.)

var Ívarr þá drjúgum dauðr af kulda
 be.PST.3SG Í.NOM then much dead.NOM of cold.DAT
 CPREE PM PAR
 ‘Ivar had then almost frozen to death’

- (51) OEN (KL)
han war mykit idhin
 he.NOM be.PST.3SG much diligent.NOM
 CPREE PM PAR
 ‘he was very diligent’

7 Excessive

7.1 Type 6-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The excessive degree can be marked by prefixes such as *of-* and *ofr-*, combined with the positive form of an adjective.

- (52) OWN (Mött.)
hvárki var hón ofstutt né ofsíð
 neither be.PST.3SG she.NOM too.short.NOM nor too.long.NOM
 CPREE PM.PAR PM.PAR
 ‘It was neither too short nor too long’
- (53) OEN (MB 1)
han hawer offlitla eller offstora ... nása
 he.NOM have.PRS.3SG too.small.ACC or too.large.ACC nose.ACC
 PM.PAR PM.PAR CPREE
 ‘he has a nose that is too small or too large’
- (54) OWN (Háv.)
Ölr ek varð, varð ofrölví
 drunk.NOM 1SG.NOM become.PST.1SG become.PST.1SG too.drunk.NOM
 [CPREE] PM.PAR
 ‘Drunk I was, I was too drunk’

8 Summary

The ON languages display various ways of expressing comparison and gradation. The main type of construction that is used for expressing similative degree is type 8, with the particle *sem/sum* as marker of the standard.

Equative degree is expressed in many ways, most of which include the prefix *jafn-/jam-/iäm-* or the adjective *jafn/jamn/iämn* ‘equal’ as a marker of the parameter (types 2-1, 2-3, 2-5, 2-9 and 2-11). The particle *sem/sum* competes with the dative case as marker of the standard in equative expressions.

Comparative and superlative are typically expressed by suffixation (*-ari/-ri, -ast/-st*). In comparative expressions the dative and the genitive case compete as markers of the standard, while in superlative expressions the standard marker can be expressed by the genitive case or the particle *af* ‘of’. Elative and excessive are expressed by using degree adverbs and prefixes respectively. Bare superlatives can also express the elative, and in such cases, the adjective is typically combined with a form of the definite article.

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12 West Germanic

1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of gradation and comparison in West Germanic languages, focusing on the oldest attested stages. In particular, we will cover Old High German (OHG), Old Low German (OLG, including Old Saxon/OS and Old Low Franco-nian/OLFr, sometimes also referred to as Old Dutch), Old English (OE), and Old Frisian (OFri). Table 1 summarizes the investigated corpus.

The data for OHG (750–1050 AD) consist of evidence from the three largest classical OHG texts: the OHG translations of Isidor's *De fide catholica* (around 800) and Tatian's gospel harmony (around 830), both prose texts based on Latin originals, as well as the poetic text of the gospel book by Otfrid von Weißenburg (between 863 and 871). In the case of *Isidor*, the entire text was checked manually for comparisons and the results compared to a corpus search on *Referenzkorpus Altdeutsch*. Of the OHG *Tatian*, chapters 1–55 were checked manually (approx. a quarter of the entire text) and the remaining text was investigated via corpus search on *Referenzkorpus Altdeutsch*, especially for comparatives. The data for *Otfrid* was partly drawn from Wunder (1965: 175–180) and partly gathered by corpus search on *Referenzkorpus Altdeutsch*. (For individual phenomena, additional data was collected from the late OHG works of Notker using the *Titus* corpus.)

For OLG (800–1200 AD), a corpus analysis was conducted using *Referenzkorpus Altdeutsch* for the longest OLG text, the *Heliand* (around 830), as well as the *Genesis* (around 870) and two minor OLG texts, viz. the OS confession (late 10th c.) and the interlinear OLFr psalm translation (9th/10th c.).

The OE period is usually reckoned as 450–1150 AD, but the earliest texts date from the second half of the 7th century, and those that are substantial enough to be useful for present purposes date from the 9th century onward. The OE texts used for this chapter are a subset of those in the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE; Taylor et al 2003), specifically those dating to before 950 (belonging to periods o1 and o2 in the original Helsinki corpus). In addition, data are drawn from the autochthonous epic poem *Beowulf*, usually dated by linguists to the early 8th century (Fulk 1992; Neidorf 2016), using the version in the York Corpus of Old English Poetry (Pintzuk & Plug 2001). All these texts have been morphologically annotated and syntactically parsed, and the results presented here are based on corpus searches.

OFri is attested substantially later than the other languages considered in this chapter (1200–1550 AD). The data for the section on OFri are mostly drawn from two of the earliest manuscripts: the First Rüstring Manuscript (around 1300) and the Second Hunsingo Manuscript (H2; around 1325–1350). Both manuscripts contain prose sources written after 1200, and these are overwhelmingly legal texts, e.g. the

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Seventeen Statutes and *Twenty-four Land-laws*, which is found in both the Rüstring and Hunsingo manuscripts (see Bremmer 2009: 6–15). These texts are available as part of the Fryske Akademy’s Integrated Scientific Frisian Language Database, and have been morphologically annotated and lemmatized; results presented in this chapter are based on a corpus search.

Table 1: Investigated corpus of West Germanic

Language	Text	Date	Text type/genre
OHG	Isidor	around 800	prose text, theological treatise, translation from Latin
	Tatian	around 830	prose text, bible texts, translation from Latin
OLG	Otfrid	863 – 871	poetic text, based on bible
	Heliant	around 830 ¹	poetic text, based on bible /gospel harmony in alliterative verse
	Genesis	around 870	poetic text, based on bible
	Old Saxon (OS) confession	late 10 th c.	prose, formula for confession; (based on older Franconian formula) ²
	Old Low Franconian (OLFr) psalms	9 th /10 th c.	interlinear psalm translation from Latin
OE	o1 and o2 prose texts	800–950	prose texts, various, mostly translations from Latin
	Beowulf	before 725?	poetic text in alliterative verse, autochthonous
OFri	First Rüstring Manuscript	around 1300	prose texts, legal (mostly statutes), autochthonous
	Second Hunsingo Manuscript	around 1325–1350	prose texts, legal (mostly statutes), autochthonous

The remainder of this chapter is divided into four sections, dealing with OHG (sect. 2), OLG (sect. 3), OE (sect. 4), and OFri (sect. 5) respectively, followed by a short synopsis.

Additional examples to this chapter are available at <https://gitlab.uzh.ch/paul.widmer/mhiet-vol1-gradation>.

¹ Ms. M second half of 9th century (partly fragmentary), ms. C second half of 10th century (largely complete).

² Copy of an edited translation of a (lost) Franconian confession formula. The OS confession shows some characteristic extensions and abridgements compared to other adaptations of this formula (see Masser 1992: 467).

2 Old High German

2.1 Similitive

2.1.1 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/ adjective)

2.1.1.1 Type 1-3-1 flag is case

Only occasionally, a kind of similitive is expressed in OHG using an adjective meaning ‘same’/‘similar’, cf. (1).³ The equivalent of the standard of comparison appears in dative case. Note, however, that this does not constitute a genuine instance of comparative case; rather, the dative is governed by the particular adjective (cf. also Modern German *gleich einem Adler* ‘like an eagle’) – it never occurs in comparison constructions with ordinary adjectives (unlike dative as proper equative case e. g. in Icelandic).

(1) (secundum autem simile est huic.)

<i>Thaz</i>	<i>aftera</i>	<i>ist</i>	<i>gilih</i>	<i>thesemo</i>
ART.NOM	latter.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	same	this.DAT
CPREE			PM	STAND.STM

‘The latter is identical to this.’ (Tatian 209.21 f.)

2.1.2 Type 1-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

This type constitutes one of the most typical patterns in OHG similitives (besides type 1-8). The standard marker most commonly consists of the comparison particle *sô* (see also Schrodts 2004: 168; DWB 1: 248, Jäger 2018: 61 f., 76, 82), cf. (2), less often of strengthened forms on the basis of *sô* and another element (originally part of the superordinate clause, see sect. 2.1.6): *sôsô*, cf. (3), *sô selp sô*, cf. (4), (*sô*) *samasô*, *solih sô*, and (especially since Late OHG) *alsô*, cf. (5). As a parameter marker, most commonly the homophonous manner/degree demonstrative *sô* is used, cf. (2) and (3), occasionally *sus*, cf. (4), later also strengthened forms, especially *alsô*, cf. (5). As in many languages, the parameter marker is optional in OHG similitives. If it is missing, type 1-8 results (see sect. 2.1.4).

³ Depending on the analysis, this may be taken to constitute a kind of parameter marker or to be the parameter itself with the parameter marker being unexpressed, in which case these constructions would instead constitute instances of type 1-4-1.

- (2) (ut sit sicut magister eius)

thaz só sí só sín meistar
 that so be.PRS.SBJV.3SG as his.NOM master.NOM
 PM [CPREE] STM STAND
 ‘that he is like his master’ (Tatian 78.22)

- (3) (in quo enim iudicio iudicaveritis, iudicabimini.)

sósó ír in tuome tuoment, só
 as 2PL.NOM in judgement.DAT judge.PRS.2PL thus
 STM —————STAND————— PM
uuerdet ir gituomte.
 become.PRS.2PL 2PL.NOM judge.PTCP.PRS.NOM
 —————CPREE—————
 ‘As you judge in your judgement so will you be judged’ (Tatian 71.18 f.)

- (4) (Christus enim ex patre ita emicuit ut splendor e lumine)

Christus auur sus quham fona fater ziuaaare
 Christ.NOM however so come.PST.3SG from father.DAT indeed
 CPREE- PM —————-CPREE—————
so selp so dhiu berahtrnissi fona sunnun
 as ART radiance.NOM from sun.DAT
 STM —————STAND—————
 ‘Christ came thus from heaven as the light from the sun.’ (Isidor 2.5)

- (5)
- Also uuára zenémenne íst. uuío boetius in primo libro*
-
- as true to=take.INF be.PRS.3SG how B.NOM in first book.ABL

STM —————STAND—————
uuás incusans fortunam [...] álso íst
 be.PST.3SG blame.PTCP.PRS fortune.ACC thus be.PRS.3SG
 ————— PM —————CPREE—————
hîer in tertio libro uuára zetûonne ...
 here in third book.ABL true to=do-INF
 —————

‘As it can be realised how, in the first book, Boethius was blaming fortune, so it can here, in the third book, be realised ...’ (Notker Boeth. 181.27–29)

2.1.3 Type 1-7: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/ adjective)

It is only with an adjective meaning ‘same’/‘similar’ that a kind of construction of this type is rarely attested, cf. (6). As with the type described under 2.1.1.1, the adjective

‘same’/‘similar’ may be taken to constitute a kind of parameter marker, as assumed here, or to be the parameter itself with the parameter marker being unexpressed, in which case these constructions would constitute instances of type 1-8. As generally in similatives, the standard marker is typically *sô*.

- (6) (Ecce adam factus est quasi unus ex nobis)
See adam ist dhiu chilihho uuordan so
 ITJ A.NOM be.PRS.3SG ART same become.PTCP.PST as
 CPREE PM STM
einhuuelih unser
 anyone.NOM 1PL.POSS.GEN
 ───STAND───
 ‘Behold, Adam has become identical to/the same as one of us.’ (Isidor 4.5)

2.1.4 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

This type constitutes one of the most typical patterns in OHG similatives (besides type 1-6). Again, the standard marker most commonly consists of the comparison particle *sô*, cf. (7), less often of strengthened forms on the basis of *sô* and another element (originally part of the superordinate clause): *sôsô*, cf. (8), *solih sô*, cf. (9), (*sô*) *samasô*, cf. (9), *sô selp sô*, cf. (10), and (especially since Late OHG) *alsô*, cf. (11), see also Jäger (2018: 65–74). As is typical of similatives in many languages, the parameter marker is optional in similatives in OHG and is missing in this particular type (when it is present, type 1-6 results).

- (7) (Exsurgens autem Ioseph a somno fecit sicut p̄cepit ei angelus domini)
arstantanti thô ioseph fon slafe t&a só
 get.up.PTCP.PRS then J.NOM from sleep.DAT do.PST.3SG as
 CPREE STM
imo gibôt truhtines engil
 he.DAT tell.PST.3SG god.GEN angel.NOM
 ───STAND───
 ‘Joseph then got up from sleep and did as God’s angel told him.’ (Tatian 35.1f.)

- (8) (Orantes autem nolite multum loqui sicut ethnici)
Betonte nicur& filu sprehan sósó
 pray.PTCP.PRS NEG=shall.IMP.PL much speak.INF as
 ───CPREE─── STM

thie heidanon mán.
 ART heathen man.NOM.PL
 ────────────STAND───────────

‘While praying, you should not speak a lot, as the heathens do.’ (Tatian 67.23f.)

- (9) (Et thronus eius sicut sol in conspectu meo et sicut luna perfecta in eternum)

Endi sn hohsetli ist solih so sunna azs
 and his.NOM throne.NOM be.PRS.3SG like sun.NOM to
 CPREE STM STAND
minera antuuerdin endi in æuuin so sam so
 1SG.POSS.DAT presence.DAT and in eternity.DAT.PL like
 STM

foluuassan mano
 full.NOM moon.NOM
 STAND

‘And his throne is such as the sun in my presence and in eternity as the full moon’ (Isidor 9.1)

- (10) (Ecce et me sicut et te fecit deus)

See endi mih deda got so selp so dhih
 ITJ and 1SG.ACC make.PST.3SG god.NOM as 2PL.ACC
 CPREE STM STAND

‘Behold, God created me as (he created) you.’ (Isidor 3.10)

- (11) (Iustitia tua sicut montes domine)

Din reht trûhten ist also bérga.
 2SG.POSS.NOM justice.NOM Lord.NOM be.PRS.3SG like mountain.NOM.PL
 CPREE STM STAND

‘Your justice, Lord, is like the mountains.’ (Notker Ps. 35.7)

2.1.5 Types not included in the questionnaire

Hypothetic (irrealis/counterfactual) comparisons, a general subtype of similatives (and equatives), which combines comparison with conditional semantics (‘as if’), are formally identical to canonical similatives (and equatives) in OHG with respect to the types of standard markers being used, viz. *sô* and strengthened forms of *sô* such as *sô selp sô* etc., cf. (12), see also Behaghel (1923–32, III: 623), Jäger (2018: 92–94). Only subjunctive mood marks them as hypothetical.

- (12) *Tho détt er selb so er uuólti. ioh*
 then do.PST.3SG he.NOM as he.NOM want.PST.SBJV.3SG and
 STM
rúmor fáran scolti
 further go.INF shall.PST.SBJV.3SG
 ‘Then, he pretended as if he wanted to and was going to walk further.’ (Otfrid V. 10.3)

Very rarely, similarity is also marked by means of word formation, e. g. compounding with *eban* ‘equally/similar’, cf. (13). Note that the dative case of the equivalent of the standard of comparison in this example does not constitute genuine comparative case (which does not appear in OHG in similatives or equatives, but only in comparatives); rather, it is governed by the compound verb (similar to case government by the adjective ‘same’/‘similar’ discussed under type 1-3-1).

- (13) (Et profecti praedicaerunt ubique domino cooperante)
Inti farenti predigotun íógiuuar trohtine
 and go.PTCP.PRS.NOM preach.PST.3PL everywhere Lord.DAT
 [CPREE] STAND.STM
ebanuúirkentemo
 equal.effect.PTCP.PRS.DAT
 PM.PAR
 ‘and on the way, they preached like the Lord.’ (Tatian 342.16 f.)

2.1.6 Formal means of expressing similatives

In similatives, as in other types of comparison in OHG, the standard may be phrasal (e. g. NP, PP, AdvP, etc.) or clausal (sentential). All standard markers in similatives occur with both syntactic types of standards, cf. Jäger (2018: 79 f.). The typical standard marker and parameter marker is *sô* which goes back to modal uses of the instrumental case of the PIE pronominal stem **swe/swo-* (cf. Pokorny 1959, I: 882–884; DWB 1: 248; LIPP 2: 736, 763 f.). The pattern of *sô ... sô* regularly found in similatives constitutes a correlative construction (see also Desportes 2008), which is typical for European languages (cf. Haspelmath/Buchholz 1998). The parameter marker, however, is optional in similatives, as is the case in many other languages. Another cross-linguistically typical feature of similatives also found in OHG is the grammaticalization in this type of comparison of new standard markers by strengthening or reinforcement, i. e. univerbation of the original standard marker with a commonly adjacent element that is originally part of the superordinate/matrix clause (see Grimm 1884: 295, Behaghel 1923–32, III: 67, 292; DWB 16: 1370; Jäger 2018: 370 f.) and is typically of the following type:

- parameter marker: *sôsô*⁴
- item with identity semantics ('same', 'similar' etc.): (*sô*) *selb sô*, *sama sô* (> *same*)
- intensifier ('quite', 'completely', 'fully' etc.): *alsô* < adverbial *al* 'fully' + *sô* 'as/like' (> *als*)

This reanalysis of frequently adjacent matrix-clause internal elements and original standard marker (particle) as a new particle typically starts in similatives because here no parameter intervenes between the two. Besides univerbation, the original standard marker may also be dropped so that only the originally matrix-internal element remains as the new standard marker. The common grammaticalization of new standard markers in similatives contributes to the typical directionality of the semantic/syntactic shift of standard markers (particles) from similatives to equatives to comparatives (Comparative Cycle, cf. section 2.7).

2.2 Equative

2.2.1 Type 2-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

This type constitutes the prevalent pattern of equatives in OHG. As in similatives, the standard marker is most commonly the particle *sô* (see Schrodts 2004: 168; DWB 1: 248, Jäger 2018: 76, 82), illustrated in (14). Very occasionally also strengthened forms of the standard marker are attested such as *sôsô*, *samasô*, or late OHG *alsô* (see sect. 2.1.6), cf. (15). All standard markers generally occur with phrasal as well as with clausal standards. The parameter marker is also *sô*, cf. (14) and (15). Later on in diachronic development, the strengthened form *alsô* occurs in this function as well.

- (14) (& dabit illi quot hab& necessarios)
- | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>inti</i> | <i>gibit</i> | <i>imo</i> | <i>sô</i> | <i>manag</i> | <i>so</i> | <i>her</i> | <i>bitharf.</i> |
| and | give.PRS.3SG | him | as | much | as | he | need.PRS.3SG |
| | | | PM | PAR | STM | —————STAND————— | |

'and gives him as much as he needs' (Tatian 72.28 f.)

⁴ Note that *sôsô*, just like its cognates in other West Germanic languages discussed below (*swāswā* etc.), does not constitute an instance of reduplication or reiteration, but the combination of two categorially/functionally distinct elements: a parameter marker and a standard marker.

- (15) (et sicut honus grave, gravate sunt super me)
siû sint ûfen mir so suâre . also suâre
 they be.PRS.3PL upon 1SG.DAT as heavy.NOM.PL as heavy
 CPREE PM PAR STM STAND
burdi
 burden.NOM.PL
 ‘They are upon me as heavy as a heavy burden’ (Notker Ps. 37.5)

Only exceptionally, the usual comparative standard marker *thanne* is used in equatives including negation or multiples, and thus, as a whole, referring to inequality, cf. (16); see also AWB (2: 161), Behaghel (1923–32, III: 276), Jäger (2018: 75).

- (16) *uuânda ôuh sêlbez taz sâng . nôte stîgen sôl [...]*
 because also itself ART song.NOM necessarily rise.INF shall.PRS.3SG

ze demo âhtodên bûohstâbe . dér zuûalt liutet . tânne
 to ART eighth tone.DAT REL.NOM twice sound.PRS.3SG than
 CPREE PM STM
dér bûohstâb . ze demo iz ânafieng
 ART tone.NOM at REL.DAT it start.PST.3SG
 STAND
 ‘Because the melody itself should necessarily rise [...] to the eighth tone which is twice as high as the tone at which it started’ (Notker Mus. IV.16)

2.2.2 Type 2-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

This type is evidenced in so-called contextual equatives in OHG, as in many languages. Here, the standard (and accordingly the standard marker) remains unexpressed but can be deduced from the context, cf. (17).

- (17) *níst ther er gihórti . so frónisg*
 NEG=be.PRS.3SG REL.NOM before/earlier hear.PST.3SG as glorious.ACC
 PM PAR
árunti
 message.ACC
 CPREE
 ‘No-one has ever heard a message as glorious [as this one]’ (Otfried I.12.10)

Furthermore, examples consisting of parameter marker and parameter with a consecutive/consequent clause might be subsumed under this type, cf. (18). The parameter marker in both kinds of constructions is again usually *sô*.

- (18) (Sepulchrum autem eius in tantum est gloriosum, ut ...)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------|------------|------------|-----------|---------------|------------------|--------------|
| <i>Sn grab</i> | <i>ist</i> | <i>aur</i> | <i>so</i> | <i>drado</i> | <i>eruirhic,</i> | <i>dhazs</i> |
| his grave.NOM | be.PRS.3SG | however | as | very | honorable.NOM | that |
| CPREE | | | PM | —————PAR————— | | |
- uir ...*
1PL.NOM
‘His grave, however, is so very honorable that we ...’ (Isidor 9.11)

2.2.3 Types not included in the questionnaire

Very rarely, another type is attested that is semantically equivalent to an equative, cf. (19).⁵ The standard of comparison is marked by the usual equative particle *sô*. However, there is no parameter or parameter marker in the superordinate clause. Instead, the parameter occurs within the standard and appears in superlative form signaling the highest possible degree on the respective scale. The standard clause typically includes a modal predicate ‘to be able to’. The construction is thus equivalent to ‘as ... as X could’. It is attested until Early New High German (ENHG), cf. Behaghel (1923–32, III: 292 f.), DWB (16: 1370 f.), and Jäger (2018: 64 f., 134 f., 175 f.).

- (19) *in thaz crûci man nan nâgalta sô sie tho*
in ART cross.ACC one he.ACC nail.PST.3SG as they there
—————CPREE————— STM ———STAND (incl. PAR)
fâstôs môhtun.
tightest can.PST.3PL
—————
‘They nailed him to the cross as tightly as they could.’ (Otfrid IV.27.18)

2.2.4 Formal means of expressing equatives

On the etymology of the standard marker (particle *sô*) and the parameter marker (*sô*), and on the origin of the strengthened standard markers, see sect. 2.1.6 above.

⁵ These constructions are also referred to as potentiality equatives (see sect. 5.2.3).

2.3 Comparative

2.3.1 Type 3-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

2.3.1.1 Type 3-1-1: flag is case

In OHG, this type is quite common. The parameter is marked by the inflectional comparative suffix *-ir/-ôr-*, the standard is marked by comparative case, viz. dative, cf. (20); see also Grimm (1897: 909 f.), DWB (1: 248–259), Behaghel (1923–32, III: 651 f.), Schrodtt (2004: 38), Jäger (2018: 46–60). This pattern was (like type 3-5, discussed in sect. 2.3.4) inherited from Proto-Germanic, cf. Small (1929), Behaghel (1923–32, III: 119).⁶ As case-marking is restricted on grammatical grounds to standards consisting of NPs, the distribution of this type is limited. Furthermore, marking of the standard by comparative case seems to be licensed only when the comparative case ‘overwrites’ structural case, i. e. nominative or accusative, cf. Jäger (2016).⁷ In view of these distributional restrictions of comparative dative, it is quite noteworthy that its share among comparative constructions in the three classical OHG texts *Isidor*, *Tatian*, and *Otfrid* amounts to 40 % of all comparatives on average with a slight diachronic decrease (50 % in *Isidor*, 41 % in *Tatian*, 29 % in *Otfrid*). Comparative case is thus clearly more frequent in OHG than in the closely related languages of OFri or OLG, for instance, and is also preserved longer than in OE, cf. Small (1929: 30, 80, 83). While comparative case is thus clearly an inherited feature rather than loan-syntactic influence from Latin, the Latin source text in translations might have a certain stabilizing effect in so far as no examples of comparative dative in the translatory texts of *Isidor* and *Tatian* occur without a comparative ablative in the Latin original. On the other hand, a number of instances of comparative case in the original are rendered in OHG with a comparative particle (type 3-5) rather than comparative case. Note, however, that Notker, for instance, uses comparative dative in several instances to translate a Latin construction involving a preposition, cf. (21). Particularly common in OHG are comparative constructions with *êr* (an adverbial short comparative form, cf. sect. 2.3.6) and dative. These can largely be argued to constitute transparent comparatives in OHG, cf. Lühr (2011: 14). Thus, instead of comparative case dative the standard alternatively occurs marked by the particle *thanne* (cf. sect. 2.3.4). However, already in OHG *êr* in this construction is beginning to be grammaticalized into a preposition ‘before’ governing dative, cf. Jäger (2018: 47–49).

⁶ Schrodtt (2004: 38) also mentions the option of genitive as comparative case in OHG. The example he gives, however, involves a partitive genitive, not comparative case: (maior vestrum) *iuuer mera* ‘higher of/among you’ (*Tatian* 243.21). Other potential cases in fact involve adverbial genitive on a measure phrase, expressing the equivalent of ‘greater by’.

⁷ On the other hand, a restriction to instances with a presupposition that the respective gradable property applies to the standard already to a high degree, i. e. a semantics of ‘even more ... than’, as suggested by Panagl (1975) for Latin and Krisch (1988: 58) for Old Norse, does not seem to hold in OHG, cf. Jäger (2016).

- (20) (ut esset deo subiectus, ceteris creaturis praelatus)

dhazs ir chihoric uuari gote endi furio
 that he.NOM obedient be.PST.SBJV.3SG god.DAT and higher
 CPREE PAR.PM
uuari andrem gotes chiscaftim
 be.PST.SBJV.3SG other.DAT god.GEN creature.DAT.PL
 —————STAND.STM—————

‘that he was obedient to God and higher than the other creatures of God’ (Isidor 5.9)

- (21) (super nivem dealbor)

wízero snêwe
 whiter snow.DAT
 PAR.PM STAND.STM

‘whiter than snow’ (Notker Ps. 50.9)

2.3.2 Type 3-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/ adjective)

2.3.2.1 Type 3-3-1: flag is case

Rarely, a construction of this type is found in OHG with a verb meaning ‘surpass’ (typically formed by compounding with *ubar* ‘above/over’) whose direct object constitutes the equivalent of the standard, cf. (22) and (23). Note, however, that the grammatical case of the latter (accusative) is not an instance of comparative case but ordinary object case governed by the verb. Optionally, the equivalent of the parameter is expressed in the form of a partitive NP, cf. (23).

- (22) *Thiu uuóla iz állaz ubarmág*
 REL.NOM well it all.ACC surpass.PRS.3SG
 CPREE —————STAND.STM————— PM

‘that well surpasses it all’ (Otfrid IV.31.33)

- (23) *ih háben inan giáforot . ioh súntono*
 1SG have.PRS.1SG he.ACC imitate.PTCP.PST and sin.GEN.PL
 CPREE STAND.STM PAR
ubarkóborot
 surpass.PTCP.PST
 PM

‘I have imitated him and surpassed him with respect to sins’ (Otfrid IV.31.30)

2.3.3 Type 3-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

2.3.3.1 Type 3-4-2: flag is adposition

There are some rare loan syntactic occurrences of this type in OHG where Latin prepositions such as *super* or *prae* are translated as *ubar* ‘above/over’ marking the standard of comparison while the parameter marker is not expressed, cf. (24).

(24) (qui amat filium aut filiam super me)

<i>thiethar</i>	<i>minnot</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>odo</i>	<i>tohter</i>	<i>ubar</i>
REL.NOM=PTCL	love.PRS.3SG	SON.ACC	or	daughter.ACC	above
			CPREE		STM

mih

1SG.ACC

STAND

‘whoever loves his son or daughter more than me’ (Tatian 80.13f.)

2.3.4 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

In OHG, this type constitutes the main pattern used in comparatives. The parameter marker consists of the inflectional suffix *-ir/-ôr-*, the standard marker is the particle *thanne*, cf. (25); see also Behaghel (1923–32, III: 626 f., 632), Schrodtt (2004: 155). In the three longest classical OHG texts, this pattern is used in 60 % of comparatives on average, and increases diachronically (*Isidor* 50 %, *Tatian* 59 %, *Otfrid* 71 %), cf. Jäger (2018: 40).

(25) (Nonne uos magis plures estis illis.)

<i>Eno nibirut</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>furirun</i>	<i>thanne</i>	<i>sie</i>	<i>sîn</i>	
Q	NEG=be.PRS.2PL	2PL.NOM	further	than	they	be.PRS.SBJV.3PL
		CPREE	PAR.PM	STM	STAND.STM	

‘Aren’t you worth more than they are?’ (Tatian 70.17)

Note that what is sometimes referred to as the comparative of minority/inferiority, cf. (26), is expressed by the same linguistic means as the comparative of majority/superiority, cf. (25), i. e. there is no formal difference between the two in OHG.

(26) (Minuisti eum paulo minus a deo)

<i>Dhu</i>	<i>chiminnerodes</i>	<i>inan</i>	<i>liuzelu</i>	<i>minnerun</i>	<i>dhanne</i>	<i>got</i>
2SG.NOM	lower.PST.2SG	he.ACC	slightly	less.ACC	than	god.ACC
		CPREE		PAR.PM	STM	STAND

‘You made him slightly lower than God.’ (Isidor 5.3)

Particularly common in OHG are comparative constructions with *êr thanne* (*êr* being a short adverbial comparative form, see sect. 2.3.6), which constitute a special case insofar as this expression is beginning to be grammaticalized, with bleaching of the comparative semantics and partly loss of the original standard marker *thanne*, into a temporal subjunction/complementizer cf. Behaghel (1923–32, III: 628), Jäger (2018: 43–46). (Compare also the incipient grammaticalization of *êr* with phrasal standards in dative case into a temporal preposition as discussed in sect. 2.3.1.1).

2.3.5 Type 3-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

This type is evidenced in OHG in the form of so-called contextual comparatives, where the standard is inferred from the context, as illustrated in (27).

(27) (u&us melius est)

<i>thaz</i>	<i>alta</i>	<i>ist</i>	<i>bezira</i>
ART	old.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	better
CPREE			PAR.PM

‘The old one is better [than the new one]’ (Tatian 92.20)

2.3.6 Formal means of expressing comparatives

The parameter marker in OHG comparatives is the comparative morpheme *-ir/-ôr-*, which is added to adjectival/adverbial stems. The former corresponds to the zero-grade **-is-* of PIE **-ies-*; the latter goes back to a new formation **-ôz-* in Germanic. The distribution of the two comparative morphemes is conditioned by morphological and partly also areal factors, cf. Braune/Heidermanns (2018: 312f., 319). Adjectives consisting of several syllables, formed by derivation or composition, generally take *-ôr-*, e. g. *sâlig* ‘blessed’ – *sâligôro* ‘more blessed’. With primary adjectives the choice of the comparative morpheme depends on their inflection class: *ja*-stems always show *-ir-*, e. g. *reini* ‘pure’ – *reiniro* ‘purer’, *a*-stems tend to allow both morphemes, e. g. *hoh* ‘high’ – *hohiro/hohôro* ‘higher’. Besides these morphological factors, the adjectival comparative morpheme *-ôr-* is a typical feature of Upper German. De-adjectival adverbs generally take the *-ôr-* suffix, even if the adjective always takes *-ir-*, e. g. *reinôr*

‘more purely’. A couple of adjectives/adverbs show suppletive comparative forms, viz. *guot* ‘good’ – *bezziro* ‘better’, *ubil* ‘bad’ – *wirsiro* ‘worse’, *mihhil* ‘big’ – *mêro/mêiro* ‘bigger/more’, *luzzil* ‘little’ – *minniro* ‘smaller/less’, cf. Braune/Heidermanns (2018: 312f., 315f.). In adverbial use, these also show short forms such as *baz*, *wirs* etc. Similar short forms of adverbial comparatives are *êr* ‘earlier’ and *sîd* ‘later’, which, however, develop new regular comparative forms, cf. Braune/Heidermanns (2018: 320).

Regarding marking of the standard of comparison, one option inherited from Proto-Germanic is the dative as comparative case. While this is still quite frequent in OHG, it is becoming markedly rarer in Middle High German (MHG) and dies out in ENHG around 1400 AD, cf. Small (1929), Jäger (2018: 40, 101f.).

Most commonly, however, the standard is marked by a particle, viz. OHG *thanne*, which goes back to PGmc **þan-nai*, i. e. a demonstrative + locative particle (Schmidt 1962: 95f.; EWA 2: 530).⁸ The grammaticalization of elements with ablative, dative, or locative case/semantics or the respective functional prepositions into standard markers constitutes a common grammaticalization path in the languages of the world, cf. Heine/Kuteva (2002: 30f., 103, 201). Thus, the types discussed in 2.3.1.1 and 2.3.4 are linked diachronically.

2.4 Superlative

2.4.1 Type 4-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

2.4.1.1 Type 4-1-1: flag is case

In OHG superlative constructions, the parameter is marked by the inflectional suffix *-ist/-ôst-*, cf. Braune/Heidermanns (2018: 314). In superlative constructions, there is no proper standard of comparison as in similatives, equatives, or comparatives specifying an entity that the comparee is compared to. Rather, the equivalent of the standard – if it is expressed – specifies the set of entities among which the comparee has the relevant property to the highest degree. What is expressed is thus ‘the most ... among/of’ rather than ‘the most ... compared to’. The comparee is part of the ‘standard’. Accordingly, linguistic marking employs the typical means of expressing partitivity in the respective language. In OHG, one major means is partitive genitive, cf. (28). Note that this partitive case, which is generally available in partitive constructions, not only with superlatives, has to be distinguished from genuine comparative case, which marks a true standard of comparison (in OHG the dative, see sect. 2.3.1.1). Thus, in (28) for instance, the genitive expresses ‘the youngest of all’, not ‘compared to all’.

⁸ Behaghel (1923–32, I: 241; III: 119) and Jensen (1934: 124) assume ablative case (= comparative case with directional semantics ‘from there’) of the demonstrative **þa-*, and Lühr (1982: 563) instrumental case of measurement, another typical comparative case.

(28) (Si quis uult primus esse)

Oba uuer uuili uurista uuesan ther ist
 if anyone want.PRS.3SG furthest be.INF this be.PRS.3SG
 CPREE

allero iungisto
 all.GEN.PL youngest
 STAND.STM PAR.PM

‘If anyone wants to be the highest/furthest, he is the youngest of all’ (Tatian 151.18)

Note that what is sometimes referred to as the superlative of minority/inferiority, cf. (29), is marked in exactly the same way as the superlative of majority/superiority, cf. (28), i. e. there is no linguistic difference (just as with comparatives of minority/inferiority and majority/superiority, see sect. 2.3.4). Again, the genitive is not a comparative case but an ordinary partitive case (‘the smallest of all roots’, not ‘compared to all roots’).

(29) (minimum quidem est omnibus holeribus)

thaz ist minnista allero uuvrzo
 this be.PRS.3SG smallest all.GEN.PL root.GEN.PL
 CPREE PAR.PM STAND.STM

‘That is the smallest of all roots’ (Tatian 109.19 f.)

2.4.1.2 Type 4-1-2: flag is adposition

Besides the genitive, another major means of marking partitivity also employed in superlatives in OHG to mark the set of relevant entities is prepositions such as *untar* ‘under/among’ or *in* ‘in/among’, cf. (30) and (31). The parameter is marked by the usual superlative suffix. Again, what is sometimes referred to as the superlative of minority/inferiority, cf. (31), shows no formal linguistic difference from the superlative of majority/superiority in OHG, cf. (30).

(30) (qui uoluerit Inter uos primus esse. erit uester seruus)

therdar uuolle untar íu eristo uuesan.
 REL.NOM=PTCL want.PRS.SBJV.3SG under 2PL.DAT first be.INF
 CPREE STM STAND PAR.PM

uuese íuuuer scalc
 be.IMP 2SG.POSS servant.NOM

‘He who wants to be the first among you should be your servant’ (Tatian 185.4 f.)

2.5 Elative

2.5.1 Type 5-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In OHG, the elative does not constitute a grammatical category in its own right. The equivalent of elative semantics is expressed lexically by various free morphemes, notably adverbs such as *thrâto* ‘very’, cf. (33), *filu* ‘much/very’, cf. (34), or *fasto* ‘firmly/very’, cf. (35).

- (33) (erat quippe magnus ualde)

<i>her</i>	<i>uuas</i>	<i>thrato</i>	<i>Michil</i>
he	be.PST.3SG	very	big
CPREE		PM	PAR

‘It was very big’ (Tatian 323.27)

- (34) *Uuig uuas ofto mânegaz . ioh filu*
 battle.NOM be.PST.3SG often numerous.NOM and much
 CPREE PM

mânagfaltaz
 big/different.NOM
 PAR

‘There were often numerous and very big battles.’ (Otfrid I.20.21)

- (35) *thaz múat si fasto héime*
 ART mind.NOM be.PRS.SBJV.3SG firmly at.home
 CPREE PM PAR

‘The mind should be very much at home’ (Otfrid II.21.7)

2.5.2 Types not included in the questionnaire

The equivalent of elative semantics can also be expressed by means of word formation (composition or derivation) for instance with *ur* ‘beyond’, *ein* ‘one’, *filu* ‘much/very’, *ubar* ‘over/above’, etc.; consider for instance *urmâri* ‘very/widely known’, *wîtmâri* ‘widely known’, *einmâri* ‘unique, extraordinary’ (lit. ‘once known’), *filelieb* ‘very nice’, *ubarlût* ‘(very) loud’.

2.6 Excessive

2.6.1 Type 6-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In OHG, the excessive is expressed with the particle *zi* ‘too’ in front of the parameter, cf. (36).¹⁰ The most common type is *zi filu* ‘too much’, cf. DWB (32, 158, s. v. *zu*), Erdmann (1874–1876: 73 footn.).

- (36) *ni uuis zi dúmpmuati*
 NEG be.IMP too stupid
 [CPREE] PM PAR
 ‘Don’t be too stupid’ (Otfrid I.3.29)

2.6.2 Types not included in the questionnaire

The equivalent of excessive semantics can also be expressed by word formation, e. g. composition with *ubar* ‘over/above’: *ubarâz(i)/uberfuora* ‘gluttony/excessive eating’, *ubersprâhhe* ‘boastful’ (lit. ‘over-eloquent’), *ubarmuoti/ubarwâne* ‘arrogant’ (lit. ‘over-minded’). The distinction from the elative (see sect. 2.5.2) is somewhat fuzzy with these formations and depends on the context.

2.6.3 Formal means of expressing excessives

The combination of the particle derived from the PGmc local adverb/preposition **tō/*ti/*te* (from PIE **dō*; LIPP 2: 148 f.) together with an adjective/adverb as a means of expressing excessive semantics is a trait common to the West Germanic languages, cf. DWB (32, 158, s. v. *zu*).

2.7 Further remarks

In the history of German (as in that of many other languages, cf. Jäger 2018: 370–397), one may observe a repeated, step-wise development in the same direction, viz. a shift of standard markers (comparison particles) from similatives to equatives to comparatives, referred to as the Comparative Cycle (Jäger 2010, 2018: 359–370). It can first be observed for the standard marker *alsō* (*alse* > *als*). *Alsō* starts to occur in similatives

¹⁰ This type is, however, not attested in *Isidor* or *Tatian*.

in (Late) OHG and constitutes the main pattern for this type of comparison in MHG. By that time, it is already occasionally used in equatives and very exceptionally in comparatives. In equatives, it becomes the main standard marker during 15th century ENHG superseding *sô*, and its use in comparatives increases. In the latter it constitutes the main pattern since 17th century NHG, superseding *dann/denn*.¹¹

The same shift is then repeated with the standard marker *wie* (< OHG *wîo* ‘how’ < PGmc **hwê* < instrumental case of the PIE interrogative/indefinite **kʷo-*, cf. DWB 29: 1448, LIPP 2: 463–464; it is thus the *wh*-equivalent of *sô*).¹² At first used very occasionally in MHG similatives, it becomes the main pattern in that function and surpasses *als(o)* in 16th century ENHG, during which period it also starts to occur in equatives. In the latter type of comparisons, it becomes the main pattern only in 19th century NHG and since that time is also increasingly used in comparatives, in which it represents the main pattern in most present-day High German dialects (cf. Lipold 1983, Jäger 2018: 291), while the standard language has preserved *als*.

3 Old Low German

3.1 Similative

3.1.1 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

3.1.1.1 Type 1-3-1: flag is case

Very occasionally, a kind of similative is expressed in OLG using an adjective meaning ‘same’/‘similar’, cf. (37). The equivalent of the standard of comparison appears in the dative case (see also Cordes & Holthausen 1973: 234). As in OHG this does not constitute a true instance of comparative case but rather a dative governed by the particular adjective (see also sect. 2.1.1.1).

¹¹ A relic of the similative/equative use of *als* is found in its fossilised use in hypothetical comparisons, a subtype of similatives/equatives. In contrast to OHG (sect. 2.1.5) and MHG, the ENHG period sees hypothetical comparisons develop distinct types that are formally different from ordinary similatives: In hypothetical comparisons introduced by mere *als*, verb-first order replaces the usual verb-final order of similatives. Furthermore, specific complex elements introducing the standard develop (such as *als ob*, *als wenn*, later *wie wenn*), which make explicit the semantics of similative + conditional.

¹² While all comparison particles throughout the history of German are attested with phrasal as well as with clausal standards, *wie* – due to its origin as an interrogative/relative adverb – is originally restricted to clausal standards, and only (rarely) occurs with phrasal standards since the 16th century.

- (40) *al sô* [C: *sô*] *git hîr an Iordanes strôme fiscos*
 as 2DU here at J.GEN stream.DAT fish.ACC.PL
 STM ————— STAND —————
fâhat, sô sculun git noh friho
 catch.PRS.2PL thus shall.PRS.2.PL 2DU henceforth man.GEN.PL
 ————— PM ————— CPREE —————
barn halon te incun handun
 children.ACC.PL fetch.INF to 2DU.POSS.DAT hand.DAT.PL

‘As you catch fish here in the Jordan river, so shall you henceforth fetch the children of man with your hands’ (Heliand 1159–1161)

- (41) *ac cumid fan alloro bâmo gehuicumu sulic*
 but come.PRS.3SG from all.GEN.PL tree.GEN.PL each.DAT such.NOM
 PM
uuastom te thesero, uueroldi sô im fan is
 growth.NOM to this.DAT world.DAT as he.DAT from he.GEN
 CPREE STM ————— STAND —————
uurteon gedregid, ettha berht ettha bittar.
 root.DAT.PL determine.PRS.3SG either brilliant or bitter

‘But from every tree only such fruit comes to this world as is determined by its roots, either good fruit or bitter.’ (Heliand 1748–1750)

- (42) (sicut viventes sic in ira absorbet eos)
Also libbende also an abulge farsuuelgit sia.
 like living.being.NOM.PL so in rage.DAT devour.PRS.3SG they.DAT
 STM STAND PM CPREE
 ‘Like living beings, thus he devours them in his rage’ (OLFr psalms 57.10)

3.1.3 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

This type constitutes the most typical pattern in OLG similatives (three times as common as the second most common type 1-6, cf. sect. 3.1.2, in *Genesis* and *Heliand* with $n = 3$ vs. 1 and 125 vs. 41; more than twenty times as common in OLFr psalms with $n = 24$ vs. 1; however less common than type 1-6 in the OS confession with $n = 4$ vs. 9). Again, the standard marker most commonly consists of the comparison particle *sô*, cf. (43), less often of strengthened forms such as *al sô*, cf. (44) or *sô samo sô*, cf. (45) (see also Cordes & Holthausen 1973: 252; Behaghel 1897: 316 f.). This type occurs commonly with clausal standards, but also with phrasal standards, i. e. mere noun

phrases, prepositional phrases, adverb phrases etc. As typical of similatives in many languages, the parameter marker is optional in similatives in OLG and is missing in this particular type.

- (43) *godes engilos forð sîdodun te Sodoma, sô*
 god.GEN angel.NOM.PL forth go.PST.3PL to S.DAT as
 ───────────────────CPREE────────────────── STM
im selbo gebôd uualdand mid is uuordo
 they.DAT himself command.PST.3SG Lord.NOM with he.GEN word.INS
 ───────────────────STAND──────────────────
 ‘God’s angels went away to Sodom, as the Lord himself had ordered them to
 with his word’ (Genesis 835–837)

- (44) *endi alât ûs [...] managoro mênschildio, al sô*
 and release.IMP 1PL.DAT manifold.GEN sin.PL.GEN as
 ───────────────────CPREE────────────────── STM
uue ôðrum mannum dôan
 1PL.NOM other.DAT.PL man.DAT.PL do.SBJV.PRS.1PL
 ───────────────────STAND──────────────────
 ‘and absolve us from manifold sins, as we do other people’ (Heliand 1608 f.)

- (45) *that gi iuuua fîund skulun minneon an*
 that 2PL.NOM 2PL.POSS.ACC.PL foe.ACC.PL shall.PRS.2PL love.INF in
 ───────────────────CPREE──────────────────
iuuomu môde, sô samo sô gi iuuua
 2PL.POSS.DAT mind.DAT as 2PL.NOM 2PL.POSS.ACC.PL
 ─────────── STM ───────────STAND──────────
mâgos dôt
 kin.ACC.PL do.PRS.2PL
 ───────────
 ‘that you shall love your enemies in your mind just as you do your kin’ (Heliand
 1454 f.)

3.1.4 Formal means of expressing similatives

The formal means used in OLG similatives and their etymology correspond to those in OHG, cf. sect. 2.1.6.

3.2 Equative

3.2.1 Type 2-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

This type constitutes the typical pattern of equatives in OLG. The standard marker (comparison particle) is almost always the particle *sô*, cf. (46). The standard may be phrasal or clausal. Very occasionally, strengthened forms of the standard marker are also attested, viz. *al sô*, cf. (47), and *sô samo sô*, cf. (48). The parameter marker in all of these cases consists of the homophonous demonstrative adverb *sô*.¹³ Another construction that could arguably be subsumed under type 2-6, viz. *than lang the* ('as long as'), is illustrated in (49). Inasmuch as these may be considered transparent equatives (alternatively one may analyse them as grammaticalized expressions introducing temporal clauses), the parameter marker here is *than*, which otherwise occurs as a standard marker in comparatives (see sect. 3.3.3), but also in parallel constructions in front of the parameter in comparatives (see (59), sect. 3.3.3). (Following Small (1929:84–88), it could arguably be analysed as a fossilised instrumental case form of the demonstrative, cf. sect. 4.3.1.1. on OE. Synchronically, in OLG, it corresponds to accusative singular or dative singular/plural forms of the demonstrative, however, rather than to the instrumental, cf. Galleé (1993: 238 f.)) In examples like the one in (49), the relative particle *the* is used as the potential standard marker. (Note that in many languages, similitive/equative standard markers are also used as or diachronically developed into relative particles, testifying to the similarity of comparisons and relative constructions.)

- (46) *sô fast bist thu sô felis the hardo.*
 so firm be.PRS.2SG 2SG.NOM as rock.NOM ART.NOM hard.NOM
 PM PAR CPREE STM STAND
 'You are as firm as a hard rock' (Heliand 3068)

- (47) *Hie uuas an is dâdion gelîc, an is*
 he be.PST.3SG in he.GEN deed.DAT.PL similar in he.GEN
 CPREE
ansunion [...] sô bereht endi sô blîði all sô
 look.DAT.PL so radiant and so bright as
 PM PAR PM PAR STM

¹³ On the basis of equatives such as *sô lango sô* ('as long as') new subordinations may be grammaticalized so that it may be difficult to decide the status of these constructions. In fact, in *Genesis* this kind of construction constitutes the only potential evidence for equatives (*thar siu standan scal [...] te êuandage, sô lango sô thius erða lêbot* 'She shall stand there [...] until eternity, as long as the earth exists' Genesis 921–923).

sions with *êr* + dative. Note, however, that in cases with original phrasal standard of comparison, the comparative form *êr* ‘earlier’ can be argued to be in the process of being grammaticalized into a preposition ‘before’ governing dative (as in OHG, see sect. 2.3.1.1), cf. (53).¹⁴

- (53) *that he an theru suartan naht êr*
 that he.NOM in ART.DAT black.DAT night.DAT before/earlier
 PAR.PM
hanocrâdi is hêrron scoldi thrîuuo farlôgnien
 cockcrow.DAT he.GEN lord.ACC shall.PST.SBJV.3SG three.times deny.INF
 STAND
 ‘that he would deny his Lord three times during this black night before the cock-
 crow’ (Heliand 4998–5000)

3.3.1.2 Type 3-1-2: flag is adposition

There are some rare loan syntactic occurrences of a construction of this type in OLG, cf. (54). The Latin preposition *super* is translated as *ouir/ouer* ‘above/over’ marking the standard of comparison. The parameter marker is the usual comparative suffix (see sect. 3.3.3).

- (54) (et dulciora super mel et favum)
in suottera ouer honog in rata.
 and sweeter over honey.ACC and honeycomb.ACC
 PAR.PM STM —————STAND—————
 ‘and sweeter than honey and honeycomb’ (OLFr psalms 18.11)

3.3.2 Type 3-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

3.3.2.1 Type 3-4-2: flag is adposition

There is one loan syntactic occurrence of a kind of construction of this type in OLG (viz. in the OLFr psalms) where the Latin preposition *super* is translated as *ouir* ‘above/over’ marking the standard of comparison while the parameter marker is not expressed (adjective is in the positive form), cf. (55).

¹⁴ With original clausal standards, *êr* is undergoing grammaticalization into a subjunction, see sect. 3.3.3.

- (55) (Desiderabilia super aurum et lapidem pretiosum multum)
Begerlika ouir golt in stein durlikin uilo
 desirable over gold.ACC and stone.ACC precious.ACC many
 PAR STM ————— STAND —————
 ‘more desirable than gold and many precious stones’ (OLFr psalms 18.11)

3.3.3 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

This type represents the main pattern used in OLG comparatives. The parameter marker consists of the inflectional suffix *-ir-/-er-/-ar-/-or-/-r-*, on adverbs also *-ur-* (Galleé 1993: 230–233; Cordes & Holthausen 1973: 37). The suffix *-ir-* is less widely attested in OLG than in OHG. It only occurs with the adjectives *ald* (‘old’) – *aldirō*, *eng* (‘narrow’) – *engira*, *lang* (‘long’) – *lengira*, *mildi* (‘mild’) – *mildira*, *spâhi* (‘wise’) – *spâhira*, and in *furdirō* (‘greater’), cf. Fulk (2018: 220), Cordes & Holthausen (1899: 136). Regarding the other comparative suffixes, one and the same adjective may show varying forms (for example *liof* ‘dear’ – *liobora/-ara/-era*, see Cordes & Holthausen 1899: 137; Cordes & Holthausen 1973: 161; Galleé 1993: 230 f.), and there is even variation among different manuscripts of the same text: Galleé (1993: 231) notes that manuscript C of *Heliand* favours *-er-*, whereas manuscript M favours *-or-*. The choice of the comparative suffix is, however, also partly conditioned by the inflection class of the adjective in so far as *ja*-stems usually take *-er-*.

The most common standard marker is the particle *than(na)*, as in (56) and (57) (see also Cordes & Holthausen 1973: 252). It is used both with phrasal and (less frequently) with clausal standards.¹⁵ A particularly common construction of this type is one including the parameter *êr* ‘earlier’, cf. (57).¹⁶ On the basis of this comparative construction, *êr* (*than*) is arguably beginning to be grammaticalized into a temporal subjunction/complementizer (see also sect. 2.3.4). The fact that *êr* also occurs without *than* in a few cases or with a doubled parameter *êr* in the preceding clause (*êr ... êr than ... Heliand* 3612 and 4346) could be interpreted as supporting this assumption (see also Behaghel 1897: 311 f.).¹⁷

¹⁵ In the OS confession, *than* is the only STM used; in *Heliand*, it is by far the most common one (occurring in 30 of 38 comparatives of this type); in *Genesis*, two of the four comparatives of this type contain *than*.

¹⁶ It occurs especially in *Heliand* (21 of 30 instances of the comparative with *than*).

¹⁷ This assumption is also reinforced by Behaghel, whose edition of *Heliand* inserts punctuation and line breaks before *êr than* which are, however, not in the original manuscripts.

to the comparee. For *than* in the same kind of construction in OE comparatives, Small (1929: 88–96) assumes, however, that *than* in front of the parameter constitutes an old comparative (instrumental) case form of the demonstrative meaning ‘than that’, which refers cataphorically to the standard (see discussion of (96), sect. 4.3.1.1). Note that the same kind of construction as in (59) with *than*-parameter-*the* is also used in OLG equatives, where *than* seems to function rather as a parameter marker (cf. (49), sect. 3.2.1). The occurrence of the same kind of construction in comparatives could be taken as evidence for an incipient shift of markers from equatives to comparatives, especially given the restriction to negated comparatives (Comparative Cycle, see sect. 2.7/3.7). Generally, *than* + parameter (*than mêt* etc.) appears to be incompatible with the use of *than* as a standard marker.

- (58) *Ne skulun gi geuuâdeas than mêt*
 NEG shall.PRS.2PL 2PL.NOM clothing.GEN.PL than more
 PAR.PM
erlos êgan, bûtan [C: newan] sô gi than an
 noble.NOM.PL possess.INF than/except as 2PL.NOM then on
 STM —————STAND—————
hebbean
 have.PRS.SBJV.2PL

 ‘You shall own no more clothes, noble ones, than those which you wear’
 (Heliand 1855 f.)

- (59) *ni mugun iuuua uerk mikil biholan*
 NEG may.PRS.3PL your deed.NOM.PL big.NOM.PL hide.PTCP.PST
 CPREE
uuerðan mid huilicogi gi sea hugi cûðeat
 become.INF with which 2PL.NOM they.ACC mind.INS show.PRS.2PL

than mêt the thiu burg ni mag thiu an
 than more PTCL ART TOWN.NOM NEG can.PRS.3SG REL.NOM on
 PAR.PM STM —————STAND—————
berge stâð hoh holmklîbu biholen
 mountain.DAT stand.PRS.3SG high.NOM rock.NOM hide.PTCP.PST

uuerðen
 become.INF

 ‘Your big deeds cannot be hidden with which you disclose your minds any
 more than the town may be hidden that is situated on a mountain, a high rock.’
 (Heliand 1395 f.)

3.3.4 Type 3-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

This type is attested in OLG in contextual comparatives, i. e. those where the standard is inferred from the context, as in (60).

- (60) *that uuas thiū uuirsa giburd, kuman fan Kaina*
 that be.PST.3SG ART worse birth.NOM come.PTCP.PST from K.DAT
 PAR.PM CPREE
 ‘That was the worse lineage, stemming from Kain’ (Genesis 711)

3.3.5 Formal means of expressing comparatives

The parameter marker in OLG comparatives consists of the bound comparative morpheme *-ir- (-er-)/ar-/-or-/-r-*, on adverbs also *-ur-* (see Galleé 1993: 230–233; Cordes & Holthausen 1973: 37). On the distribution of these variants see sect. 3.3.3. Regarding etymology cf. sect. 2.3.6 on the corresponding OHG comparative morpheme. Similarly, a couple of adjectives show suppletive comparative forms, e. g. *gôd* ‘good’ – *betara* ‘better’, *ubil* ‘bad’ – *wirsa* ‘worse’, *luttill* ‘little/ few’ – *minnera* ‘less’ (Galleé 1993: 232f.). A few other adjectives/adverbs have short comparative forms, e. g. *lango* ‘long’ – *leng* ‘longer’. Furthermore, Galleé (1993: 233) lists the following irregular adverbial comparative forms: *bet* ‘better’, *hald* ‘(much) more’, *lês* ‘less’, *leng* ‘longer’, *mêr* ‘more’, *wirs* ‘worse’, *êr* ‘earlier’, *sith* ‘later’, new comparative *siðor*.

On the etymology of the standard marker *than* see sect. 2.3.6. The less frequently used standard marker *biûtan/bûtan* derives from *bî* + *ûtan* ‘separate from, except, without’ (cf. Sehr 1966: 67, EWA I: 139). *Newan* represents a combination of the negative particle and *hwanne* (< PGmc **hwan-nai*, i. e. interrogative/indefinite + locative particle, cf. Schmidt 1962: 95f., or modal instrumental/emphatic particle, cf. LIPP 2: 60f.), which besides the temporal meaning ‘when’ could also have a modal meaning ‘how’. Etymologically, *wan* thus represents the *wh*-counterpart of *than*.

3.4 Superlative

3.4.1 Type 4-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

3.4.1.1 Type 4-1-1: flag is case

In OLG superlative constructions, the parameter is marked by the inflectional suffix *-ist-/-ôst-* (see Galleé 1993: 231–233; Cordes & Holthausen 1973: 39). As in OHG (sect. 2.4.1.1) the ‘standard’, or rather the set of which the comparee possesses the relevant

property to the highest degree, is marked by the usual means expressing partitivity including partitive genitive (not a genuine comparative case), cf. (61).

- (61) *he im uuâri allaro barno liobost*
 he.NOM he.DAT be.PST.SBJV.3SG all.GEN.PL child.GEN.PL dearest
 CPREE ————STAND.STM——— PAR.PM

‘He was dearest to him of all children’ (Heliand 993)

3.4.1.2 Type 4-1-2: flag is adposition

Another means of marking partitivity, though only applied very rarely in OLG superlatives (once in *Heliand*), is the preposition *undar* ‘under/among’, cf. (62). The parameter is marked by the usual superlative suffix.

- (62) *huilic thar rîki man undar themu folcskepi furista*
 which PTCL rich.NOM man.NOM under ART.DAT folk.DAT highest
 —————CPREE————— STM ———STAND.STM——— PAR.PM

uuâri

be.PST.SBJV.3SG

‘which rich man was the highest among the people’ (Heliand 3554 f.)

3.4.3 Type 4-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The ‘standard’ in superlatives may also be inferred from the context, which is only rarely attested in OLG (twice in *Heliand*), cf. (63). The parameter is again marked by the usual superlative suffix.

- (63) *that than the lazto dag liudiun nâhid*
 that then ART.NOM last.NOM day.NOM people.DAT approach.PRS.3SG
 PAR.PM CPREE

‘that then, the last day is approaching to the people’ (Heliand 4335)

3.4.4 Formal means of expressing superlatives

On the etymology of the superlative suffix see sect. 2.4.3. Some OLG adjectives/adverbs show suppletive superlative forms, e. g. *guot* ‘good’ – *bezt/betst/best* ‘best’, *luttli* ‘less/few’ – *minnist* ‘fewest’, *mikil* ‘big’ – *mêst/mêsta* ‘biggest’ (see Galleé 1993: 232 f.)

3.5 Elative

3.5.1 Type 5-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

As in OHG, the elative does not constitute a grammatical category in OLG. The semantic equivalent is usually expressed lexically by various free morphemes, notably adverbs such as *swîðo* ‘severely/very’, cf. (64), *tulgo* ‘much/very’, cf. (65), *filu* ‘much/very’, cf. (66), *hardo* ‘firmly/very’, cf. (67), or *unmet* ‘immeasurably’, cf. (68) (see also Behaghel 1897: 154).

- (64) *thar sie uualdand god suuïðo theoliko thiggean*
 there they.NOM might.wielding.ACC god.ACC very humbly beg.INF
 PM PAR

scoldun

shall.PST.3PL

‘where they should beg the almighty God very humbly’ (Heliand 98 f.)

- (65) *Habda im sô bihalden hêlag barn godes*
 have.PST.3SG he.DAT so keep.PTCP.PST holy.NOM child.NOM god.GEN
uuord endi uuîsdôm ende allaro giuuitteo mêst,
 word.ACC and wisdom.ACC and all.GEN.PL wit.GEN.PL most.ACC
tulgo spâhan hugi
 very wise.ACC thought.ACC
 PM PAR CPREE

‘He had kept it to himself, God’s holy child, the word and wisdom and all his great wit, his very wise mind.’ (Heliand 847–849)

- (66) *endi im sagda filu langsamna râd.*
 and they.DAT say.PST.3SG very long-lasting.ACC counsel.ACC
 PM PAR CPREE

‘and told them very long-lasting counsel’ (Heliand 4527)

- (67) *“that habad sô bidernid”, quað he,*
 that.ACC have.PRS.3SG so conceal.PTCP.PST say.PST.3SG he.NOM
“drohtin the gôdo jak sô hardo farholen
 Lord ART good.NOM and so very conceal.PTCP.PST
 PM PAR

himilrikies

fader

heavenly.kingdom.GEN father.NOM

‘‘The good Lord has kept it so secret,’’ he said, ‘‘the father of the heavenly kingdom has so very much concealed it’’ (Heliand 4296 f.)

- (68) *ferid unmet grôt hungar hetigrim ōbar*
 travel.PRS.3SG immeasurable big.NOM hunger.NOM grim.NOM over
 PM PAR CPREE
heliðo barn, metigêdeono mêst
 man.GEN.PL child.ACC.PL famine.GEN.PL greatest.NOM

‘An immeasurably big and grim hunger comes over the children of men, the greatest famine.’ (Heliand 4329–4331)

3.5.2 Types not included in the questionnaire

Elate semantics may also be expressed by word formation in OLG, viz. composition with e. g. *filu* ‘much’, cf. (69), *bar* ‘bare’, cf. (70), *ên* ‘single/one’, cf. (71). Rauch (1992: 187) furthermore mentions the possibility of intensification by the prefix *gi-/ge-*, cf. *wirdig* ‘valuable’ – *giwirdig* ‘precious’.

- (69) *Than was thar ên giuittig man,*
 then be.PST.3SG there one.NOM wise.NOM man.NOM
 CPREE
frôd endi filuuûs
 experienced.NOM and much.wise.NOM
 PM.PAR

‘There was a wise man there, experienced and very wise’ (Heliand 569 f.)

- (70) *Thô, sprak imu ên thero manno angegin ōbar*
 there say.PST.3SG he.DAT one ART.GEN.PL man.GEN.PL opposite over

bord skipes baruuirðig gumo, Petrus the
 board.ACC ship.GEN bare.worthy.NOM man.NOM P.NOM ART.NOM
 PM.PAR CPREE
gôdo
 good.NOM

‘Then, one of the men spoke to him from upon the ship, a most worthy man, Peter the good’ (Heliand 2931 f.)

3.7 Further remarks

As in High German (see sect. 2.7) there is evidence for the Comparative Cycle in the further development of Low German, i. e. a shift of standard markers (comparison particles) from similatives to equatives to comparatives. This development, however, takes place at a much slower pace than in High German. Thus, *than* > *dann* > *denn* represents the main pattern of standard marking also in Middle Low German (MLG) comparatives and is still preserved in a few present-day Low German dialects (cf. Lipold 1983). However, the standard marker *also* > *as*, which first succeeded the earlier standard marker *so* in similatives, became the main standard marker used in equatives, too, in MLG. It is considered typical of Low German (in contrast to High German) equatives until today. In most Low German varieties it has subsequently also become the main standard marker in comparatives so that *as* largely constitutes a uniform comparison particle in similatives, equatives and comparatives in present-day Low German, cf. Appel (2007: 125–127), Lindow et al. (1998: 300), and Sass (2002: 33, 243, 430). Only recently, *wie* and its Low German counterpart *wo/wu* (< ‘how’) are also used in similatives, equatives and in some Low German dialects occasionally already in comparatives, repeating the shift observed for *also/as* (cf. Jäger 2018: 316, 337).

Likewise, there is evidence for the Comparative Cycle in Dutch (see Jäger 2018: 377–380), which continues OLFr: *als(o)* took over as the main standard marker in similatives and equatives in Middle Dutch. During the 14th/15th century, the first, rare, attestations of *also* in comparatives are found. In the latter type of comparisons it largely superseded *dan* (< *than*) during the 16th century (cf. van der Horst 2008: 728). Due to conservative-normative pressure, however, *dan* became the usual standard marker in comparatives again since the 18th century (van der Horst 2008: 1442, Hubers/de Hoop 2013: 90). While *dan* represents a kind of shibboleth for correct standard Dutch today, *als/as* is widely used in comparatives in present-day dialects, especially in Southern varieties (cf. SAND 2005: 13, map 15b).

4 Old English

4.1 Similative

4.1.1 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

4.1.1.1 Type 1-3-1: flag is case

As in OHG and OLG, OE may make use of an adjective *gelic* or *anlic* meaning ‘same’/‘similar’ (assumed here, as above, to be the parameter marker) together with dative case to form a similative, as in (74) (cf. Mitchell 1985, I: 569–570, Nevanlinna

1993: 140, and references cited there). The adjective *anlīc*, as in (75), is very rare in this use in early OE.

- (74) *on his life & on his gelærednesse he wæs*
 in his life.DAT and in his learnedness.DAT he.NOM be.PST.3SG
 CPREE
his foregengum gelic
 his predecessors.PL.DAT similar
 STAND.STM PM
 ‘In his life and in his learning he was similar to his predecessors.’ (cobede, Bede_3:12.194.1.1951)
- (75) *þis is swiðe riht racu ... & swiðe anlīc*
 this.NOM be.PRS.3SG very right tale.NOM and very similar
 CPREE PM
þæm þe þu ær reahtes
 that.DAT REL 2SG.NOM before tell.PST.2SG
 STAND.STM
 ‘This is a very good telling, and very similar to the one you previously told’ (coboeth, Bo:38.123.4.2449)

4.1.2 Type 1-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The most commonly occurring simulative construction in OE involves *swā* ‘so’ both as standard marker and as parameter marker, as in (76). The same structure may occur with different standard markers (strengthened forms of *swā*), such as *efne* (or *emne*) *swā*, as in (77), and *gelīce swā*, as in (78). The unverbated form *ealswā* is not attested in the pre-950 texts in the YCOE, but is found in later texts such as the works of Wulfstan, as in (76) (see Mitchell 1985, II: 652 and references cited there). We also find *swilc/ swelc*, which also occurs as a parameter marker, as in (80).

- (76) *þa wolde he don ymbe hine swa swa*
 then want.PST.3SG he.NOM do.INF about him.ACC so so
 ───────────CPREE────────── PM STM
he ymbe manigne cuman ær dyde
 he.NOM about many.ACC visitor.ACC before do.PST.3SG
 ───────────STAND──────────
 ‘then he wanted to treat him as he had treated many previous visitors’ (coboeth, Bo:16.371.669)

- (77) *efne swa se wind swiþor slogon þone*
 even so ART.NOM wind.NOM stronger beat.PST.3PL ART.ACC
 STM ————— STAND —————
leg swa bræc he swiþor ongean þæm
 flame.ACC so break.PST.3SG he.NOM stronger against ART.DAT
 ————— PM ————— CPREE —————
winde
 wind.DAT
 —————

‘Just as the wind beat the flame more strongly, the flame fought more strongly against the wind’ (coblick,LS_17.1_[MartinMor[BiHom_17]]:221.175.2825)

- (78) *swa he þa mid soðe gefylde, gelice swa he*
 so he.NOM then with truth.DAT fill.PST.3SG similar so he.NOM
 PM ————— CPREE ————— STM —————
ær þa þrowunge dyde
 before ART.ACC passion.ACC do.PST.3SG
 ————— STAND —————

‘He filled them with truth, just as he did before the passion’ (coblick,HomS_8_[BiHom_2]:17.34.211)

- (79) *And witodlice ealswa flod com hwilum ær*
 and truly as flood.NOM come.PST.3SG for-a-time before
 STM ————— STAND —————
for synnum, swa cymð eac for synnum fyr
 for sin.DAT.PL so come.PRS.3SG also for sin.DAT.PL fire.NOM
 ————— PM ————— CPREE —————
ofer mancynn
 over mankind.ACC
 —————

‘And truly, just as the flood came before (to punish us) for our sins, now the fire is coming (to punish us) for our sins.’ (cowulf,WHom_3:7.52)

- (80) *Suelc ðæt folc bið, suelc bið se*
 as ART.NOM people.NOM be.PRS.3SG so be.PRS.3SG ART.NOM
 STM STAND PM CPREE
sacerd
 priest.NOM

‘As the people are, so is the priest’ (cocura,CP:18.133.5.899)

4.1.3 Type 1-7: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

The construction with both the adjective *gelic* ‘same’/‘similar’ and STM *swā* is rarely attested in OE (cf. Mitchell 1985, II: 663–665). An example is given in (81).

- (81) *he bead þæt man on gelice to him*
 he.NOM ask.PST.3SG that man.NOM on same.DAT to he.DAT
 PM —CPREE—
onbugan sceolde swa to Gode
 bend.INF should.PST.3SG so to God.DAT
 STM STAND
 ‘He asked that people should bow to him as they do to God.’ (coorosiu,Or_6:9.139.6.2927)

4.1.4 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

The standard markers that are found with this type seem to be the same as found with type 1-6. It is not possible to consistently distinguish *swā swā*, with STM and PM, from a possible strengthened and univertated STM *swāswā*; all such instances could also be treated as type 1-6, where the two *swā* are PM and STM respectively (as in (76) above). STM *swā* is illustrated in (82), STM *efne/emne swā* in (83), STM *gelic swā* in (84) (from a late 10th-century text), and *ealswā* in (85) (from Wulfstan, early 11th century); a possible instance of STM *swāswā* is given in (86). On type 1-8 see also Mitchell (1985, II: 652–654).

- (82) & *he us þonne forgyldeþ swa we nu her*
 and he.NOM 1PL.ACC then repay.PRS.3SG as 1PL.NOM now here
 CPREE STM —————STAND—
dop
 do.PRS.PL
 —————
 ‘and he then repays us like (=in the same way as) we behave at present’
 (coblick,HomS_14_[BIHom_4]:51.226.644)

- (83) *hi forðferdon ælc æfter oðrum, emne swa*
 they.NOM die.PST.3PL one.NOM after other.DAT even so
 ───────────────────CPREE────────────────── STM
hi ær genemde & awritene wæron
 they.NOM before name.PTCP.PST and written.PTCP.PST be.PST.PL
 ───────────────────STAND──────────────────
 ‘they died one after another, just as they had been named and written down’
 (cogregdC,GDPref_and_4_[C]:27.298.18.4422)

- (84) *Emne hit bið gelice swa man mid wætere*
 even it.NOM be.PRS.3SG similar so man.NOM with water.DAT
 CPREE STM ───────────STAND──────────
þone weallendan wylm agiote
 ART.ACC surging.ACC.WK flame.ACC quench.PRS.SBJV.SG
 ───────────────────────────────────
 ‘It is just like putting out a surging flame with water’ (coverhom,HomS_40.3_ [ScraggVerc_10]:129.1462)

- (85) *ealle cyrican belimpað to anre, ealswa*
 all.NOM churches.NOM belong.PRS.3PL to one.DAT as
 STM
we ær cwedan
 we.NOM before say.PST.PL
 ───────────STAND──────────
 ‘All churches belong to one, as we said before’ (cowulf,WHom_18:124.1493)

- (86) *& hof his honda upp swaswa he foroft*
 and lift.PST.3SG his hands.ACC up as he.NOM very.often
 ───────────────────CPREE────────────────── STM ───────────
gewunade þet he dyde
 used that he.NOM do.PST.3SG
 ───────────STAND──────────
 ‘and lifted his hands up, as was his custom’ (cochad,LS_3_[Chad]:108.69)

4.1.5 Types not included in the questionnaire

OE hypothetic comparisons, as in OHG, behave like normal similatives and equatives: the standard marker is typically *swā* or a strengthened form of *swā*, and the hypothetical nature of the comparison is marked by the use of the subjunctive mode in the standard clause. See also Mitchell (1985, II: 696–701). (87) is an example with *efne/emne swā*.

- (87) *þa geecte he þær to þæt word þines*
 then add.PST.3SG he.NOM there to ART.SG word.SG 2SG.POSS.GEN
 ───────────────────────────────────CPREE──────────────────────────────────
mūðes, emne swa he openlice cwæde
 mouth.GEN even as he.NOM openly say.PRS.SBJV.SG
 ─── STM ───────────────────STAND──────────────────
 ‘then he added the words “of your mouth”, as if he were to openly say: ...’
 (cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:16.139.7.1671)

Word-formation can also be used to form specific similatives: for instance, compounds with *efen-* are relatively frequent, e. g. *efenbliðe* ‘similarly happy’, as in (88).

- (88) *Ne wepað git me na swa ic dead sy,*
 NEG weep.IMP.PL 2DU.NOM 1SG.ACC not so 1SG.NOM dead be
ac bið me efenbliðe
 but be.IMP.PL 1SG.DAT even.happy
 [CPREE] STAND.STM PM.PAR
 ‘Do not weep for me now that I am dead, but be happy, like me’ (comart3,Mart_5_
 [Kotzor]:Ja21,A.16.204 and comart3,Mart_5_[Kotzor]:Ja21,A.16.205)

4.1.6 Formal means of expressing similatives

The main standard and parameter marker, *swā*, is cognate with the forms found in OHG, OLG, and OFri, and ultimately descended from the PIE pronominal stem **swe/swo-* (OED Online s. v. *so*, LIPP 2: 763 f.). The observations made in section 2.1.6 for OHG also hold true here: other forms are recruited as reinforcement and undergo grammaticalization.

4.2 Equative

4.2.1 Type 2-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

This is the typical pattern for equatives in OE. Usually the particle/adverb *swā* is both parameter marker and standard marker, as in (89); cf. Mitchell (1985, II: 654–656). Just as with similatives, other standard markers are also found: for instance, a double *swā* *swā*, as in (90), or *swelc(e)* as either PM or STM (cf. Mitchell 1985, II: 675–680).

- (89) *swa swiðe swa þa neowan Cristnan*
 so much so ART.NOM.PL new.NOM.PL.WK Christians.NOM
 PM PAR STM —————STAND—————
þa get hit neoman meahton
 then yet it.ACC take.INF may.PST.PL

‘to the extent to which the new Christians were capable of it’
 (cobede,Bede_3:16.226.26.2325)

- (90) & *Leden him wæs swa cuð & swa gemimor*
 and Latin.NOM he.DAT be.PST.3SG so known and so thorough
 CPREE PM PAR PM PAR
swa swa Englisc
 so so English
 STM STAND

‘and Latin was as thoroughly familiar to him as English’
 (cobede,Bede_5:18.464.29.4689)

4.2.2 Type 2-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The standard can be unexpressed in contextual equatives in OE (Mitchell 1985, II: 652–654), as in the other early West Germanic languages, cf. (91). This type also includes instances with a consecutive/consequent clause, as in (92).

- (91) *be þam life swa haliges fæder*
 of ART.DAT life.DAT so holy.GEN father.GEN
 PM PAR CPREE

‘of the life of such a holy father’ (cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:3.110.26.1267)

- (92) *ðonne sume yfele menn swa gerade*
 when some.PL.NOM evil.PL.NOM.STR men.NOM so disposed
 —————CPREE————— PM PAR
beoð ðæt hie ne magon godum monnum derian
 be.PRS.PL that they.NOM NEG may.PRS.PL good.DAT men.DAT harm.INF
 ‘When some evil men are so disposed that they cannot harm good men’
 (cocura,CP:47.363.15.2461)

4.2.3 Types not included in the questionnaire

Mitchell (1985, II: 666–671, 680) deals with another type involving *swā* or *swelce* as the particle marking the standard, but without a parameter or parameter marker in the main clause (see also sect. 2.2.3 and 3.2.3). The parameter is a superlative form found within the standard clause, and it most often occurs with a form of the verb *magan* ‘to be able to’ (Mitchell 1985, II: 669–671). An example is given in (93). According to Mitchell (1985), this construction is most typically found in legal and instructional texts.

- (93) *þæt hie simle gegripen þæs licendan*
 that they.NOM always grasp.PRS.SBJV.3PL ART.GEN lying.GEN.SG.WK
 ───────────────────────────────────CPREE──────────────────────────────────
feos swa hie mæst mehten
 treasure.GEN so they.NOM most might.PST.SBJV.PL
 ─── STM ─── PAR.PM STAND
 ‘that they should get hold of the treasure lying around as best they could’
 (coorosiu,Or_6:5.137.19.2894)

See Mitchell (1985: II, 687–695) for examples of other, more controversial and/or less well attested constructions that may express equative semantics.

4.2.4 Formal means of expressing equatives

The etymology of *swā* is dealt with in sect. 4.1.6 above.

4.3 Comparative

4.3.1 Type 3-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

4.3.1.1 Type 3-1-1 flag is case

The use of the dative as case of comparison (i. e. standard marker) is relatively common in OE. In comparative constructions, it occurs with a parameter marked by the comparative suffix *-r-*. Small (1929: 38–55) studies the poetic occurrences of comparative dative and finds that overall it is used in 50 of 112 instances where it would have been possible (45%), including (94). As for prose, the comparative dative is used in 55% of possible instances in the OE translation of Bede’s Ecclesiastical History (15 of 27, including example (95)), but no more than 27% of the time in any other text, and the two best-known OE prose writers of late (post-950) OE – Wulfstan and Ælfric – do not

use it at all (Small 1929: 56–83). Mitchell (1985, I: 571–572) provides a concise summary of Small’s findings.

- (94) *þæt þe Sægeatas selran næbben*
 that you.DAT Sea-Geats.NOM better NEG=have.PRS.SBJV.3PL
 STAND.STM PAR.PM
 ‘that the Sea-Geats have no one better than you (to choose as king)’
 (cobeowul,57.1845.1529)

- (95) *Wæs þis gefeoht wælgimre & strengre eallum*
 was this.NOM fight.NOM crueller and stronger all.DAT.PL
 ───CPREE─── PAR.PM PAR.PM ─STAND.STM─
þam ærgedonum
 ART.DAT.PL before.done.DAT.PL
 ───────────
 ‘This battle was greater and more destructive than all those that came before’
 (cobede,Bede_1:9.46.21.410)

Small (1929: 84–88) argues, *contra* earlier writers starting with Grimm, that there are no convincing examples of genitive serving as case of comparison in OE (nor in other Old Germanic languages, cf. sect. 2.3.1.1 for OHG): the few examples that have been adduced all involve nominalization of the comparative adjective and (possessive) modification by a genitive (Small 1929: 84–88; cf. also Mitchell 1985, II: 646–647). In these cases we are thus dealing with a case that expresses comparatives, but only coincidentally so, as a byproduct of a more generally available structure (genitive possession marking). By contrast, the instrumental preserves what Small (1929: 88–96) views as a genuine use as case of comparison, though this is limited to forms of the demonstrative pronoun *se* ‘that’ and only in negative clauses (e. g. (96)), leading Small to conclude that it is not productive. Examples like (96) can be analysed as involving a clause introduced by the relative particle *þe* (orthographic variant: *ðe*) to which the instrumental demonstrative, meaning ‘than that’, refers cataphorically; it would thus be a sort of bipartite standard. (Cf. also Mitchell 1985, II: 638–644, 681–687, and the discussion of *than mēr* in sect. 3.3.3 on OLG above.)

- (96) *ac him þæt no ne derede ðon ma ðe*
 but he.ACC that.NOM NEG NEG harmed that.INS more PTCL
 CPREE STAND.STM PAR.PM (STM)
ceald wæter
 cold.NOM water.NOM
 (STAND)
 ‘but that did not harm him any more than cold water’ (comart3,Mart_5_[Kot-
 zor]:My8,B.9.778)

4.3.2 Type 3-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/ adjective)

4.3.2.1 Type 3-3-1: flag is case

As in OHG, a verb with the prefix *ofer-* meaning ‘surpass’ can serve as a parameter marker in OE, as in (97). In all instances the case is that which an ordinary object would take (i. e. there is no true comparative case here, and hence no grammaticalized standard marker).

- (97) *þæt hi ... hæfden ðone cræft þæt hi*
 that they.NOM have.PST.SBJV.3PL ART.ACC strength.ACC that they.ACC
 STAND.STM
- mon ne meahte oferswiðan*
 man.NOM NEG could.PST.3SG surpass.INF
 CPREE PM
 ‘that they had such strength that no one could surpass them’
 (coboeth,Bo:39.134.2.2656)

4.3.3 Type 3-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

4.3.3.1 Type 3-4-2: flag is adposition

As in OHG, OE translations from Latin sometimes have the preposition *ofer* marking the standard of comparison, with no expressed parameter marker, as in (98) (cf. Mitchell 1985, II: 646).

- (98) (et super nivem dealbabor)
and eac ofer snawe self scinende
 and also over snow.DAT self shining
 STM STAND CPREE PAR
 ‘and I will be washed whiter than snow’ (Kentish Psalm 50: 8)

4.3.4 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The most common way of forming comparatives in OE is the comparative form of the adjective in *-(V)r-* as parameter (and parameter marker) together with the standard marker *þonne* (or an orthographic variant), as in (99). This is true both for comparatives of majority/superiority, such as (99), and comparatives of minority/inferiority, as in (100). See Mitchell (1985, II: 618–635). In example (101), *betera* is the regular

comparative derived from the adjective *bet*, but functions as part of the suppletive paradigm of the adjective *gōd* ‘good’, just as in present-day English.

- (99) *se wæs betera ðonne ic*
 ART.NOM be.PST.3SG better than 1SG.NOM
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘he was better than me’ (cobeowul,16.465.391)

- (100) *Onð ic sperlicor mid wordum sægde þonne*
 and 1SG.NOM more.sparingly with word.DAT.PL say.PST.1SG than
 PAR.PM CPREE STM
hie mid dædum gedon wærun
 they.NOM with deed.DAT.PL do.PTCP.PST be.PST.3PL
 STAND
 ‘and I have described things more sparingly with words than they were actually done’ (coalex,Alex:4.3.16)

4.3.5 Type 3-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

It is often stated (e. g. by Kytö 1996) that the free morpheme PM, corresponding to present-day English *more* X (*than ...*), is an innovation in the Middle English period. González Díaz (2003, 2006, 2008), however, has shown that this type can be found during the Old English period (picking up earlier suggestions by Knüpfner 1921 and Mitchell 1985, I: 84–85). Before 950 these are incredibly rare, though: (101) is one of only three examples of a free PM from this period that González Díaz (2006) is able to find in the Helsinki Corpus, as against ten from the period 950–1050. (Interestingly, the H version of Gregory’s Dialogues has *beteran* ‘better’ here rather than *ma gode*.) The particle *mā* ‘more’ is not the only PM found with this construction: *bet* (lit. ‘well’; the adverbial stem corresponding to *better*) is also found (see 4.3.7), though this particle dies out in Middle English.¹⁸

¹⁸ González Díaz (2006) suggests that *swiðor* (lit. ‘more severely’) also functions as a PM. However, the two examples of this construction she gives from OE both involve an adjective that is inflected with the comparative morpheme (bound PM). Moreover, one case is taken from an interlinear gloss (*Rushworth*) and in the other case (cocathom1,+ACHom_I,_34:471.191.6834) *swiðor* occurs some distance from the adjective. This suggests to us that *swiðor* is not a true PM.

- (101) *þæt hi syn sylfe ma gode þonne oðre men*
 that they.NOM are self more good than other.NOM.PL men.NOM
 CPREE PM PAR STM STAND
 ‘that they themselves are better [literally ‘more good’] than other men’
 (cogregdC,GD_2_[C]:23.151.21.1809)

4.3.6 Type 3-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Type 3-9 is found in OE with the bound PM *-r-* when the standard can be inferred from context, as in (102).

- (102) *He gesette under him gingran casere*
 he.NOM set.PST.3SG under he.DAT younger.ACC.WK emperor.ACC
 PAR.PM CPREE
 ‘He placed under him a younger emperor’ (coorosiu,Or_6:30.146.20.3087)

4.3.7 Type 3-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Like type 3-6, this type is found in OE, as in (103), but is incredibly rare, especially before 950 (González Díaz 2003, 2006, 2008).

- (103) *Ne fleah he ðy rice ðy his ænig*
 NEG flee.PST.3SG he.NOM ART.INS kingdom.ACC ART.INS his any.NOM
 CPREE
monn bet wyrðe wære
 man.NOM more worthy be.PST.SBJV.3SG
 PM PAR
 ‘He did not abandon the kingdom because any man was more worthy of it’
 (cocura,CP:3.33.16.155)

4.3.8 Formal means of expressing comparatives

On the bound comparative morpheme as parameter marker, see the corresponding sections 2.3.6 and 3.3.5 above for OHG and OLG. The form of the main comparative morpheme in OE is a puzzle with no satisfactory solution (Hogg & Fulck 2011: 175–176): From PGmc **-ōz-* we would expect *-ar-* by regular sound change, but this is not attested. Instead we find *-r-*, with apparently obligatory syncope of the vowel – which

is otherwise unheard of for historically long vowels. A restricted, apparently lexically idiosyncratic, set of adjectives form their comparative and superlative with a reflex of PGmc *-iz- (cf. the form *betera* ‘better’ above’); here -r- is the expected reflex in many contexts due to syncope of short vowels. Analogy to these frequently-occurring adjectives (Campbell 1959) may be the best explanation of the lack of *a* in this morpheme.

The free parameter markers *mā* and *bet* grammaticalize as PMs from lexical adverbs. According to González Díaz (2003, 2006, 2008), the key bridging context is the construction with *bēon* ‘be’ or *weorðan* ‘become’ plus past or present participle, e. g. *ðu bist ma gegladod* ‘you are more gladdened’. Verbal participles could not take adjectival inflection, and hence intensification was only possible using a (free) adverb. These constructions with adverbs were then ambiguous between the verbal reading and the adjectival reading (in which the adverb serves as a parameter marker for the adjective). The periphrastic comparative with *more* is sometimes suggested to be a borrowing from Latin or French, but González Díaz argues convincingly against both these possibilities, although the influence of these languages may have played a facilitating role in the later spread of periphrastic comparison.

The etymology of the standard marker *þonne* corresponds to that of *thanne*, see sect. 2.3.6.

4.4 Superlative

4.4.1 Type 4-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

4.4.1.1 Type 4-1-1: flag is case

The parameter marker in OE superlative constructions is the inflectional suffix *-ist-*/*-ōst-*, as in the other early West Germanic languages (cf. Hogg & Fulk 2011: 174–183; Ringe & Taylor 2014: 120); in OE, *-ist-* is found with a few high-frequency adjectives, and *-ōst-* elsewhere. As discussed for OHG above, superlatives have no true standard of comparison, but the equivalent of the standard is a partitive genitive (Mitchell 1985, I: 83, 559–560). A superlative of majority/superiority is given in (104), and a superlative of minority/inferiority in (105). With adjectives derived from adverbs, a superlative suffix *-mēst* is attested, as in (106).

- (104) & *Seleucus hæfde ealle þa æðelestan*
 and S.NOM have.PST.3SG all.ACC ART.ACC.PL noblest.ACC.WK
 PAR.PM
men Alexandres heres
 man.ACC.PL A.GEN army.GEN
 CPREE STAND.STM
 ‘and Seleucus had all the noblest men of Alexander’s army’ (coorosiu,Or_3:
 11.77.30.1525)

- (105) *ara me ungesæligost ealra wifa*
 forgive 1SG.ACC unhappiest all.GEN.PL woman.GEN.PL
 PAR.PM STAND.STM
 ‘Forgive me, the unhappiest of all women’ (coblick,HomS_26_[BIHom_7]:
 89.120.1144)

- (106) *þæt he ealra Norðmonna norþmest bude*
 that he all.GEN.PL Northman.GEN.PL northmost lived
 STAND.STM PAR.PM
 ‘that he lived the furthest north of all Northmen’ (coorosiu,Or_1:1.13.29.222)

4.4.1.2 Type 4-1-2: flag is adposition

With OE superlatives the set of relevant entities can also be specified by a prepositional phrase, as in (107), rather than a partitive genitive, although this option seems to be rare.

- (107) & *he hire cyþde þæt heo wæs seo*
 and he.NOM her.DAT say.PST.3SG that she.NOM be.PST.3SG ART.NOM
 CPREE
eadgeste ofer eall wifa cynn
 happiest.NOM.WK over all woman.GEN.PL kind.DAT
 PAR.PM STM —————STAND—————
 ‘and he told her that she was the most blessed of all women’ (coblick,HomU 18_
 [BIHom_1]:13.173.153)

4.4.2 Type 4-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

4.4.2.1 Type 4-2-2: flag is adposition

Mitchell (1985, I: 84) suggests that (108) is an early example of a periphrastic adjectival superlative. However, participles like the one in this example are ambiguous between

a verbal and an adjectival reading (see sect. 4.3.8 above), and hence this example is not conclusive. We do not know of any unambiguous examples, and thus cannot decide with confidence whether type 4-2-2 was a possibility in (early) OE.

- (108) & *wæs betst gelæred on Angelcynne*
 and be.PST.3SG best learned in Angle.kin.DAT
 [CPREE] PM STM STAND
 ‘and (he) was the most learned among the Angles’ (cobede, BedePref:2.16.157)

4.4.3 Type 4-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The set of relevant entities in OE superlatives may be left out entirely, as in (109), in which case it must be inferred from context.

- (109) & ... *þu me eart se leofesta*
 and 2SG.NOM 1SG.DAT be.PRS.2SG ART.NOM dearest.NOM.WK
 CPREE PAR.PM
freond
 friend.NOM
 ‘and you are my dearest friend’ (coalex, Alex:2.1.5)

4.4.4 Formal means of expressing superlatives

The origin and behaviour of the OE superlative suffixes is identical to that of OHG and OLG. The suffix *-mēst* mentioned in 4.4.1.1 is derived, according to Hogg & Fulk (2011: 181–183), from a reanalysis of adjectives ending in *-ma* (e.g. *forma* ‘first’, *meduma* ‘middling’) to which the normal superlative suffix had been added: the *m* was analysed as part of the suffix. Orthographic evidence suggests that confusion with *māest* ‘most’ was prevalent, especially in later texts, and so this word probably exerted some analogical pull.

4.5 Elative

4.5.1 Type 5-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Like the other Old West Germanic languages, OE does not have a formally distinct grammatical category of elative. Various lexical items convey the conceptual content of elativity, in particular adverbs such as *swīþe* ‘very’, as in (110), *ful* ‘fully’/‘very’, as in (111), and *wel* ‘well’/‘very’, as in (112); see Peltola (1971), Mitchell (1985, I: 481–482), Peters (1993) and Méndez-Naya (2003; 2017: 254–255). Elative items can be iterated (as in (113)) and may co-occur with one another (Méndez-Naya 2017).

- (110) *bið se slæp to fæst ... bona swiðe neah*
 is ART.NOM sleep.NOM too fast killer.NOM very near
 CPREE PM PAR
 ‘The sleep is too sound, the killer (is) very near’ (cobeowul,54.1741.1441)

- (111) *of þære adle cymð ful oft wæter*
 from ART.DAT disease.DAT come.PRS.3SG very often water.NOM
 PM PAR
bolla
 bowl.NOM
 ‘Dropsy very often results from that disease’ (colaece,Lch_II_[2]:19.1.6.2398)

- (112) & *þær wæron eac fyr wel monigo onæled*
 and there be.PST.3PL also fire.NOM.PL well many light.PTCP.PST
 PM PAR
 ‘and there were also very many fires lit’ (coalex,Alex:30.1.364)

- (113) *swiðe swiðe swete to bealcetenne*
 very very sweet to belch.INF
 PM PM PAR
 ‘very very sweet to belch’ (coboeth,Bo:22.51.2.929)

4.5.2 Types not included in the questionnaire

Certain derivational prefixes, such as *ofer-* (which can also be used for the excessive; see sect. 4.6.2), *for-*, *fræ-*, *heah-*, and *or-*¹⁹ (Lenker 2008: 249–256 and references cited there), are used to express relative semantics, as in (114) and (115).

- (114) *geald* *þone* *guðræs* *Geata* *dryhten...*
 paid ART.ACC assault.ACC Geat.GEN.PL lord.NOM
Iofore *ond* *Wulfe* *mid* *ofermaðmum*
 1SG.DAT and W.DAT with over.treasure.DAT.PL
 ‘The lord of the Geats paid Eofor and Wulf for the assault with a lot of treasure’
 (cobeowul,92.2991.2418)

- (115) *oððe* *hit* *nan* *god* *nis ...* *oððe* *þeah*
 or it.NOM no good NEG=be.PRS.3SG or though
forlytel *god* *wið* *eow* *to* *metane*
 very.little good against you.ACC to measure.INF
 ‘Either it is no good compared to you, or it is very little good’
 (coboeth,Bo:13.29.3.496)

4.6 Excessive

4.6.1 Type 6-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The OE excessive construction involves *tō* ‘too’ preceding the parameter (Mitchell 1985, I: 484), as in (116). The adverb *ungemetlice* ‘immoderately’ is also often used with excessive meaning, most commonly in combination with *tō*, as in (117).

- (116) *wæs* *þæt* *gewin* *to* *strang*
 be.PST.3SG ART.NOM strife.NOM too strong
 ———CPREE——— PM PAR

‘That strife was too strong’ (cobeowul,7.129.104)

¹⁹ Despite appearances, *ofer-* and *or-* are not related: the latter is historically derived from PGmc *uz- ‘out’, and its non-relative meaning is ‘original’ (cf. modern German *ur-* ‘original’).

- (117) & *bið* *hwilum* *to ungemetlice smeðe, hwilum*
 and be.PRS.3SG sometimes too immoderately smooth sometimes
 PM PAR
to ungemetlice reðe
 too immoderately severe
 PM PAR
 ‘and is sometimes too excessively smooth, sometimes too excessively severe’
 (cocura,CP:19.143.4.965)

4.6.2 Types not included in the questionnaire

As in OLG, in OE there are examples of excessives with a clausal ‘standard’ expressing the relevance of the excessive degree, such as (118) (see Mitchell 1985, II: 476–477).

- (118) *þa þeoda ... wæren to swiðe hie*
 ART.NOM.PL people.NOM.PL be.PST.SBJV.PL too greatly they.ACC
 ───CPREE─── PM PAR
gestrongade þæt hie mon leng ne
 strengthen.PTCP.PST that they.ACC one.NOM long NEG
 ───────────────────STAND──────────────────
mehte ... oferswiþan
 could.PST.3SG overcome.INF
 ───────────────────
 ‘the peoples ... were too powerful for anyone to overcome them ... for long’
 (coorusiu,Or_6:35.153.18.3255)

OE also frequently indicates excessive semantics morphologically through word-formation, in particular using the prefix *ofer-* ‘over’, as in (119).

- (119) *þa oferhygdlican gedyrstignesse þæs*
 the.NOM over.proud.NOM.WK presumption.NOM ART.GEN
elreordgan kyninges
 barbarian.GEN.WK king.GEN
 ‘the over-arrogant presumption of the barbarian king’ (coalex,Alex:24.24.293)

4.6.3 Formal means of expressing excessives

The excessive particle *tō* is common to all the West Germanic languages. Downs (1939) and Mitchell (1968: 191–198; 1985, I: 484–485) argue that this particle grammaticalized from the preposition in the bridging context of negative understatements. These

authors observe that, in negative contexts such as ‘Don’t be *to* X’ in the early West Germanic languages, ‘*tō* X’ usually had the reading ‘X at all’, and suggest that *tō* + adjective originally meant ‘to the point of X-ness’, with the excessive semantics developing from here (presumably through pragmatic inference). Whether or not this explanation is correct, it is hard to doubt that there is some connection between the preposition and the excessive particle.

4.7 Further remarks

As in High and Low German (see sect. 2.7 and 3.7), there is evidence for developments according to the Comparative Cycle in the history of English, although somewhat less markedly (cf. Jäger 2018: 373–375). Thus, the strengthened form *ealswā* > *as* has superseded the original standard marker *swā* in similatives as well as in equatives. Since early Middle English, it is also attested in comparatives (cf. Small 1924: 43; OED with examples from 1300 to the 20th c.). Today, however, the use of *as* in comparatives is restricted to certain regional varieties of English (Scottish English, Irish English, Yorkshire English, some American-English varieties, cf. Small 1929: 22; OED), whereas the standard language preserves the archaic standard marker *than* (< *þonne*).

The fact that new standard markers are commonly grammaticalized in similatives is evident in the development of English not only in the case of *ealswā* > *as*, but also with OE *gelic* ... *swā* > 15th/16th c. *like as*, which formed the basis for the use of simple *like* as a standard marker in similatives since the 16th c. (cf. OED).

5 Old Frisian

5.1 Similative

5.1.1 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

5.1.1.1 Type 1-3-1: flag is case

Similatives with an adjective *lik* meaning ‘same’/‘similar’ and governing the dative case occur rarely in OFri, as in (120).

- (120) *Thes otheres dis. sa werthath se lik*
 ART.GEN second.GEN day.GEN so become.PRS.3PL they.NOM like
 PM
there selua skipnese
 ART.DAT same.DAT.WK shape.DAT
 STAND.STM
 ‘On the second day, they take on a similar shape’ (R1, *Fifteen Signs of Doomsday*)

5.1.2 Type 1-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Like the other early West Germanic languages, OFri has a construction in which the PM is a free morpheme (*alsā* in (121)) and the STM is a particle (*al*)*sā*.

- (121) *mith alsa dena rivchte. alsa mi thi asyga*
 with so ART.DAT law.DAT as me ART.NOM lawspeaker.NOM
 PM CPREE STM —————STAND—————
delt.
 judge.PRS.3SG

 ‘with that same law as the lawspeaker judges’ (R1, *Dike Statutes of Oterdum*)

5.1.3 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

The PM can be left out, as in (122).

- (122) *Nu skilu wi frisa halda usera*
 now should.PRS.1PL we.NOM Frisians.NOM hold.INF our.GEN.PL
 _____CPREE—————
aldera kest and kera. and thera
 older.GEN.PL choices.ACC and statutes.ACC and ART.GEN.PL

kininga ieuā. alsa hit us thi kinig
 king.GEN.PL privileges.ACC so it.ACC 1PL.DAT ART.NOM king.NOM
 _____STM—————
kerl an tha fria stole bi fel.
 K. in ART.DAT free.DAT.WK court.DAT charge.PST.3SG
 _____STAND—————

‘Now we Frisians should keep the laws and statutes of our forefathers, and the privileges of the kings, as King Charlemagne charged us in the free court’ (R1, *Seventeen Statutes*)

5.1.4 Types not included in the questionnaire

Hypothetic comparisons behave like other similatives and equatives, as in OHG. The standard marker is typically *alsā*, and the subjunctive mood is used to mark the hypothetical nature of the comparison, as in (123).

- (123) *so ach hi thet beta mith frethe and mith*
 SO OWN.SBJV.SG he.NOM that.ACC pay.INF with fine.DAT and with
 ─────────────────────────────────── CFREE ───────────────────────────────────
festa, also hise mith sinre hand
 fasting.DAT as he.NOM=her.ACC with REFL.DAT hand.DAT
 ──── STM ─────────────────────────── STAND ───────────────────────────
forslain hede.
 slay.PTCP.PST had
 ───────────────────

‘Then he should pay for that with a fine and with fasting, as if he had slain her with his own hand’ (*Law of the Magistrates*)

5.1.5 Formal means of expressing similatives

On the etymology of (*al*)*sā*, see section 2.1.6 on the OHG cognate (*al*)*sō*.

5.2 Equative

5.2.1 Type 2-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

OFri equatives are typically formed with (*al*)*sā* as PM and (*al*)*sā* as STM, as in (124) and (125).

- (124) *alsa longe sa wi lifde.*
 SO long SO 1PL.NOM live.PST.1PL
 PM PAR STM ───────── STAND ─────────
 ‘as long as we lived’ (R1, *Prologue*)

- (125) *alsa grat fretho. alsa tha othera alsemin.*
 so great.NOM peace.NOM so ART.NOM.PL others.NOM together
 PM PAR STM ————— STAND —————
 ‘as large a peace (=compensation) as the (two) others put together’ (R1, *Ontwijing van de Kerk*)

5.2.2 Type 2-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

OFri can also leave the standard unexpressed (contextual equatives), as in (126) and (127).

- (126) *Benis biti. alsa felo.*
 bone.GEN bite.NOM so much
 CPREE PM PAR
 ‘A broken bone (is worth) the same amount’ (R1, *Rüstring Fines*)

- (127) *Sa hwersa en mon sa fir on efuchten*
 so who.NOM=so a.NOM man.NOM so far on attack.PTCP.PST
 PM PAR
werth. thet hine to there flecht makath.
 become.PRS.3SG that he.ACC to ART.DAT flight.DAT make.PRS.3SG
 ‘Whichever man is attacked to such an extent that he flees, ...’ (R1, *Dike Statutes of Oterdum*)

5.2.3 Types not included in the questionnaire

The type discussed for OHG under 2.2.3, with an (*al*)*sā*-clause containing a superlative and a modal, also exists for Old Frisian, as in (128). Hoekstra (2014) labels these ‘potentiality equatives’.

- (128) *ende dyn schaed ... toe likyen elck alsma*
 and ART.ACC damage.ACC to settle.INF each.NOM as=one.NOM
 STM.STAND-
best mey
 best may.PRS.3SG
 PAR -STAND
 ‘and to pay the damages, everyone as well as he can’ (O II, 153, 33; Hoekstra 2014: 76)

5.3.3 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

This is the usual way of constructing comparatives in OFri. The inflectional comparative suffix *-er/-or*, or just *-r*, is attached to an adjective or adverb stem as PM, with a particle *thā* introducing the standard, as in (130) and (131). Interestingly, in the version of the *Seventeen Statutes* in the slightly later manuscript H2, the equivalent of (131) has *sā* instead of *thā* as STM; this is potentially evidence of an incipient Comparative Cycle (Jäger 2010, 2018; see also sect. 5.7), as this marker associated with similatives and equatives has spread to a comparative context.

- (130) *Thet fereste lith thes thuma thrimene*
 ART.NOM first.NOM.WK member.NOM ART.GEN thumb.GEN third
 ───────────────────────────────────CPREE──────────────────
diurra tha thera othera fingra eng
 more.expensive than the.GEN.PL other.GEN.PL finger.GEN.PL any.NOM
 PAR.PM STM ───────────────────STAND──────────────────
 ‘The first member of the thumb is worth a third more than any of the other fingers’ (H1, 19.95)

- (131) *Thet wi frisa ne thuron nene hiri*
 that 1PL.NOM Frisians.NOM NEG be.allowed.PRS.1PL no.ACC army
ferd fara thruch thes kininges bon. ni nen
 trip.ACC travel.INF through ART.GEN king.GEN order.ACC nor no.ACC
bod thing firor sitta. tha wester to tha fli. and aster to
 court.ACC further set.INF than west to ART F. and east to
 CPREE PAR.PM STM ───────────────────STAND──────────────────
there wisura.
 ART.DAT W.
 ───────────────────

‘that by the King’s order we Frisians are not allowed to take an army or hold a court further west than the Fli or further east than the Weser’ (R1, *Seventeen Statutes*)

- (133) *thi wisa salemon ther was allere*
 ART.NOM wise.NOM.WK S.NOM who.NOM be.PST.3SG all.GEN.PL
 CPREE STAND.STM
ertherskera monna wisest
 earthly.GEN.PL.WK man.GEN.PL wisest
 PAR.PM
 ‘the wise Solomon, who was wisest of all men on earth’ (H2, *Five Keys of Wisdom*)

5.4.1.2 Type 4-1-2: flag is adposition

With OFri superlatives the set of relevant entities can be specified by a prepositional phrase, as in (134), rather than a partitive genitive, although this option seems to be rare.

- (134) *of tha saxum heran and ridderan tha besta*
 of ART Saxon.DAT lords.DAT and knights.DAT ART.NOM best.NOM.WK
 STM ————— STAND ————— PAR.PM
 ‘the best of the Saxon lords and knights’ (H2, *Fon alra Fresena Fridome (Freedom of all Frisians)*)

5.4.2 Type 4-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The majority of superlatives in OFri involve contextual recovery of the set of relevant entities, as in (135) and (136). Superlatives of majority/superiority, as in (135), and of minority/inferiority, as in (136), behave the same.

- (135) *thet bad sante willehad. ther erost*
 that.ACC command.PST.3SG saint.NOM W.NOM REL.NOM first
 CPREE PAR.PM
biscop was to brema
 bishop be.PST.3SG to B.DAT
 ‘Saint Willehad, who was the first bishop of Bremen, commanded that’ (R1, *Synod Law of Rüstring*)
- (136) *Thiu minnaste twilif skillinga.*
 ART least twelve.NOM shillings.NOM
 PAR.PM
 ‘The least (is worth) twelve shillings’ (R1, *General Fines*)

5.4.3 Formal means of expressing superlatives

See section 2.4.3. The forms in *-ost-* specifically are found in the two R (Rüstring) manuscripts (Bremmer 2009: 66). Suppletive superlative adjectives include *best* ‘best’, *māst/měst* ‘most’, *wīrst/wěrst* ‘worst’, *lēst/lērest*, and *min(ne)st* ‘least’; some adverbs also have suppletive superlative forms (see Bremmer 2009: 67).

5.5 Elative

5.5.1 Type 5-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The elative is expressed in OFri by means of adverbial free morphemes such as *wel* (lit. ‘well’), as in (137), and *ful* (lit. ‘fully’), as in (138).

- (137) *thruch thet. thetet alter is thera*
 through that.ACC that=ART.NOM altar.NOM be.PRS.3SG ART.GEN.PL
 CPREE
erana wel werth.
 honour.GEN.PL well worth
 PM PAR
 ‘because the altar is very worthy of its honour’ (R1, *Desecration of the Church*)

- (138) *ful scondlik*
 full shameful
 PM PAR
 ‘very shameful’ (B2, *Brocmonna Bref*, 118.19)

5.6 Excessive

5.6.1 Type 6-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

As in OLG, the particle *te* in front of the parameter is the normal expression of the excessive: see the two instances in (139).

- (139) *tha was thiu mente te fir end thi*
 then be.PST.3SG ART.NOM mint.NOM toofar and ART.NOM
 CPREE PM PAR
penneng te suer
 coin.NOM too heavy
 CPREE PM PAR
 ‘then the mint was too far away and the currency too expensive’ (H2, *Seventeen Statutes*)

5.6.7 Types not included in the questionnaire

OFri excessives can be formed derivationally using the prefix *ur-* ‘over’, as in (140).

- (140) *ief tha thriv liod thing. bi ur mode. and dol*
 if then three.ACC people.court.ACC by over spirit.DAT and foolish
stride ur sitte.
 struggle.DAT out sit.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘if he then misses three court sittings through arrogance and stubbornness’ (R1, *Dike Statutes of Oterdum*)

5.6.8 Formal means of expressing excessives

See the corresponding sections 2.6.3 and 4.6.3.

5.7 Further remarks

In the history of Frisian, as in that of all other West Germanic languages (cf. sections 2.7/3.7/4.7), there is evidence for the Comparative Cycle, i. e. a shift of parameter markers from similatives to equatives to comparatives. As mentioned in sect. 5.3.3, the similative/equative standard marker *sā* exceptionally occurs as a standard marker in comparatives in later OFri. Furthermore, the strengthened form *alsā* > *as*, which already appears as a standard marker in similatives and partly equatives in OFri and represents the typical standard marker in these types of comparisons today, is also the usual standard marker in comparatives in present-day Frisian (cf. Hoekstra 1995: 107 f.; Taalportal <http://www.taalportaal.org/>).²⁰

²⁰ On similatives/equatives: <http://www.taalportaal.org/taalportaal/topic/pid/topic-1399881333388> 8638, <http://www.taalportaal.org/taalportaal/topic/pid/topic-13998813333882512>; on comparatives: <http://www.taalportaal.org/taalportaal/topic/pid/topic-13998813332487542>.

6 Synopsis: Gradation and comparison in West Germanic

In the Old West Germanic languages, similatives typically contain the particle *sô/swā/sā* as the standard marker, optionally in a correlative construction with the same element as the parameter marker. Occasionally, strengthened forms are attested as standard markers such as *sôsô/swāswā*, *sô sama sô/gelīc swā* and *alsô/ealswā/alsā*, which is partly also found as parameter marker, and eventually succeeds simple *so* as a standard marker in all West Germanic languages. The same standard markers and parameter markers are also evidenced in equatives, which additionally contain a positive form of an adjective/adverb referring to a gradable property as the parameter. Furthermore, in all Old West Germanic languages a type of construction that is semantically equivalent to an equative is found in which the parameter, however, occurs inside the standard and takes a superlative form. The standard typically also contains a modal (e. g. ‘as they best could’ = ‘as well as they could’).

Old West Germanic comparatives typically contain a comparative form of an adjective/adverb referring to a gradable property as the parameter (alternatively a negative indefinite or the adjective ‘other’) including the bound morpheme *-ir/-ôr-* etc. as a parameter marker. In Old English periphrastic comparative forms are also attested, but very rare. The standard is most frequently marked by the particle *thane/than/þonne/thā*. In several Old West Germanic languages, the standard may alternatively be marked by the dative case in comparative function. This option sooner or later went extinct in all West Germanic languages. Over the course of their later diachronic development, in all West Germanic languages there is evidence to varying degrees for the Comparative Cycle, i. e. the distributional shift of standard markers from similatives to equatives to comparatives (cf. German *als* and *wie*, Frisian *as* etc.).

Superlatives in the Old West Germanic languages are generally formed with the superlative form of an adjective/adverb referring to a gradable property as the parameter, including the bound superlative morpheme *-ist/-ôst/-est-* as a parameter marker. In Old English, there are arguably also rare periphrastic superlatives. The set of entities of which the comparee bears the relevant property to the highest degree is marked by typical means of partitivity marking, i. e. by genitive case or local prepositions in West Germanic.

The elative is not a grammatical category in its own right in West Germanic. The corresponding meaning is expressed with the help of adverbs meaning ‘very’ (e. g. *filu*, *ful*, *wel*) or word formation, especially composition. The excessive is marked by the particle *zi/te/tō* in front of the parameter or occasionally by word formation.

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Nina de Kreij

13 Ancient Greek

1 Introduction

Ancient Greek was spoken in large parts of the Eastern Mediterranean, and existed in a variety of regional dialects, of which some became associated with the literary genres that developed in a specific part of the ancient Greek world. Ionic is the dialect that predominately underlies Homeric Greek and later epic poetry, though the language of Homer is a very complex problem of its own. Attic Greek was spoken in Athens, which was the home of philosophy, historiography (with the exception of Herodotus, who wrote in Ionic), tragedy, and comedy. Lyric poetry is traditionally written in Aeolic and Doric. Arcado-Cypriot is known from inscriptions found in Arcadia and Cyprus, and Mycenaean is the Greek dialect of which we have the earliest attestations. Due to the cultural dominance of Athens at the end of the Classical period, the vast majority of Ancient Greek texts are written in Attic and Ionic, while evidence of the other dialects is sparse and often fragmentary. From the third century BCE the *koine*, a new standard variety of Greek which is largely but not exclusively based on Attic, takes over the written records.

The following survey of gradation and comparison in Ancient Greek is based on standard editions of early and Classical Greek texts, which also underlie the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) online database of Greek literature. I have avoided using very fragmentary texts where possible; this means that the sources for the early Greek period (8th/7th century BCE) are Homer and Hesiod (epic poetry). All types of grading and comparison discussed here are attested from as early as Homer, unless otherwise stated. Evidence of Mycenaean Greek consists mostly of lists, which lack complex syntactic constructions and can thus not add much to the study of gradation. The main sources for the periods following Hesiod and Homer are Pindar (lyric), Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides (tragedy), and Aristophanes (comedy) for poetry, and Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon (historiography), Plato (philosophy), Lysias, and Demosthenes (oratory) for prose. Post 4th century BCE authors, as well as texts that are poorly attested, are only considered if they contribute especially interesting material or examples for categories otherwise not found. This selection, and the status quo in general of early and Classical Greek texts, has a strong bias towards the Attic and Ionic dialects, with snippets of Aeolic coming through in epic poetry, and with a literary version of Doric found in Pindar and the choral lyric passages of tragedy.

Additional examples are available at <https://gitlab.uzh.ch/paul.widmer/mhiet-vol1-gradation>.

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2 Similitive

Apart from the Homeric simile, which one could describe as an extended, more complex and stylized similitive construction, this type of comparison has received almost no scholarly attention.

Ancient Greek does not have a morpheme to mark the parameter of a similitive construction. The most frequent strategies for expressing similitive relations are the usage of a verb or adjective meaning ‘resemble/resembling’, and the employment of a particle meaning ‘like’ to mark the standard of comparison. The parameter can appear in the form of an adjective, noun, or verb, but is often left unexpressed.

2.1 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

2.1.1 Type 1-3-1: flag is case

- (1) (Herodotus 6.69.1; Kühner/Gerth 1898: 412, Schwyzer/Debrunner 1988: 161)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| <i>ēlthé</i> | <i>moi</i> | <i>phásma</i> | <i>eidómenon</i> | <i>Arístōni</i> . |
| come.AOR.3SG | 1SG.DAT | phantom.NOM | resemble.PTCP.PRS.NOM | A.DAT |
| | | CPREE | PM | STAND.STM |
- ‘A phantom came to me that resembled Ariston.’

The standard is an argument of the adjective or verb, which also licenses its case. In similitive constructions, with verbs and adjectives meaning ‘(be) like’ or ‘resemble/resembling’,¹ this is mostly the dative, and we do not find any examples where an adposition instead of a plain case is used. Examples of verbs employed to express similitives are *eídesthai*, *oikénaí*, *isoūn*, *homoioūn*, *eikázein*; epic/poetic: *(e)ískein*, *isopharízein*, *antipherízein*; the comparee is always the subject of the verb. When an adjective is used, it agrees with the comparee in case, number, and gender; examples are *homoíos*, *ísos*; epic/poetic: *empherés*, *prospherés*, *(en-)alígkios*, *(e-)íkelos*, *adelphós* (often with genitive), *paraplésios*. In attributive or substantivised usage, especially in prose, we find *ho autós*, also with the standard of comparison in the dative. Adverbial expressions are *ísōs/éks ísou/en ísoi*, *homōs*, *paraplēsíōs*, and *hōsaútōs* (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 411–3).

¹ In this and every further section with verbs and adjectives as parameter marker I do not provide translations for the individual lexical items that are used in this function. This is in order to avoid overemphasising semantic nuances since it is difficult to detect a rigid rule behind the choice of a particular verb or adjective over another.

2.2 Type 1-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

2.2.1 Type 1-4-1: flag is case

- (2) (Homer, *Odyssey* 4.14)
Hermíonēn, hē eĩdos ékhe khruséēs
 H.ACC REL.NOM demeanour.ACC have.IPF.3SG golden.GEN
 CPREE PAR STAND.STM
Aphrodítēs.
 A.GEN
 ‘Hermione, who had the demeanour of golden Aphrodite.’

In this category the notion of possession, expressed by the genitive case marking on *khruséēs Aphrodítēs*, carries the similitive force. This is not a standard similitive construction in Ancient Greek.

2.2.2 Type 1-4-2: flag is adposition

- (3) (Homer, *Iliad* 8.163)
gunaikòs ár' antì tétukso.
 woman.GEN PTCL PREP make.PLUPF.PASS.2SG
 STAND STM
 ‘You were like a woman.’

The adpositions *antí* + genitive and *katá* + accusative can mark the standard of similitive constructions, though this strategy is less common than using verbs/adjectives or particles (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 453–4, 479). The adverb *háma* can be used as a preposition with the dative to mean ‘together with’, and in the specific context of someone moving ‘together with the winds’ in Homer, it means ‘like the winds’, or possibly ‘as quickly as the winds’, in which case this would be an equative expression (*LSJ* s. v. ἅμα).²

² E. g. Homer, *Iliad* 16.149: *Ksánthon kai Balían, tò háma pnoiēisi petésthēn* ‘Xanthus and Balius, who flew like the winds’.

2.3 Type 1-7: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

Marking the standard of comparison with the particle *hōs*, often in various combinations with other particles (*hōste*, *hōsper*) and conjunctions (*hōs hōte*, *hōs ei*, *hōs hopōte*), is the most common strategy for expressing similitive relations. The particle can be correlated with *hoútō*, *isos*, *hómoios*, or *ho autós*, but is more frequently, in Homeric Greek exclusively, used on its own (LSJ s. v. ὡς; see section 2.4). The particle can introduce a sentential standard, but often the verb is left out, and the noun expressing the standard can then be either in the nominative, or, if the comparee is in an oblique case, the standard can take that case (Kühner/Gerth 1904: 492–3).

- (4) (Plato, *Phaedo* 86a)
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>eí tis</i> | <i>diiskhurízoito</i> | <i>tōi</i> | <i>autōi</i> | <i>lógōi</i> | <i>hōsper</i> |
| if someone.NOM | rely.PRS.OPT.3SG | ART.DAT | same.DAT | word.DAT | as |
| CPREE | | PM | | PAR | STM |
| <i>sú</i> | | | | | |
| 2SG.NOM | | | | | |
| STAND | | | | | |
- ‘If someone were to rely on the same argument as you.’

Mostly in prose, when the parameter marker is adjectival (see list under 2.1.1), the standard of comparison can be marked with the particle *kai* instead of the dative case (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 413). Ancient Greek has the option of distinguishing between absolute identity (*ho autós* ‘the same’) and mere similarity (*hómoios* ‘similar’), but it is difficult to establish how salient and systematic this distinction is in language use.

2.4 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

- (5) (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 112)
- | | | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>hōste</i> | <i>theòì</i> | <i>d’</i> | <i>ézōon</i> | <i>akēdéa</i> | <i>thumòn</i> |
| like | god.NOM.PL | PTCL | live.IPF.3PL | carefree.ACC | mind.ACC |
| STM | STAND | | PAR | | |
| <i>ékhontes</i> | | | | | |
| have.PTCP.PRS.NOM.PL | | | | | |
- ‘They lived like gods, having carefree minds.’

Alternative particles, found mostly in epic poetry, are *phé* and *éúte*.

2.5 Type 1-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

Even though the standard of comparison is not made explicit, in similitive constructions of this kind the context makes it clear who or what the implied standard is. A more explicit version of example (6) would be ‘few of the Achaeans were similar to Odysseus’.

- (6) (Homer, *Odyssey* 19.240)
 (*polloĩsin Odusseũs | ẽske philos*)
paũroi g̃ar Akhaiõn ẽsan homoĩoi
 few.NOM.PL PTCL A.GEN.PL be.IPF.3PL similar.NOM.PL
 CPREE PM
 ‘(Odysseus was a friend to many,) few of the Achaeans were similar.’

2.6 Types not included in the questionnaire

There are two types of compounds that express similitive relations: one is a combination of the noun denoting the standard of comparison, and an adjective, adverb, or preposition marking the parameter, which is itself not expressed.

- (7) (Homer, *Iliad* 9.632 / *Iliad* 2.565 / *Iliad* 2.623)
anti-theos | isõ-theos | theo-eidẽs
 PREP-god ADJ-god god-ADJ
 PM-STAND PM-STAND STAND-PM
 ‘god-like’

The second type consists of two nouns or a noun and an adjective, one of which expresses the standard of comparison, and the other the parameter.

- (8) (Homer, *Odyssey* 19.551 / *Iliad* 5.639 / *Iliad* 1.551)
meli-ẽdẽs | thumo-leõnta | bo-õpis
 honey-sweet heart-lion cow-eye
 STAND-PAR PAR-STAND STAND-PAR
 ‘honey-sweet’ / ‘lion-hearted’ / ‘cow-eyed’

These compounds function like adjectives and are congruent with the comparee. Especially the second kind is a typically Homeric phenomenon, but even the first kind is far more frequent in poetry than in prose.

2.7 Formal means of expressing similatives

Out of all types of comparison, similatives show the most variety with regard to how the parameter is expressed. Contrary to the other types, adjectives are not the most frequent word class to express the parameter; verbs are especially frequent, but the parameter is also often left implicit.

Due to the lack of bound or free morphemes to mark the parameters of similative constructions, the only type that can occur without an explicit standard is the one that marks the parameter with a verb or adjective.

3 Equative

Equative constructions are similar to similative constructions in that Ancient Greek does not have a morpheme that marks the parameter of an equative construction, and the most frequent strategies are using a verb/adjective or a particle. There is, however, a certain type of comparative construction that can be used to express equative meaning.

3.1 Type 2-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

3.1.1 Type 2-1-1 flag is case

- (9) (Homer, *Iliad* 1.249)
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>toũ</i> | <i>kai</i> | <i>apò</i> | <i>glóssēs</i> | <i>mélitos</i> | <i>glukiōn</i> |
| REL.GEN | PTCL | from | tongue.GEN | honey.GEN | sweet.CPD.NOM |
| | | | | STAND.STM | PAR.PM |
| <i>rhéen</i> | <i>audé</i> | | | | |
| flow.IPF.3SG | speech.NOM | | | | |
| | CPREE | | | | |
- ‘From whose tongue speech flowed sweeter than honey.’

The parameter is marked by comparative morphology, and the standard of comparison is the epitome of the concept expressed by the parameter. This special relationship between parameter and standard gives the expression the meaning of an (exaggerated) equative instead of a ‘normal’ comparative (Benveniste 1948; Berg 1958; Puhvel 1973). Thesleff describes the function of such expressions as “violent intensifications” (1954: 127), and would probably rather categorize them as relative.

3.2 Type 2-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

3.2.1 Type 2-3-1: flag is case

When a verb or adjective is employed to mark the parameter, it can be very difficult to decide whether a given expression is a similative or an equative. The degree is never made entirely explicit, but can only be inferred from a combination of the meaning of the verb/adjective and the context.

(10) (Xenophon, *Economics* 3.15)

<i>nomízō</i>	<i>dè</i>	<i>gunaĩka</i>	<i>koinōnōn</i>	<i>agathèn</i>	<i>oĩkou</i>
think.PRS.1SG	PTCL	wife.ACC	partner.ACC	good.ACC	household.GEN
		CPREE			
<i>oũsan</i>	<i>pánu</i>	<i>antíropon</i>	<i>eĩnai</i>	<i>tōĩ</i>	<i>andrì</i>
be.PTCP.PRS.ACC	entirely	equal.ACC	be.INF.PRS	ART.DAT	husband.DAT
		PM		STAND.STM	
<i>epì</i>	<i>tò</i>	<i>agathón.</i>			
towards	ART.ACC	good.ACC			
PAR					

‘I think that a wife who is a good partner in the household is entirely equal to her husband in providing for its good.’

The overall meaning of example (10) and the usage of an adjective denoting equivalence or equality suggests that we are dealing with an equative construction rather than a similative: ‘a wife is as good as her husband’, rather than ‘a wife is like her husband’.

3.2.2 Type 2-3-2: flag is adposition

The same problem of distinguishing between similatives and equatives holds here. Again, the combination of context and the semantics of the word denoting the parameter marker (which in example (11) expresses the parameter at the same time) may suggest a degree reading, but the degree is not made explicit. The prepositions *pará* and *prós* + accusative can be used to set two entities in comparison to one another, often to describe the process of comparison rather than its result. Homeric Greek does not combine verbal/adjectival parameter marking with prepositional standard marking. In the Classical period there tends to be a sense of inequality when these prepositions are used.³ Example (11) demonstrates that at least in post-Classical Greek,

³ E.g. *egkallópisma plóutou pròs taútēn nomísantas oligōrēsai* ‘considering the ornament of wealth to be of little esteem compared to this’ (Thucydides 2.62.3).

3.4 Type 2-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Example (13) is the particle-marked equivalent to example (9) in section 3.1; example (14) does not employ the usual comparative particle *é*, but the particle *éúte*, which is normally used to mark the standard of similitive constructions. It is the only example of this kind in Homer, and I am not aware of any others elsewhere.

- (13) (Homer, *Odyssey* 16.216–7)

<i>klaïon</i>	<i>dè</i>	<i>ligéōs</i>	<i>hadinóteron</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>oiōnoí,</i>	
wail.IPF.3PL	PTCL	shrilly	vehemently.CPD	than	PTCL	bird.NOM.PL	
			PAR.PM	STM		STAND	

‘And they wailed shrilly, more vehemently than birds, sea eagles, or vultures with

<i>phēnai</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>aigupioi</i>	<i>gampsónukhes</i>
sea eagle.NOM.PL	or	vulture.NOM.PL	with crooked talons.NOM.PL
STAND		STAND	

crooked talons.’

- (14) (Homer, *Iliad* 4.277–8)

<i>tōi</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>áneuthen</i>	<i>eónti</i>	<i>melánteron</i>	<i>éúte</i>
he.DAT	PTCL	PTCL	far.away	be.PTCP.PRS.DAT	black.CPD.NOM	PTCL
					PAR.PM	STM

<i>píssa</i>		<i>phaínet'</i>	<i>iòn</i>	<i>katà pónton.</i>
pitch.NOM		seem.IPF.3SG	go.PTCP.PRS.NOM	over sea.ACC
STAND				

‘And to him, who was far away, it [a storm cloud] seemed blacker than pitch as it came over the sea.’

In example (15) the parameter and parameter marker are expressed by a single word, the second part of the correlative particle combination *hósos ... tosoútos*. Even though it is impossible to segment *tosouutos* into the word expressing the parameter and a bound morpheme marking the parameter, examples of this type seem to fit this category best. The correlative particles can also be used without the semantics of number, as markers of parameter and standard, i. e. a combination of free morpheme marking the parameter and particle marking the standard (see example (16) in section 3.5).

Especially in epic and poetry, *tósos* is often used instead of *tosouutos*, and either part of the correlative pair can be replaced by other particles, e. g. *hōs* for *hósos*, or *isos* for *tósos/tosouutos*. This raises the question whether the parameter marking part of such constructions is best viewed as a free or bound morpheme, or as an adjective/adverb, in which case the correct category would be Type 2-7.

- (15) (Herodotus 7.96.2)

én te éthneĩ hekástōi hósai per pólies
 in PTCL nation.DAT each.DAT as.many.NOM.PL PTCL city.NOM.PL
 STM STAND
tosōūtoi kai hēgemónes ěsan
 so.many.NOM.PL also leader.NOM.PL be.IPF.3PL
 PAR.PM CPREE

‘There were as many leaders as there were cities in each nation.’

3.5 Type 2-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In example (16) *tósson* is used as a free morpheme to mark the parameter *odúromai* ‘I mourn’.

- (16) (Homer,
- Odyssey*
- 4.104–5)

tōñ pántōn ou tósson odúromai [...]
 ART.GEN.PL all.GEN.PL not so.much mourn.PRS.1SG
 CPREE PM PAR

hōs henós
 as one.man.GEN
 STM STAND

‘For them all I mourn not as much as for one man’

3.6 Type 2-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Types 2-9 and 2-10 are variants of Types 2-5 and 2-6; the standard marking part of the correlative particles and the standard itself are not expressed, but can be supplied from the context.

- (17) (Homer,
- Odyssey*
- 12.129)

heptà boōn agélai, tósa d’ oiōn
 seven cattle.GEN.PL herd.NOM.PL so.many.NOM.PL PTCL sheep.GEN.PL
 PAR.PM

pōea kalá
 flock.NOM.PL fine.NOM.PL
 CPREE

‘Seven herds of cattle and as many fine flocks of sheep.’

3.7 Type 2-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In example (18) the adjective *tósa* marks the parameter expressed by the verb phrase *médeia oīden* ‘knows wisdom’. The immediate context makes it clear that the implied standard of comparison is the speaker.

- (18) (Homer, *Odyssey* 20.45–7)
 (*skhétlie, kai mén tis te khereíoni peítheth’ hetairōi*)
hōs per thnētós t’ estì kai ou tósa
 REL.NOM PTCL mortal.NOM PTCL be.PRS.3SG and not so.much.ACC.PL
 PM
médeia oīden. | autār egō theòs eimi
 wisdom.ACC.PL know.PRF.3SG | but 1SG.NOM god.NOM be.PRS.1SG
 PAR
 ‘(Stubborn fool, people even trust in a weaker friend,) someone who is mortal and does not know as much wisdom. But I am a god.’

3.8 Type 2-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

This is a variation on Type 2-3, for which the same problems with clearly identifying an equative degree hold.

- (19) (Thucydides 4.57.2)
hōs ouk enómizon aksiómakhoi eĩnai
 since not believe.IPF.3PL equal.in.battle.NOM.PL be.INF.PRS
 PAR.PM
 ‘Since they believed that they were not equal in battle.’

3.9 Types not included in the questionnaire

3.9.1 Two entities and two predicates

Two different qualities are predicated of comparee and standard, and the extent to which they apply to their respective entity is equalled.

- (20) (Hesiod,
- Works and Days*
- 346)

<i>pēma</i>	<i>kakòs</i>	<i>geitōn,</i>	<i>hósson</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>agathòs</i>
plague.NOM	bad.NOM	neighbour.NOM	as.much	PTCL	good.NOM
PAR _{CPREE}	CPREE		STM		STAND
<i>még'</i>	<i>óneiar</i>				
great.NOM	blessing.NOM				
	PAR _{STAND}				

'A bad neighbour is a plague as much as a good one is a great blessing.'

3.9.2 One entity and two predicates

Two different qualities are predicated of one entity and equalled to one another in degree. The comparee is at the same time the standard of comparison, and one parameter applies to it in its function as comparee, and one as standard.

- (21) (Homer,
- Iliad*
- 16.722)

<i>aíth'</i>	<i>hósson</i>	<i>hḗssōn</i>	<i>eimí,</i>	<i>tósson</i>	<i>séo</i>
if.only	as.much	weak.CPD.NOM	be.PRS.1SG	so.much	2SG.GEN
	STM	PAR _{STAND}		PM	
<i>phérteros</i>	<i>eíēn</i>				
strong.CPD.NOM	be.PRS.OPT.1SG				
PAR _{CPREE}					

'If only I were as much stronger than you as I am weaker.'

3.9.3 Correlative diptych

The increase in degree to which a quality applies to the comparee is correlated to the increase in degree of a quality applied to the standard. This can be made explicit by a combination of the correlative particles *hósos ... tósos/tosoũtos* in the dative case and adjectives/adverbs marked for comparative or superlative degree (example 21), but, especially in poetry or proverbial expressions, the correlative particles can be left out (example 23) (Kühner/Gerth 1904: 497–8).

- (22) (Herodotus 7.49.4)

<i>tosóutōi</i>	<i>toi</i>	<i>gínetai</i>	<i>polemiōtéré</i>	<i>hósōi</i>
so.much.DAT	2SG.DAT	become.PRS.3SG	enemy.CPD.NOM	as.much.DAT
PM _{CPREE}			PAR _{CPREE}	PM _{STAND}

ân probainēis hekastērō
 PTCL advance.PRS.SBJV.2SG further

PAR_{STAND}

‘The further you advance, the more it [the land] becomes your enemy.’

(23) (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 644)

meizon mèn phórtos, meizon d’ epì kérdei
 great.CPD.NOM PTCL freight.NOM great.CPD.NOM PTCL on profit.DAT

PAR_{CPREE} CPREE_{CPREE} PAR_{STAND}

kérdos
 profit.NOM

CPREE_{STAND}

‘Greater freight, greater profit on the profit.’

3.10 Formal means of expressing equatives

There are only two ways to make the equative degree explicit: by using either comparative morphology or the particles *hósos ... tósos/tosoûtos*. The particles can be used adjectivally or adverbially; *tósos/tosoûtos* can either mark an otherwise expressed parameter, or express parameter and parameter marker at the same time, or be left out entirely. Less frequently the standard-marking part, *hósos*, or even both particles, are left out.

Certain verbs and adjectives seem to have degree semantics, but at least some of them (notably *ísos*) can also be used in similitive constructions with no degree meaning at all. This makes it virtually impossible to establish the equative meaning of constructions with verbal/adjectival parameter marking without the help of context and pragmatic features.

4 Comparative

Comparative constructions are the best studied comparison type in Ancient Greek. Most studies are concerned with the origin of the two suffixes that mark comparative adjectives, and with the distinction between the two most commonly found construction types: marking the standard by case versus particle (Schwab 1893; Small 1924; Schwyzer 1939, 533–38; Benveniste 1948, 113–68; Seiler 1950; Fris 1950; Berg 1958; Kurylowicz 1964; Szemerényi 1968; Puhvel 1973; Strunk 1977; Schwyzer/Debrunner 1988, 183–84; Dieu 2011).

4.1 Type 3-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

4.1.1 Type 3-1-1: flag is case

Marking the standard of a comparative construction with the genitive case is the most common type in Ancient Greek. This genitive is generally thought of as reflecting the IE ablative, which syncretized with the genitive and marks the vantage point of the comparison (Zierner 1884, 7–9; Kühner/Gerth 1898: 20–1; Benveniste 1948).

(24) (Homer, *Iliad* 23.789)

<i>Aías</i>	<i>mên</i>	<i>gâr</i>	<i>emeĩ</i>	<i>olígon</i>	<i>progenésterós</i>	<i>estin</i>
A.NOM	PTCL	for	1SG.GEN	little	old.CPD.NOM	be.PRS.3SG
CPREE			STAND.STM		PAR.PM	

‘For Aias is only a little older than I.’

4.1.2 Type 3-1-2: flag is adposition

Using an adposition instead of a bare case as standard marker is a less common strategy, but still found across all genres of Greek literature. The different prepositions used in this function are *antí* + genitive (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 453–4; Schwyzer/Debrunner 1988: 443), *epí* + dative (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 500), *pará* + accusative (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 514–5; Schwyzer/Debrunner 1988: 496), *pró* + genitive (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 455–6; Schwyzer/Debrunner 1988: 507), and *prós* + accusative (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 520–1; Schwyzer/Debrunner 1988: 511).

(25) (Herodotus 1.62.1; Schwyzer/Debrunner 1988: 507)

<i>toĩsi</i>	<i>hē</i>	<i>turannīs</i>	<i>prò</i>	<i>eleutheriēs</i>	<i>ēn</i>
they.DAT	ART.NOM	despotic.rule.NOM	than.PREP	freedom.GEN	be.IPF.3SG
	CPREE		STM	STAND	

aspastóteron
welcome.CPD.NOM
PAR.PM

‘To them despotic rule was more welcome than freedom.’

4.2 Type 3-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

4.2.1 Type 3-2-1: flag is case

To mark comparative degree on nouns, verbs, and adjectives that cannot take comparative morphology, the adverb *mállon* is used.

(26) (Homer, *Odyssey* 4.606)

<i>aigíbotos,</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>mállon</i>	<i>epératos</i>
pasture.land.for.goats.NOM	and	more	delightsome.NOM
CPREE		PM	PAR

hippobótoio

pasture.land.for.horses.GEN

STAND

‘Pasture land for goats, and more delightful than pasture land for horses.’

4.3 Type 3-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

In this category Ancient Greek uses verbs with the meaning ‘surpass’ to mark the parameter of a comparative construction, and many of them can also be employed in superlative constructions. In comparative constructions, the standard of comparison is an individual, while in superlative constructions the standard is a group, often in the form of a quantified NP, of which the comparee is a member (Zeilfelder 2003: 268). The parameter can be either implicit or expressed by a noun, mostly in the dative case, occasionally in the accusative, or by a participle/infinitive.

Verbs that can be used in either comparative or superlative constructions are (*apo-*)*kaínomai* + accusative (mainly used in epic poetry and then in later Greek), *nikáō* + accusative, *diaphérō* + genitive, *períeimi* + genitive, *perígígnomai* + genitive, *proékhō* + genitive, *probáinō* + genitive (only Homer, Hesiod, and Callimachus), *huperpaíō* (once in Aristophanes + genitive with superlative sense, once in Demosthenes + accusative with comparative sense, otherwise later Greek), *huperbállō* + accusative/genitive (often carries a sense of excess, not in Homer but Hesiod and later Greek).

Verbs that, at least in the Classical period, seem to be used only in comparative constructions are (*kata-*)*kratéō* + genitive (sometimes accusative) and *ameíbomai/ameúomai* + accusative (only attested twice in Pindar).

4.3.1 Type 3-3-1: flag is case

(27) (Homer, *Odyssey* 8.219)

<i>oĩos</i>	<i>dē</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>Philoktētēs</i>	<i>apekaínuto</i>	<i>tóksōi</i>
only.NOM	PTCL	1SG.ACC	P.NOM	surpass.IPF.3SG	bow.DAT
		STAND.STM	CPREE	PM	PAR

‘Only Philoctetes surpassed me with the bow.’

4.3.2 Type 3-3-2: flag is adposition

(28) (Thucydides 5.111.2)

<i>tà</i>	<i>d’</i>	<i>hupárkhonta</i>	<i>brakhéa</i>	<i>pròs</i>
ART.NOM.PL	PTCL	be.available.PTCP.PRS.NOM.PL	small.NOM.PL	towards
		CPREE		STM
<i>tà</i>	<i>édē</i>	<i>antitetagména</i>	<i>perigígnesthai</i>	
ART.ACC.PL	already	set.up.against.PTCP.PRF.ACC.PL	prevail.PRS.INF	
		STAND	PM.(PAR)	

‘Your available resources are too small to prevail over the forces already set up against you.’

Example (28) is the only instance I am aware of in which the standard of comparison is marked by a preposition instead of the case that the verb demands.

4.4 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

In Homer, marking the standard of a comparative construction by particle complements the case marking strategy in syntactic terms: particle marking is used when the standard of comparison is clausal, adverbial, and when case marking could not be employed straightforwardly or would result in ambiguities, e. g. if there are other constituents marked by the genitive case but for a different function.⁴

In example (29), the comparee (Zeus) and the standard (men) are genitive attributes to the noun *nóos* ‘mind’, and thus the case construction cannot be used.

⁴ This observation is based on the results of my PhD thesis on comparisons in Homer, which shows that the semantic criteria for distinguishing between the case and particle construction set out by Benveniste 1948: 125 and Chantraine 1963: 152 are not born out in the evidence from Homer, though I would not reject out of hand that these may be relevant to the development of both constructions in an earlier phase of Greek.

(29) (Homer, *Iliad* 16.688)

<i>all'</i>	<i>aiēi</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>Diōs</i>	<i>kreíssōn</i>	<i>nóos</i>	<i>ēé</i>	<i>per</i>
but	always	PTCL	Z.GEN	strong.CPD.NOM	mind.NOM	than	PTCL
			CPREE	PAR.PM	(CPREE)	STM	PTCL
<i>andrōn</i>							
man.GEN.PL							
STAND							

‘But the mind of Zeus is always stronger than that of men.’

The Homeric tendency is still noticeable in the Classical period, but the particle construction is more frequently used interchangeably with the case construction (Kühner/Gerth 1904: 307–16; Puhvel 1973: 150–1). The standard particle for this construction is *ἔ*, but we also find the similitive particle *hoĩon* and the negative *kai ou/mē*. It is not uncommon to see particles that originally express similarity employed for comparative constructions (Puhvel 1973, 151–2; Heine 1997: 111–9); the same is true for negative particles. The examples in which we find them in Ancient Greek are longer, fairly loose constructions in which a similitive or negative particle intuitively fits in. The examples with negation often include two options of which one is preferable or more appropriate, i. e. they are of the kind ‘rather X than/and not Y’.⁵

4.5 Type 3-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

In principle, constructions with free morphemes function like those with bound morphemes, except that here nouns and verbs can also express the parameter. Again *ἔ* is by far the most common, but we also find *hōs* and *kai ou/mē*.

(30) (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 4.4.17)

<i>tōi</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>án</i>	<i>tis</i>	<i>boúloito</i>	<i>mállon</i>	<i>phílos</i>
who.DAT	PTCL	PTCL	someone.NOM	want.PRS.OPT.3SG	more	dear.NOM
			CPREE		PM	PAR
<i>eĩnai</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>tōi</i>	<i>toioutōi</i>			
be.INF.PRS	than	ART.DAT	such.a.DAT			
		STM	STAND			

‘To whom would someone want to be more dear than to such a man.’

⁵ Cf. ... *sképsasthai, ei ámeinón estin ekpémpein tàs naūs, kai mē [...] pólemon ou prosékonta árasthai*. ‘to consider whether it would be better to send out the ships and not to draw upon ourselves [...] an unseemly war.’ (Thucydides 6.9.1) to mean ‘it is better to send the ships than to enter into war’.

4.6 Type 3-7: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

Strictly speaking this category does not exist, but there is one example in Homer that fits here; a particle with the standard of comparison in the nominative is an odd alternative to the expected case marking with the verb *phthánō* ‘outrun, overtake’, which is not normally used in comparative constructions. I am not aware of any parallels.

- (31) (Homer, *Odyssey* 11.58)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|----------|------------|------------|------------|
| <i>éphthēs</i> | <i>pezòs</i> | <i>iòn</i> | <i>è</i> | <i>egò</i> | <i>sùn</i> | <i>nēi</i> |
| outrun.AOR.2SG | by.foot | go.PTCP.PRS.NOM | than | 1SG.NOM | with | ship.DAT |
| PAR.PM | | | STM | STAND | | |
| <i>melaínēi</i> | | | | | | |
| black.DAT | | | | | | |
- ‘Going by foot you were quicker than I with my black ship.’

When comparee and standard are expressed by infinitives and *diaphérō* marks the parameter, the standard can be marked by the particle *é* (*LSJ* s. v. διαφέρω).

- (32) (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3.4.33)
- | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>polù</i> | <i>gàr</i> | <i>diépheren</i> | <i>ek</i> | <i>khóras</i> | <i>hormōntas</i> |
| much | for | be.better.IPF.3SG | from | position.GEN | start.PTCP.PRS.ACC.PL |
| | | PM.PAR | | | |
| <i>aléksasthai</i> | <i>è</i> | <i>poreuoméous</i> | | | |
| defend.INF.AOR | than | march.PTCP.PRS.ACC.PL | | | |
| CPREE | STM | | | | |
| <i>epioῦsi</i> | | <i>toīs</i> | <i>polemíois</i> | <i>mákhesthai.</i> | |
| come.towards.PTCP.PRS.DAT.PL | | ART.DAT.PL | enemies.DAT.PL | fight.INF.PRS | STAND |
- ‘For it was much better to start from a proper position and defend themselves than to march and fight the oncoming enemies.’

4.7 Type 3-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

The comparative particle *é* can appear after expressions of wanting, preferring, and *dikaión esti* (Kühner/Gerth 1904: 303).

(33) (Herodotus 9.26.7)

hoútō ōn dikaion hēméas ékhein tò héteron
 thus PTCL appropriate.NOM 1PL.ACC have.INF.PRS ART.ACC second.ACC
 PAR CPREE
kéras é per Athēnaíous
 wing.ACC than PTCL A.ACC.PL
 STM STAND

‘Thus then it is appropriate that we should hold the second wing rather than the Athenians.’

4.8 Type 3-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Types 3-9, 3-10, and 3-11 function like Types 3-1, 3-2, and 3-3, but have contextually implied instead of explicit standards of comparison.

(34) (Homer, *Iliad* 23.605)

deúteron aút’ aléasthai ameínonas ēperopeúein
 in.future PTCL avoid.INF.AOR good.CPD.ACC.PL cheat.INF.PRS
 PAR.PM

‘In future avoid cheating those who are better [than you].’

4.9 Type 3-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

(35) (Homer, *Iliad* 10.46)

Hektoréois ára mállon epì phréna thēkh’
 of.H.DAT.PL PTCL more towards mind.ACC set.AOR.3SG
 CPREE PM PAR
hierōisin
 sacrifice.DAT.PL
 CPREE

‘He has set his mind more towards the sacrifices of Hector.’

4.10 Type 3-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

(36) (Homer, *Iliad* 16.53–4)

(*hoppóte dè tòn homoïon anèr ethélēisin amérsai kai géras àps aphelésthai.*)

hó te krátei probebékēi

since PTCL power.DAT surpass.PRF.SBJV.3SG

PAR PM

‘(When a man wants to rob one who is his equal, and take away his prize,) since he surpasses [him] in power.’

4.11 Types not included in the questionnaire

If two different qualities are compared with reference to the same entity, and one of them applies to a higher degree, both adjectives denoting the qualities are marked with comparative morphology, and the quality present to a lower degree is introduced by *é* (Kühner/Gerth 1904: 312–3).

(37) (Lysias 19.15)

hòn hoi polloì beltíō hēgoūntai

REL.ACC ART.NOM.PL many.NOM.PL honourable.CPD.ACC regard.PRS.3PL

CPREE PAR₁,PM

eīnai è plousióteron

be.INF.PRS than wealthy.CPD.ACC

STM PAR₂/STAND

‘Whom most people regard as a more honourable than wealthy man.’

4.12 Formal means of expressing comparatives

Most frequently, the parameter of a comparative construction is expressed by an adjective that is marked with comparative morphology. Ancient Greek displays two different morphemes with this function; the primary suffix *-iōn* goes back to PIE **-yes-/*-yos-*, which is also the origin of the Indo-Iranian, Italic, Germanic, Balto-Slavic, Celtic, and, based on indirect evidence, the Armenian comparative suffix (Chantraine 1933: 437–8; Schwyzler 1939: 536–8; Seiler 1950: 1–4; Sihler 1995: 356–7; Meier-Brügger 2002: 222). The secondary suffix *-teros*, which attaches not to roots, but to adjectival (and in some cases nominal) stems, is also found in other IE languages, but only in Indo-Iranian is it also used to mark adjectives for comparative degree. The original function of PIE **-tero-* is generally described as ‘contrastive’ (Kühner/Blass 1890: 553–71; Schwyzler

1939: 533–4; Seiler 1950: 3–4; Berg 1958: 202–3; Wittwer 1969; Schwyzer/Debrunner 1988: 183–5; Sihler 1995: 356, 363–4).

The particle *é* seems to be related to, or based on, the disjunctive particle *é̅* (Chantraine 1963: 152). This is in keeping with the fact that cross-linguistically comparative particles based on expressions of disjunction or negation are not uncommon (Heine 1997: 111–9).

Comparative expressions can be emphasized or qualified by adverbial expressions such as *éti* ‘yet, even’, *pollōi* ‘by much’, *makrōi* ‘by much’, *oligōi* ‘by a little’, *polū* ‘much’, *pollón* ‘much’, *méga* (poetic) ‘much’, *olígon* ‘a little’, *mállon* ‘more’, *pánta* ‘entirely’, *tí* ‘somewhat’, *oudén/médén* ‘not at all’, and post-Classical *hoútōs* ‘to such an extent’ (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 25–7).

5 Superlative

Superlative constructions tend to be viewed as a type of comparison that is based on comparative constructions, one step higher on a scale of gradation. Ancient Greek superlatives are hence, if at all, discussed with reference to, or as a supplement to, comparative constructions.⁶

5.1 Type 4-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The most normal and regular way of expressing a superlative relation is by marking the standard of comparison with the partitive genitive (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 338–40). Using an adposition instead of a bare case is more common in superlative than in comparative constructions. The particle strategy is not found, except when a comparative construction is used to convey superlative meaning.

5.1.1 4-1-1: flag is case

(38) (Homer, *Iliad* 24.748)

<i>Héktor</i>	<i>emōi</i>	<i>thumōi</i>	<i>pántōn</i>	<i>polū</i>	<i>philtate</i>
H.VOC	1.SG.POSS.DAT	heart.DAT	all.GEN.PL	far	dear.SPD.VOC
CPREE			STAND.STM		PAR.PM

⁶ One exception is Thesleff 1955.

paídōn

child.GEN.PL

STAND.STM

‘Hector, far dearest to my heart of all my children.’

As in comparative constructions, the parameter can be qualified by an adverb such as *polú* ‘by far’. The standard of comparison often includes a quantifier like *pántōn* ‘of all’, or is expressed solely by it.

Occasionally we find *állōn* ‘of the others’ in the standard, which is somewhat odd for a superlative construction, since it implies that the comparee is not a member of the group denoted by the standard. The meaning is closer to a comparative construction, but enhanced by superlative degree. In example (39) *állōn* appears in apposition to the superlative adjective *makártatos* and is additionally marked by the adverb *éksokhon* ‘far above’.

(39) (Homer, *Odyssey* 6.158)

<i>keĩnos</i>	<i>d’</i>	<i>aũ</i>	<i>perì</i>	<i>kēri</i>	<i>makártatos</i>
that.man.NOM	PTCL	again	exceedingly	heart.DAT	blessed.SPD.NOM
CPREE					PAR.PM
<i>éksokhon</i>	<i>állōn</i>				
above	other.GEN.PL				
	STAND.STM				

‘But that man again is most blessed in heart, far above the others.’

5.1.2 Type 4-1-2: flag is adposition

The prepositions *en* + dative, *ek* + genitive, *katá* + accusative, *aná* + accusative are found in superlative constructions across the genres of Greek literature; *metá* + dative with the meaning ‘among’ is found only in poetry, specifically epic. In Homer and in prose passages with Homeric flavour we find *diá* + genitive, and very occasionally in poetry *hupér* + genitive (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 483, 487).

(40) (Hesiod, *Theogony* 120)

<i>Éros,</i>	<i>hòs</i>	<i>kállistos</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>athanátoisi</i>	<i>theoĩsi</i>
E.NOM	REL.NOM	beautiful.SPD.NOM	among	immortal.DAT.PL	god.DAT.PL
CPREE		PAR.PM	STM		STAND

‘Éros, who is the most beautiful among the immortal gods.’

In other cases, a preposition does not so much mark as express the standard of comparison; the prepositional phrase stands in metonymically for the implied standard of comparison.

(41) (Homer, *Odyssey* 4.408–9)

(*sù d' eù krínasthai hetáirous*)

<i>treĩs,</i>	<i>hoĩ</i>	<i>toi</i>	<i>parà</i>	<i>nēusìn</i>	<i>eüssélmoisìn</i>
three	REL.NOM.PL	PTCL	at	ship.DAT.PL	well-benched.DAT.PL
	CPREE		STAND.STM		

áristoi

best.NOM.PL

PAR.PM

‘(For you must carefully choose companions,) three of them, who are the best at your well-benched ships.’

5.2 Type 4-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Since most adjectives in Ancient Greek can take superlative morphology, when a free morpheme is used, the parameter is most often expressed by a verb, occasionally by a noun.

5.2.1 Type 4-2-1: flag is case

(42) (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 3.1.25)

<i>pántōn</i>	<i>tōn</i>	<i>deinōn</i>	<i>phóbos</i>	<i>málista</i>	<i>kataplétei</i>
all.GEN.PL	ART.GEN.PL	terrible.GEN.PL	fear.NOM	most	strike.PRS.3SG
STAND.STM			CPREE	PM	PAR

tàs *psukhás*

ART.ACC.PL soul.ACC.PL

‘Of all terrible things fear strikes the souls most.’

5.2.2 Type 4-2-2: flag is adposition

The combination of *málista* (or an equivalent) to mark the parameter and a preposition to mark the standard is often found in postponed elliptic clauses that refer to a statement made previously:

(43) (Homer, *Odyssey* 2.432–3)*(leĩbon d' athanátoisi theoĩs' aieigenétēisin,)*

<i>ek</i>	<i>pántōn</i>	<i>dè</i>	<i>málista</i>	<i>Diòs</i>	<i>glaukōpidi</i>	<i>koúrēi</i>
out.of	all.GEN.PL	PTCL	most	Z.GEN	flashing-eyed.DAT	daughter.DAT
STM	STAND		PM			CPREE

‘(And they poured libations to the immortal gods that are forever,) and most out of them all to the flashing-eyed daughter of Zeus.’

5.3 Type 4-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

Verbs (and very occasionally adjectives) are used to mark the parameter of superlative constructions much more frequently than that of comparative constructions. Yet, the variation in lexical items employed in this function, and the general lack of consistency in the expressions and their construction suggests that this is a rather free and creative, not a grammaticalized way of expressing superlative constructions. The only fairly constant element is the marking of the standard, which is almost always done by the case which the verb demands for its object, though *kaĩnumai* can be construed with prepositional phrases, and *prépō* always is. The parameter can be implicit or expressed through a noun in the accusative or dative case, by a prepositional phrase, a participle, or an infinitive.

As discussed in section 4.3, there is a group of verbs that can be used in either comparative or superlative constructions: (*apo-*)*kaĩnumai*, *nikáo*, *diaphérō*, *perieimi*, *perigígnomai*, *probainō*, *proékhō*, and *huperpaíō*. Others are sparsely attested, but if so, in a superlative construction: *peribállō* + accusative (twice in Homer), *huperphúomai* + accusative (once in Herodotus), *metaprépō* + dative (almost exclusively in poetry); *ekprépō* + genitive appears once in Euripides, but is marked in addition by *málista*. More frequently we find the corresponding adjective *ekprepēs* + genitive/prepositional phrase (in both the positive and superlative form).

There are some verbs that are formed on the superlative stem of an adjective, and used in both poetry and prose, with the standard of comparison in the genitive: *kallisteúō* ‘be the most beautiful’, *aristeúō* ‘be the best’ (also with standard marked by preposition), *kratisteúō* ‘be the strongest’.

5.3.1 Type 4-3-1: flag is case

(44) (Herodotus 6.61.5)

(*tèn dè katapsōsan toũ paidíou kephalèn*)

eĩpai hōs kallisteúsei paséōn tōn
say.INF.AOR that be.the.most.beautiful.FUT.3SG all.GEN.PL ART.GEN.PL
PAR.PM

en Spártēi gunaikōn
in S.DAT woman.GEN.PL
STAND.STM

‘([Herodotus reports:] And after stroking the head of the child) she said that it would be the most beautiful of all women in Sparta.’

5.3.2 Type 4-3-2: flag is adposition

(45) (Hesiod, *Theogony* 929)

ek pántōn tékhnēisi kekasménon
out.of all.GEN.PL craft.DAT.PL be.preeminent.PTCP.PRF.ACC
STM PAR PM

Ouraniōnōn
son.of.Heaven.GEN.PL
STAND

‘[Hephaestus,] preeminent in crafts out of all the sons of Heaven.’

5.4 Type 4-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

5.4.1 Type 4-4-1: flag is case

Mostly in poetry we find a combination of a noun or adjective in the positive with the same word in the genitive plural to express a superlative relation. This strategy is common in Semitic languages and attested in other IE languages (e. g. Sanskrit), but is rather marked and stylized in Ancient Greek. A variant of this type employs an adjective that even in the positive has some superlative semantics, for instance *húpatos* ‘high(-est)’, *arideíketos* ‘famous, distinct’, *aglaós* ‘splendid, glorious’, *éksokhos/ékdēlos* ‘pre-eminent’.

(48) (Homer, *Odyssey* 8.147–8)

ou mèn gàr meízon kléos anéros ópbra ken
 not PTCL for great.CPD.NOM glory.NOM man.GEN as.long.as PTCL
 PAR.PM CPREE

ḗisin | è hó ti possín te
 exist.PRS.SBJV.3SG than REL.ACC INDF.ACC foot.DAT.PL and
 STM STAND

rhéksēi kaì khersìn heḗisin.
 achieve.AOR.SBJV.3SG and hand.DAT.PL POSS.DAT

‘For there is no greater glory of a man, as long as he lives, than that which he achieves with his own hands and feet.’

5.6 Type 4-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

(49) (Plato, *Protagoras* 348d)

kaì egṓ héneka toútou soi hēdéōs dialégomai
 also 1SG.NOM because.of this.GEN 2SG.DAT gladly debate.PRS.1SG
 CPREE PAR

mállon è állōi tiní.
 more than other.DAT INDF.DAT
 PM STM STAND

‘Because of this do also I debate gladly with you, more than with anyone else.’

In example (49) the parameter marker *mállon* does not directly mark the parameter *hēdéōs* ‘gladly’, but appears in apposition to it. This is a way of expressing a superlative construction in which the positive of the adjective in the parameter is entailed.

5.7 Type 4-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

As previously, Types 4-9, 4-10, and 4-11 are variations of Types 4-1, 4-2, and 4-3.

(50) (Homer, *Iliad* 23.668–9)

(hēmíonon d’ ou phēmí tin’ aksémen állon Akhaiōn pugmēi nikésant’.)
 epei eúkhomai eínai áristos
 since claim.PRS.1SG be.INF.PRS good.SPD.NOM
 PAR.PM

‘(The mule, I reckon, none other of the Achaeans will lead away by winning with his fists,) since I claim to be the best.’

5.8 Type 4-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

(51) (Homer, *Odyssey* 21.352–3)

<i>tóksōn</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>ándressi</i>	<i>melései</i>		<i>pási,</i>	<i>málista</i>
bow.NOM	PTCL	man.DAT.PL	be.a.care.FUT.3SG		all.DAT.PL	most
			PAR			PM
<i>d'</i>	<i>emoí</i>					
PTCL	1SG.DAT					
	CPREE					

‘The bow shall be a care for men, for all, but mostly for me.’

5.9 Type 4-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

Examples of this category with a concrete implied standard of comparison are difficult to find. In example (52) it might be argued that the genitive *Phaiékōn andrōn* ‘among the Phaeacian men’ from the previous verse is still active as an explicit standard of comparison for the superlative expression *múthoisi kékasto* ‘he was pre-eminent in speech’.

(52) (Homer, *Odyssey* 7.156–7)

<i>(hós dē Phaiékōn andrōn progenésteros ēen)</i>		
<i>kaì</i>	<i>múthoisi</i>	<i>kékasto</i>
and	word.DAT.PL	be.pre-eminent.PRF.3SG
	PAR	PM

‘([Echeneüs,] who was an elder among the Phaeacian men,) and pre-eminent in speech.’

5.10 Formal means of expressing superlatives

Ancient Greek has two different suffixes to mark the parameter of superlative constructions, *-istos* and *-tatos*. Generally, scholars analyse the former suffix as a combination of **-is-*, the zero-grade of the comparative suffix **-yes-/*-yos-*, plus a suffix **-to-* which is also used to form ordinal numbers; *-tatos* seems to be a remodelling of **-tmmo-* on the basis of *-istos*; **-isto-* also forms the basis of superlative morphology in Indo-Iranian and Germanic, and **-tmmo-/*-smmo-* in Indo-Iranian, Italic, and Celtic (Kühner/Blass 1890: 553–71; Schwyzler 1939: 503–4, 537; Benveniste 1948: 162; Rix 1976: 167–9; Sihler 1995: 365–6; Lujan: 2019).

While most prepositions that mark the standards of similitive, equative, and comparative constructions are described in reference grammars as specifically having

a function of marking comparisons, those prepositions that mark the standards of superlative constructions seem to do so by virtue of their function to express that one entity is part of a collective or group. The same is true for marking the standard by case. The dative in similitive/equative constructions and the separative genitive in comparative constructions are described as having a special function of marking standards of comparisons, while the partitive genitive with superlatives is not regarded as a special function of the genitive (Kühner/Gerth 1898; Schwyzer/Debrunner 1988).

Superlatives can be emphasized or qualified by the particle *kaí* ‘full, verily’; the adjectives/adverbs of measure *pollōi*, *makrōi*, (*parà*) *polú*, *pollón*, *méga* (poet.) ‘by much, by far’; the superlatives *pleīston/mégiston* (poet.), *málista* ‘most’; the adverbs *ókha/éksokha* ‘far, especially’; by modifying the comparee with *heĩs* ‘one’; with *pánta/tà pánta* ‘entirely’; by adding *en toĩs* ‘utterly’ to the superlative adjective (mostly in Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, and later authors); finally, and only in later Greek, with *hoútōs* ‘to such an extent’ (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 27–9).

6 Elative

Elative expressions are found in all expected types in Ancient Greek, and there is a great range of affixes and free morphemes to mark adjectives, verbs, and even nouns.

6.1 Type 5-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The parameter can either be marked by superlative morphology, or by a prefix. The most commonly used prefixes in the Archaic and Classical period are: *aga-* (e.g. *agakleés* ‘very famous’), reinforcing prefix, attested in Archaic and poetic texts (*DELG* s. v. ἀγα-: 5); *ari-* (e.g. *arizēlos* ‘very conspicuous’), augmentative particle, mostly poetic (*DELG* s. v. ἀρι-: 108); *eri-* (e.g. *erikudēs* ‘very famous’), prefix with superlative value, mostly epic (*DELG* s. v. ἐρι-: 370–1); *za-* (e.g. *zatheos* ‘very divine’), preposition, but more often used as prefix with superlative value, especially in epic and poetry (*DELG* s. v. ζά: 396); *pan-* (e.g. *panōlethros* ‘utterly ruined’), adjective that can be used as superlative prefix (*DELG* s. v. πᾶς: 859); *peri-* (e.g. *perikallēs* ‘very beautiful’), preposition and prefix expressing superiority (*DELG* s. v. περί: 886); *polu-* (e.g. *poluēratos* ‘very lovely’), adjective meaning ‘much’/‘a lot in number’ (*DELG* s. v. πολύς: 927), but in some compounds also with meaning ‘very’; *hyper-* (e.g. *hupéreu* ‘very well’), preposition/preverb ‘above’ (*DELG* s. v. ὑπερ: 1157), but occasionally as superlative prefix.

Example (53) includes an elative marked by superlative morphology, *ainótaton* ‘most terrible’, and one marked by a prefix, *perideidia* ‘I fear exceedingly’.

(53) (Homer, *Iliad* 13.52)

<i>tēi</i>	<i>dè</i>	<i>dè</i>	<i>ainótaton</i>	<i>perideidia</i>	<i>mé</i>	<i>ti</i>
here	PTCL	PTCL	terrible.SPD.ACC	fear.exceedingly.PRF.1SG	lest	INDF.ACC
			PAR.PM(2)	PAR.PM(1)		CPREE(2)

páthōmen

suffer.AOR.SBJV.1PL

‘Here I fear exceedingly lest we suffer something most terrible.’

6.2 Type 5-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The free morphemes that are used to mark the parameter of an elative expression are typically adverbs, but can also be adverbially used prepositions. They are: *mála* ‘very’ and its superlative version *málista* ‘most’; *kárta* ‘very’; *méga* ‘very much’, especially with verbs expressing strong feeling or power (*LSJ* s. v. μέγας); *pánu* ‘very’, mostly in prose (*DELG* s. v. πᾶς: 860); the preposition *péri* can be used adverbially to mean ‘very’ (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 527), and derived from it we find *perissōs* ‘exceedingly’ (*DELG* s. v. περί: 886; Schwyzer/Debrunner 1988: 500); *sphódra* ‘very much’ is particularly frequent in Attic Greek (*DELG* s. v. σφειδανός 1075); *iskhurōs* ‘very much’, mostly in prose (*LSJ* s. v. ἰσχυρός); *ágan* ‘very’, Aeolic and Doric, hence often found in Tragedy, and its Attic version *lian* often carry the connotation of excess (*DELG* s. v. ἄγα-: 5). Finally, *hékista* ‘least’ functions as the opposite of *málista*.⁷

(54) (Xenophon, *Symposium* 3.9)

<i>toũto</i>	<i>gàr</i>	<i>dè</i>	<i>hékista</i>	<i>mèn</i>	<i>epíphthonon,</i>	<i>hékista</i>	<i>dè</i>
this.NOM	for	PTCL	least	PTCL	liable.to.envy.NOM	least	PTCL
CPREE			PM		PAR		PM

perimákhēton

fought.about

PAR

‘For this [poverty] is the least liable to envy, and the least fought about.’

6.3 Type 5-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

The same parameter markers are found here as in section 5.3.

⁷ Thesleff discusses *mála*, *pánu*, *kárta*, *sphódra*, and *iskhurōs* (1954: 23–116), and, among others, *málista* and *hékista* (1955: 79–94).

(55) (Homer, *Odyssey* 9.509)

Télemos Eurumídēs, hòs mantosúnēi
 T.NOM son.of.E.NOM REL.NOM soothsaying.DAT
 CPREE PAR
ekékasto
 be.preeminent.PLUPF.3SG
 PM

‘Telemus, son of Eurymus, who was pre-eminent in soothsaying.’

6.4 Formal means of expressing elatives

The relative adverbs *hōs*, *hópōs* (poet.), *hóti*, *hēi*, *hóson* (poet.), *hoĩos* can be used to make the elative meaning of superlative adjectives explicit, resulting in an elliptic expression ‘as ... [as it is possible/one can]’, i. e. ‘exceedingly’; *hósos* and *hoĩos* can also be combined with the positive of adjectives to convey the same meaning (Kühner/Gerth 1898: 27–8).

7 Excessive

Excessive expressions have some overlap with elatives, especially in Type 6-10 and 6-11, but employ comparative instead of superlative morphology in Type 6-9.

7.1 Type 6-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The parameter is marked by a comparative morpheme, and the meaning of excessive is dependent on the combination of the context and the meaning of the comparative adjective or adverb. Often an excessive expression is followed by an infinitive, and in post-Homeric Greek by *é* (*hōs/hōste*) plus infinitive or *è katá/prós* plus a noun in the accusative (Thesleff 1954: 124–7; Kühner/Gerth 1904: 305, 315–6, 503; Schwyzler/Debrunner 1988: 478).

(56) (Plato, *Apologia Socratis* 37.d)

(*oukh hoĩoi te egénes^{te} enegkeĩn tàs emàs diatribàs kai tòus lógous.*)
all’ humĩn barúterai gegónasin kai
 but 2PL.DAT burdensome.CPD.NOM.PL become.PRF.3PL and
 PAR.PM

epiphthonōterai

odious.CPD.NOM.PL

PAR.PM

‘(You were not able to bear my discourse and my words,) but to you they have become too burdensome and too odious.’

7.2 Type 6-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

A sense of excess is already present in the adverb *ágan* and its Attic counterpart *lian*, but in the right context and with the right parameter, any of the adverbs discussed in section 6.2 could be used here.

(57) (Pindar, *Olympian* 6.19)

<i>oúte</i>	<i>dúsēris</i>	<i>eōn</i>	<i>oút’</i>	<i>ōn</i>
neither	quarrelsome.NOM	be.PTCP.PRS.NOM	nor	be.PTCP.PRS.NOM
<i>philónikos</i>	<i>ágan</i>			
ambitious.NOM	too			
PAR	PM			

‘Being neither quarrelsome nor too ambitious.’

7.3 Type 6-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

In principle any of the parameter markers discussed in sections 4.3 and 5.3 could be used here, but *huperbállō* is especially fitting since it already carries a sense of excess.

(58) (Aeschylus, *Persae* 291)

<i>huperbállei</i>	<i>gàr</i>	<i>hédē</i>	<i>sumphorá</i>
exceed.PRS.3SG	for	this.NOM	disaster.NOM
PM		CPREE	

‘For this disaster is beyond measure.’

7.4 Types not included in the questionnaire

PM is not expressed

(59) (Euripides *Andromacha* 80)

gérōn ekeĩnos hōste s' ōpheleĩn parōn
 old.NOM he.NOM so.that 2SG.ACC help.INF.PRS be.here.PTCP.PRS.NOM
 PAR CPREE
 'He is too old to help you, were he here.'

In example (59) the adjective expressing the parameter, *gérōn* 'old', is not formally marked in any way, but its meaning, the context, and the particle *hōste*, which introduces a result clause, give this statement an excessive meaning (Kühner/Gerth 1904: 503–4).

7.5 Formal means of expressing excessives

Most commonly comparative morphology and free morphemes mark the parameter of an excessive expression, but adjectives that already carry a connotation of weakness or deficiency can be used in the positive.

8 Further remarks

Adjectives already marked for comparative or superlative degree occasionally get additional marking, mostly with *-teros* or *-tatos*; *prōtistos* is used in poetry already since Homer, other formations become frequent towards the end of the Classical period, and are often exploited for comic effect (Kühner/Blass 1890: 573; Schwyzer 1939: 535). Comparative and superlative adjectives can also be formed on nouns, e. g. *basileúteros* and *basileútatos* to the noun *basileús* 'king' (Kühner/Blass 1890: 575; Schwyzer 1939: 536; Zeilfelder 2003).

Comparatives and superlatives are most often expressed with the case strategy and adjectives with the appropriate morphological marking. The particle strategy is also common with comparatives, and the verb/adjective strategy with superlatives, but other types are more isolated, though not unheard of. With equatives and similatives the verb/adjective and particle strategies seem to be employed most often, but there is a lack of scholarship on these particular types. Elatives and excessives are based on superlatives and comparatives, but also employ a host of additional bound and free morphemes that are not found in the other types.

Even though there is a certain regularity to how the different comparison and gradation types are expressed in Ancient Greek, we also find a great deal of overlap and

fluidity between the different categories. While, for instance, there is a clear distinction between the prepositions and the type of case used for comparative versus superlative constructions, adjectives with comparative morphology can be used to express comparative, equative, superlative, and excessive meaning. Due to a lack of quantitative research on comparisons across the history of Ancient Greek, any statement on their diachronic development is speculative at best, though it is worth mentioning that like many modern Romance languages, Modern Greek uses its inherited morphologically marked superlative to express relative meaning, while superlative meaning is expressed by an adjective with comparative morphology plus the definite article (Lujan 2019: 332–4).

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Leonid Kulikov

14 Old Indo-Aryan

1 Introduction

1.1 A chronological overview of Indo-Aryan languages

The history of Indo-Aryan languages¹ can be divided into three periods: Old, Middle and New Indo-Aryan. The most ancient Indo-Aryan language is Vedic (Vedic Sanskrit), which is the most archaic representative of the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) period. Chronologically, Vedic can be divided into at least two main periods: Early Vedic (also called ‘mantra language’), which is, above all, the language of the Ṛgvedic hymns addressed to the Vedic gods and the magic spells of the Atharvaveda; and Middle / Late Vedic (also called ‘the language of Vedic prose’). The Ṛgveda (RV), the core representative of the oldest layer of Vedic, is the main sacred text of the Hindus. It can approximately be dated to the second half of the second millennium BC. Within the RV, we can distinguish between the early RV (‘family books’, or maṇḍalas, which include books II–VII) and the late RV (encompassing primarily maṇḍalas I and X, as well as a part of book VIII, Vāḷakhilya); books VIII and IX are chronologically rather heterogeneous. The language of the second most ancient text, the Atharvaveda, resembles in many respects (and is essentially contemporaneous with) the language of the late RV. Early Vedic is followed by Middle and Late Vedic, the language attested in the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, oldest Upaniṣads, and Sūtras. The post-Vedic period covers younger Upaniṣads and Sūtras as well as Epic and Classical Sanskrit. The term ‘Sanskrit’ is sometimes used as a cover term encompassing the idioms of both the Vedic (= Vedic Sanskrit) and post-Vedic periods. Note also that the composition of texts in Sanskrit does not stop with the rise of the earliest Middle Indo-Aryan languages, but continues as late as the end of the Middle Indo-Aryan period and, as a matter of fact, even further (see Section 1.2 for further details). Fig. 1 illustrates this with overlapping shadings corresponding to these two chronological periods.

The absolute chronology of these periods poses serious problems (see e. g. Witzel 1995: 97f.), so that we can only obtain very rough approximations. Thus, the beginning of the Early Vedic period lies somewhere between 1500 and 1200 BC; the Middle Vedic period probably starts after 800 BC; and the post-Vedic period must have started somewhere in the second half of the first millennium BC, hardly much earlier than 300 BC.

¹ For a general overview see e. g. Kulikov 2017.

The Middle Indo-Aryan period approximately dates from the middle of the first millennium BC and lasts till the end of the first millennium AD. From 1000 AD onwards, the earliest forms of the New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages, such as Old Hindi and Old Bengali, are attested.

The general chronology of the Indo-Aryan languages as well as the main sub-divisions within the Old and Middle Indo-Aryan periods are shown in Fig. 1 below:

Period	Old Indo-Aryan			Middle Indo-Aryan			New Indo-Aryan
	P ā l i			Aśoka Prākṛits, Middle Prākṛits, Apabhraṃśā			Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Assamese, Sinhala ...
Languages	<i>S</i>	<i>a n s</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>r i t</i>			
	Early Vedic	Middle Vedic	Late Vedic	Early Post-Vedic - Epic Sanskrit - (Class. Sanskrit)			
Texts	Atharvaveda	Yajurveda, early Brāhmaṇas	late Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas	Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa			
	R̥gveda			Upaniṣads, Sūtras			
Years	-1200 -1000	-500	-300	0	500	1000	2000

Fig. 1: Chronology of Indo-Aryan languages and texts

1.2 Sociolinguistic situation in Ancient India

The sociolinguistic situation in ancient India is a particularly complex issue and requires at least some brief comments. Already by the Middle Vedic period, Sanskrit was no longer a spoken language, but co-existed as a sacred language alongside the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) vernaculars. In latter half of the Middle Indo-Aryan period, a number of languages (or, to be more precise, ‘forms of speech’) were used in India. In fact, we are dealing with a triglossia, or even polyglossia: Sanskrit was used in the Hindu religious context, in scientific treatises, and in some literary works; MIA languages (Prākṛits) were used in poetry and dramatic works, as well as in religious (Buddhist and Jainist) texts and in epigraphy. Late MIA vernaculars (Apabhraṃśā Prākṛits) also found their way into the literary tradition. Finally, the colloquial vernaculars, representing the earliest forms of the New Indo-Aryan languages, were employed in everyday life.

It is important to emphasize that in the course of these developments, Sanskrit and the Prākṛits were not replaced and ousted by later varieties (i. e. Sanskrit by Prākṛits, (early) Prākṛits by Apabhraṃśas, etc.), but moved up vertically into the position of the high/prestigious form of speech (as indicated by simple arrows in Fig. 2), to be imitated by the low varieties of speech:

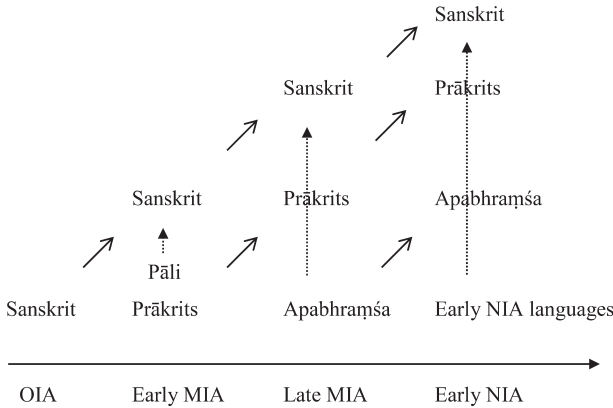


Fig. 2: Polyglossia in Ancient India (adopted from Bubenik 1998)

All these languages (or forms of speech) co-existed with each other. Most importantly, while the phonological systems and inventories of morphological forms of the OIA and MIA languages have been preserved basically intact during the centuries, we can observe numerous traces of the influence of the spoken MIA and NIA vernaculars in the syntax and semantics of the languages of higher rank. In a way, their grammatical systems, albeit morphologically stable, were open to syntactic ‘infection’ from below, as indicated by the vertical dotted arrows in Fig. 2. This is of crucial importance for understanding the syntactic developments in the late OIA and MIA texts.

Another peculiar feature of the sociolinguistic situation in Ancient India is the enormous authority of the Ancient Indian linguistic tradition (differing in many respects from the younger traditions of Europe); and particularly that of Pāṇini, the author of the famous grammatical treatise *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (lit. ‘consisting of eight chapters’), dating to the 5th or 6th c. BC. By now, it has become the *communis opinio* that the language described by Pāṇini (Pāṇini’s object language) can be roughly identified with Middle Vedic. The oldest of these Middle Vedic prose texts can probably be dated to the first half of the first millennium BC (see Fig. 1). However, this scheme is imprecise in some respects. In particular, some linguistic phenomena (forms, constructions, etc.) are prescribed by Pāṇini’s grammar, but do not occur in the Vedic corpus. The most plausible explanation for this mismatch can be found in the peculiar sociolinguistic situation in Ancient India, briefly outlined above (for a detailed discussion of this issue, see Kulikov 2013). Specifically, a number of linguistic phenomena described by the grammarians did not appear in Vedic texts but existed within the semi-colloquial scholarly discourse of the learned community of Sanskrit scholars (comparable to Latin scholarly discourse in medieval Europe). Some of these phenomena may result from the influence of Middle Indic dialects spoken by Ancient Indian scholars, thus representing syntactic and morphological calques from their native dialects into the Sanskrit grammatical system.

Furthermore, we even have reasons to believe that the rise and rapid development of the Pāṇinian prescriptive grammatical tradition was due, first and foremost, to the fact that Vedic had ceased to be a living language, and the necessity of its codification was clearly formulated by the contemporary scholarly community. This task was particularly pressing in view of increasing variation within the (semi-colloquial) idiom essentially based on Middle Vedic Sanskrit, but heavily influenced by Middle Indic dialects, that was used by Ancient Indian paṇḍitas in their scientific and, to some extent, informal discourse.

1.3 Archaisms and innovations in Old Indo-Aryan

Next to remarkable archaisms (such as the preservation of the Proto-Indo-European system of inflectional and derivational categories, including the original system of eight cases and other features of Proto-Indo-European morphosyntax), Sanskrit also attests a number of innovations. These include both purely linguistic phenomena such as nominal compounding, which reaches amazing productivity by the end of the OIA period, and certain figures of speech. This, as well as some other developments, point to the constantly rising tendency to extensively use grammar for stylistic purposes, which altogether results in a variety of artificial formations which do not make part of the grammar of the living language (OIA or early MIA) but represent some hybrid formations or constructions employed as figures of style.

Examples of such artificial formations are comparatives and superlatives derived from personal verbal forms, specifically the third singular present (Whitney 1889: 176, Speijer 1886: 189, Renou 1960: 157). (1) and (2) are examples of comparatives, (3) and (4) illustrate superlatives (see Pāṇini 5.3.56):

- (1) *sīdate-tarām*
sit.PRS.3SG.MID-CPD
'[S/he] is more despondent.'
- (2) *vyathayati-tarām*
disturb.CAUS.PRS.3SG-CPD
'[S/he] disturbs more.'
- (3) *pacati-tamām*
cook.PRS.3SG-SPD
'[S/he] cooks exceedingly well, cooks best of all.'
- (4) *jalpati-tamām*
chatter.PRS.3SG-SPD
'[S/he] chatters very much, chatters more than all.'

Such formations do *not* belong to the system of any living language and do not indicate extremes of polysynthesis in Old Indo-Aryan (more specifically, in late Sanskrit). Rather, they are probably owed to the more analytic character of the contemporaneous Middle Indic vernaculars (Prākritis) with numerous complex verbal constructions, which gave rise to artificial hybrid hypersynthetic forms.

2 Similative and equative

It is quite difficult (in many cases virtually impossible) to distinguish between the similative and the equative: many markers which can be used for one of these subtypes are at least possible with the other type, and vice versa; and for several occurrences it is next to impossible to determine whether they belong to the similative or equative type. Accordingly, in what follows, both types are treated together.

2.1 Type 1-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

2.1.1 Type 1-2-1: flag is case

In (5), the PM is an adverbial particle (preverb):

- (5) Early Vedic
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>te ...</i> | <i>sáho</i> | <i>dyám</i> | <i>ánu</i> | <i>śávasā</i> | <i>barháṇā</i> |
| 2SG.GEN | might.NOM | heaven.ACC | after | majesty.INS | power.INS |
| | CPREE | STAND.STM | PM | PAR | PAR |
- bhuvat*
become.AOR.INJ.3SG
‘Your might ... was/became equal to heaven in majesty and power.’ (RV 1.52.11; Zeilfelder 2001: 128)

It should be noted that primary adverbial particles (preverbs), such as *ánu*, may be part of a complex verb (in this case, *ánu + bhav^v*) despite the tmesis. In this case, (5) is an instance of type 1-3. The accusative of the standard *dyám* is likely to be triggered by the preverb *ánu* (see, for instance, Kulikov 2012: 724–726).

2.2 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (adjective etc.)

2.2.1 Type 1-3-1: flag is case

One of the most important types found for the equative is type 3, with the standard marker (STM) appearing as a flag and the parameter marker as a predicate word, normally an adjective. The oldest attested equative adjective is *samá-* (RV+), which requires the instrumental case of the standard, as in the following example:

(6) Early Vedic

<i>páro</i>	<i>hí</i>	<i>mártyair</i>	<i>ási</i>	<i>samó</i>
superior.NOM.SG.M	because	mortal.INS.PL	be.PRS.2SG	equal.NOM.SG.M
(PM		STAND)		PM
<i>deváir</i>	<i>utá</i>	<i>śriyá</i>		
god.INS.PL	also	brilliance.INS		
STAND.STM	PAR			

‘Because you [= Pūṣan] are superior to the mortals and equal to the gods in brilliance.’ (RV 6.48.19ab)

By contrast, the adjective *tulya-*, also meaning ‘equal’, which does not appear before the end of the Vedic period (Sūtras, KaṭhU), can be constructed either with the instrumental or with the genitive of the standard:

(7) early post-Vedic Sanskrit

<i>na= anyo</i>	<i>varas</i>	<i>tulya</i>	<i>etasya</i>	<i>kaścit</i>
not other.NOM.SG.M	wish.NOM	equal.NOM.SG.M	this.GEN.SG	anything.NOM
	CPREE	PM	STAND.STM	

‘...there is no other wish that is equal to this.’ (KaṭhU 1.22) (Olivelle 1998: 378–379)

(8) Epic Sanskrit

<i>harayo [...]</i>	<i>tulyās</i>	<i>ca=ebhir</i>	<i>vayasā</i>	<i>vikrameṇa</i>
steed.NOM.PL	equal.NOM.PL.M	and=this.INS.PL	power.INS	courage.INS
CPREE	PM	STAND.STM	PAR	PAR

‘steeds ... equal to them in power and courage’ (MBh. 5.55.15–16; Meenakshi 1983: 64)

(9) Epic Sanskrit

<i>na rūpeṇa</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>dākṣiṇyena</i>	<i>maithilī</i>	<i>mayā=</i>	<i>adhikā</i>
not beauty.INS	not	skill.INS	M.NOM	1SG.INS=	superior.NOM.SG.F
PAR		PAR	CPREE	STAND.STM	

- (13) Early Vedic

yáthā jaghántha dhṛṣatá purá cid evá
 like smite.PRF.ACT.2SG boldly before PTCL so
 STM —————STAND————— PM
jahi śátrum asmákam indra
 smite.PRS.IMP.ACT.2SG enemy.ACC our Indra.VOC
 —————CPREE—————

‘Just as you smote boldly before, so smite our enemy, o Indra.’ (RV 2.30.4cd; after Jamison & Brereton 2014: I, 445) (see Hettrich 1988: 263)

- (14) Early Vedic

yáthā yugám varatráyā náhyanti dharúnāya kám evá
 like yoke.ACC strap.INS tie.PRS.ACT.3PL basis.DAT PTCL so
 STM —————STAND————— PM
dādhāra te máno
 hold.PRF.ACT.3SG your mind.ACC
 —————CPREE—————

‘Just as they tie a yoke with a strap for firmness, even so he holds fast your mind.’ (RV 10.60.8abc; after Jamison & Brereton 2014: III, 1472) (see Jamison 1982: 254; Hettrich 1988: 264)

- (15) Class. Sanskrit

yathā dhenu-sahasreṣu vatso vindati mātaram
 like cow-thousand.LOC.PL calf.NOM find.PRS.3SG mother.ACC
 STM —————STAND—————
tathā pūrva-kṛtaṃ karma kartāram anu-gacchati
 so formerly-do.PTCP.RES.NOM action.NOM actor.ACC after-go.PRS.3SG
 PM —————CPREE—————

‘Like a calf finds its mother among thousands of cows, so an action (deed) done formerly accompanies its actor (= the one who has done it).’ (MBh. 13.7.22)

This type is not very frequent in Vedic; see Bergaigne 1887: 76, with fn. 1; Jamison 1982: 253. For a detailed discussion of the comparative subordinate clauses with the conjunction *yáthā* in Vedic, see Hettrich 1988: 261–271 (where such sentences are categorized as *adverbiale Modalsätze*, i. e. adverbial modal clauses).

2.4 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is (usually) not expressed

The STM is a particle, either *iva* (16) or *ná* (17).

(16) Early Vedic

<i>sá</i>	<i>naḥ</i>	<i>pitā=</i>	<i>iva</i>	<i>sūnávé</i>	<i>’gne</i>
this.NOM	1PL.DAT	father.NOM	like	son.DAT	Agni.VOC
CPREE		STAND	STM	STAND	

<i>sūpāyanó</i>	<i>bhava</i>
good.approach.NOM	become.PRS.IMP.2SG
PAR	

‘Like a father for a son, be/become of easy approach for us, o Agni!’ (RV 1.1.9ab)

(17) Early Vedic

<i>śúciṣ</i>	<i>tvám</i>	<i>asi</i>	<i>priyó</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>mitráḥ</i>
shining.pure.NOM.SG	2SG.NOM	be.PRS.2SG	dear.NOM.SG	like	Mitra.NOM
PAR	CPREE			STM	STAND

‘You are shining pure, like dear Mitra.’ (RV 1.91.3)

Rarely, the parameter can also be expressed by a noun, and adverbial (instrumental) case-marking (see e. g. Andersen 1983: 134) can be considered the parameter marker:

(18) Early Vedic

<i>dyáur</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>prathiná</i>	<i>śávaḥ</i>
heaven.NOM	like	width.INS	power.NOM
STAND	STM	PAR.PM	CPREE

‘Like the heaven [extends] in width, [so extends his] power.’ (RV 1.8.5)

On the syntax of these comparative constructions see, in particular, Bergaigne 1887, Gonda 1949, Jamison 1982, Andersen 1983, Pinault 1985. The choice of the particle (*iva* or *ná*) in early Vedic is determined by the phonological context: *iva* is most often used after vowels, while *ná* mainly occurs after consonants, cf. *rājā (i)va* ‘like a king’ vs. *áśvo ná* (← *áśvas ná* by sandhi rules) ‘like a horse’; though, for instance, *áśva iva* is not impossible either. Compare the ratio of the occurrences of *iva* and *ná* after the very frequent ending *-as* (nominative singular and plural, genitive singular) in the RV: *ná* : 606× ~ *iva* : 54×; after final *-a* (nominative-accusative singular of the nominal stems in *-(m)an-*) in the RV: *ná* : 2× ~ *iva* : 24×. For details, see Pinault 1985: 109.

Already in the second most ancient Vedic text, the Atharvaveda, the comparative particle *ná* occurs much more rarely (only 34 attestations, of which 14 are quotations from the RV, as against 433 occurrences in the RV). It disappears in Middle Vedic (the language of Vedic prose).

Historically, the comparative particle *ná* eventually goes back to the original negator *ná*. Comparative *ná* and the negator are generally in complementary distribution as far as their position is concerned: negative in preposition vs. comparative in postposition, after the standard of the comparison, although preposing comparative *ná* is not totally unknown (with ca. 50 examples in the RV); see Oldenberg 1907: 815–825, Pinault 1985: 113. The development of a comparative semantics is based on a cross-linguistically common semantic shift of the type ‘[This may appear like X, but] this is not X. This is Y’ → ‘Similar to/Like X is Y’, which has parallels in other Indo-European languages, in particular, in Slavic poetry. For this scenario, see Vine 1978 and Pinault 1985, ultimately referring to Ludwig’s (1888: 113) explanation. Particularly instructive are examples of the type exemplified by (19):

(19) Early Vedic

<i>hárīm</i>	<i>mṛjanti</i>	<i>aruṣó</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>yujyate</i>
fallow.ACC	groom.PRS.3PL	chestnut.NOM	like	yoke.PRS.PASS.3SG
		STAND	STM	
<i>sám</i>	<i>dhenúbhiḥ</i>	<i>kaláše</i>	<i>sómo</i>	<i>ajyate</i>
together	milk-cows.INS	vessel.LOC	Soma.NOM	anoint.PRS.PASS.3SG
			CPREE	PAR

‘They anoint the fallow one; like a chestnut he is being yoked. Soma is being anointed with milk-cows in a vessel.’ (← ‘it is not chestnut who is being yoked: Soma is being anointed’) (RV 9.72.1ab) (see, for instance, Pinault 1985: 134–135)

2.5 Types not included in the questionnaire

One type not included in the questionnaire has standard as the second member of a nominal compound. Standard marker and parameter marker (PM) are not expressed. A handbook example of this subtype of tatpuruṣa compounds, mentioned by all standard grammars, is *puruṣa-vyāghrá-* ‘man like a tiger’; see Wackernagel/Debrunner 1957 [AiG II/1]: 251 f. This interesting type of comparative expression, built on the model A+B ‘A (like) B’, can actually be considered the nominalization of a comparative copular clause (‘A which is like B’). However, an alternative, non-comparative analysis of such formations was advocated by some Sanskritists (Bopp, Böhtlingk/Roth, Speijer), who took them as partitive compounds (‘B among As’, e. g. ‘a tiger among men’)

This type is rare in Vedic, but becomes quite common in Classical Sanskrit. Examples include:

- *puruṣa-vyāghrá-* ‘man like a tiger’ (VS)
- *mukha-candra-* ‘a moon-like mouth’
- *vastra-cīra-* ‘cloth like a (piece) of tree bark’

In other cases, the standard is the first member of a nominal compound. This type is common for bahuvrīhi compounds. The second member is often an action noun, expressed by a root noun, a deverbal substantive in *-as-*, etc. The interpretation is A+B ‘having B (like) A’, as e. g. in the case of *agnībhrājas-* ‘flashing like fire’ (RV 5.54.11). Although virtually all of them can alternatively be rendered as regular bahuvrīhi compounds (‘having B (like) A’, e. g. ‘having the flash of fire’), a comparative analysis is perfectly possible at least for some of these bahuvrīhis and is corroborated by the existence of parallel comparative constructions, as in (20):

(20) Early Vedic

<i>vī</i>	<i>raśmāyo</i>	<i>jānāñ</i>	<i>ānu</i>	<i>bhrājanto</i>
apart	ray.NOM.PL	people.ACC.PL	along	shine.PTCP.PRS.ACT.NOM.PL
	CPREE			PAR

agnāyo *yathā*

fire.NOM.PL like

STAND STM

‘...his (= Sūrya’s) rays (extend) widely throughout the peoples, flashing like fires.’ (RV 1.50.3bc; Jamison & Brereton 2014: I, 163) (see Pinault 1985: 138)

Examples of this type include:

- *agnī-bhrājas-* ‘flashing like fire’ (RV 5.54.11)
- *vāta-jūta-* ‘swift like wind’ (RV, *passim*)
- *vī-patman-* ‘flying like a bird’ (RV 1.180.2)
- *ghṛta-pū-* ‘clean like ghee (clarified butter)’ (RV 9.17.10)

On this type, see Wackernagel/Debrunner 1957 [AiG II/1]: 277; Pinault 1985: 138–141.

2.6 Remarks on morphosyntax and etymology

2.6.1 Particle (*i*)*va*

The most frequent and productive comparative particle (*i*)*va* ‘like’ is a clitic, well-attested throughout the entire history of OIA, starting with Early Vedic. Etymologically, it is considered as a reflex of the combination of two Indo-European particles, PIE **h₂i-* ‘if; as’ (?) (Dunkel 2014 [LIPP]: II, 346–348) + **ya* ‘like, as’ (Dunkel 2014 [LIPP]: II, 763, 766, with fn. 19, 21).

In the earliest language (RV, AV) (*i*)*va* is very often monosyllabic, lacking the first syllable (*i-*), even in some phonological contexts which do not require the elision of the vowel by sandhi rules. Accordingly, there are reasons to believe that in some cases where vocalic sandhi is applied to the sequence *-V i-*, for instance in example (16), we should read *pitā-va* rather than *pitéva*, even against the standard sandhi rule *-ā + i- →*

-e-. The archaic language of the RV and AV thus may possibly preserve some traces of the simple, non-compounded particle **ȳa* ‘like, as’.

2.6.2 Particle *ná*

The use of the comparative particle *ná* is limited to Early Vedic. From the Middle Vedic period onwards, *ná* is only used as a negative particle. Etymologically, both must be of the same origin, going back to PIE **ne* ‘not’ (see Section 2.4), cf. Dunkel 2014 [LIPP]: II, 546 f. (“Der Ausgangspunkt liegt in implizierten Negativvergleichen”). This is a well-known and cross-linguistically common semantic development which does not require any additional comments.

2.6.3 Adjective *anyá-* ‘(an)other’

anyá- ‘(an)other, different (from)’, well-attested from the RV onwards, is probably based on PIE **alio-* ‘other’, modified under the influence of (Common IIr.) *antara-* ‘(the) other’.

2.6.4 Adjective *tulya-* ‘equal’

The much younger adjective *tulya-* ‘equal’, which only appears from the end of the Vedic period (Śrauta-Sūtras, Upaniṣads) onwards, is a *-ya-* derivative of *tulá-* ‘balance, weight’, which must go back to the PIE verbal root **telh₂-* ‘lift, carry’ (see LIV 622).

3 Comparative

3.1 Type 3-1: Standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

3.1.1 Type 3-1-1: flag is case

There are two bound parameter markers in OIA which derive comparative adjectives, *-(i)ya(m)s-* and *-tara-*. Constructions with the standard of comparison in the ablative represent the most frequent type from Early Vedic onwards (see e. g. Andersen 1983: 119 *et passim*). Examples are:

(21) Early Vedic

<i>utá tvā</i>	<i>strī</i>	<i>śáśiyasī</i>	<i>pum̐só</i>
and such.NOM.SG.F	woman.NOM.SG	often.CPD.NOM.SG.F	man.ABL
	CPREE		STAND.STM
<i>bhavati</i>	<i>vásyasī</i>		
become.PRS.3SG	good.CPD.NOM.SG.F		
	PAR.PM		

‘And such woman (more) often becomes better than a man.’ (RV 5.61.6ab)

(22) Early Vedic

<i>nákiṣ</i>	<i>tvád</i>	<i>rathítaro</i>
no.one.NOM	2SG.ABL	charioteer.CPD.NOM
CPREE	STAND.STM	PAR.PM

‘No one is a better charioteer than you.’ (RV 1.84.6a)

Notice that the parameter is ‘[good] charioteer’, expressed by a substantive.

A *figura etymologica* construed with a comparative adjective may give rise to superlative meaning, as in (23):

(23) Early Vedic

<i>ugrám</i>	<i>ugrása</i>	<i>tavásas</i>	<i>távīyaḥ</i>
strong.NOM.SG.N	strong.GEN	might.ABL	mighty.CPD.NOM.SG.N
CPREE		STAND.STM	PAR.PM

‘Strong [power] (is) to the strong, more mighty than the might.’ (RV 6.18.4c)

Likewise, negative existential sentences (e. g. using *na vidyate* ‘there is no...’) with a comparative adjective render a superlative meaning, as in (24):

(24) Epic Sanskrit

<i>dharmyād</i>	<i>dhi</i>	<i>yuddhāc</i>	<i>chreyo</i>	<i>’nyat</i>
legitimate.ABL	because	fight.ABL	better.NOM.SG.N	other.NOM.SG.N
		STAND.STM	PAR.PM	CPREE

kṣatriyasya na vidyate
 kṣatriya.GEN not exist.PRS.3SG

‘...because there is nothing better than legitimate fight for a kṣatriya.’ (MBh. 6.24.31cd = BhG 2.31cd)

The ablative constructions instantiate the most productive syntactic type of comparative constructions in OIA. Given the archaic character of OIA case syntax (as well as, in particular, similar constructions with the genitive of the standard of comparison in Slavic, where the genitive results from the syncretism of the PIE ablative and genitive), there are good reasons to believe that constructions with the ablative of the standard

of comparison are directly traceable to Proto-Indo-European, and best-preserved in the Indo-Iranian branch.

Rarer and younger are constructions with the instrumental case instead of the ablative. They are uncommon in Middle Vedic, but become more frequent from Epic Sanskrit onwards. Thus:

(25) Middle Vedic

<i>viśá</i>	<i>vái</i>	<i>kṣatriyó</i>	<i>báliyān</i>	<i>bhavati</i>
tribe.INS	verily	kṣatriya.NOM	strong.CPD.NOM.SG.M	become.PRS.3SG
STAND.STM		CPREE	PAR.PM	

‘Verily the kṣatriya becomes stronger than a tribe.’ (ŚBK 5.3.4.4.8) (Meenakshi 1983: 10; Oertel 1994: 493/852 apud Oberlies 2003: 323, fn. 1)

(26) Epic Sanskrit

<i>asti</i>	<i>nūnaṃ</i>	<i>mayā</i>	<i>kaścid</i>	<i>alpa-bhāgyataro</i>	<i>naraḥ</i>
be.PRS.3SG	now	1SG.INS.PL	some.NOM	little-fortunate.CPD.NOM	man.NOM
		STAND.STM		PAR.PM	CPREE

‘Now some man is more unfortunate than me.’ (MBh. 3.257.10) (Oberlies 2003: 323)

Constructions with no overtly expressed standard of comparison are of course not uncommon. One such variety, using both an adjective with the comparative suffix *-tara-* and the same adjective with the negative prefix *a(n)-*, is analyzed by Wackernagel/Debrunner (1954 [AiG II/2]: 598) as instances of a contrastive non-comparative use of this morpheme *-tara-*, as in (27):

(27) Early Vedic

<i>á-vidvāṃso</i>	<i>vidúṣ-ṭaraṃ</i>
not-know.PTCP.PRF.ACT.NOM.PL.M	know.PTCP.PRF.ACT-CPD.ACC.SG.M
<i>sapema</i>	
honour.PRS.OPT.1PL	

‘May we, the ignorant ones, honour the knowing one.’ (RV 6.15.10b)

From a formal point of view, there is no full comparative construction here. However, the presence of a negative counterpart may be a reason to analyse this type as resulting from the development of a comparative construction, where the standard of comparison is, naturally, expressed by the corresponding negative adjective: obviously a knowing person is far more knowing (*vidúṣṭara-*) than an ignorant one (*á-vidvāṃso-*). This may license the use of comparative morphology.

The comparative degree marker (PM) can also be expressed by the superlative morpheme (see e. g. Speijer 1886: 188), as in (28):

(28) Epic Sanskrit

sarvaiḥ putraiḥ priyatamā draupadī me janārdana
 all.INS.PL sons.INS dear.SPD.NOM.SG.F D.NOM 1SG.DAT J.VOC
 ──STAND.STM── PAR-PM CPREE

‘Draupadī is dearer (lit. dearest) to me than all my sons, o Janārdana.’ (MBh. 5.88.42) (Meenakshi 1983: 66)

3.2 Type 3-3: Standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

3.2.1 Type 3-3-1: flag is case

The parameter marker is, typically, a preverb. The case is determined by this preverb, and therefore is, most commonly, the accusative.

(29) Early Vedic

na māyābhir dhana-dām pary-abhūvan
 NEG trickery.INS wealth-giving.ACC around-become.AOR.ACT.3PL
 PAR STAND.STM PM-[CPREE]

‘They have not surpassed the wealth-giving [= Indra] in trickery.’ (RV 1.33.10)

(30) Epic Sanskrit

aśvamedha-sahasrād dhi satyam eva viśiṣyate
 horse-sacrifice-thousand.ABL because truth.NOM verily surpasss.PRS.3SG
 STAND.STM CPREE PM

‘... because truth surpasses (i. e. is better than) a thousand horse-sacrifices.’ (MBh. 13.74.29)

Not infrequently, the parameter marker is an adjective such as *adhika-* ‘superior’ (31–32) or an adverb (33), typically of adjectival origin:

(31) Epic Sanskrit

na rūpeṇa na dākṣiṇyena maithilī mayā= adhikā
 not beauty.INS not skill.INS M.NOM 1SG.INS superior.NOM.SG.F
 PAR PAR CPREE STAND.STM PM

vā tulyā vā
 or equal.NOM.SG.F or

‘Maithili is neither superior nor equal to me ... in beauty or in skill’ (R. 6.99.16; Meenakshi 1983: 65)

(32) Classical Sanskrit

kiṃ bhūtam adhikaṃ tataḥ
 what being.NOM superior.NOM.SG.N that.ABL [case-like adv. suffix]
 CPREE PAR.PM STAND.STM
 ‘What being is superior to that?’ (ManuSmṛ. 1.95d)

(33) Early Vedic

īndra stómam imám máma kṛṣvái
 Indra.VOC praise.ACC this.ACC.SG.M 1SG.GEN make.AOR.IMP.MID.2SG
 CPREE
yujás cid ántaram
 companion.ABL even closer
 STAND.STM PAR.PM
 ‘O Indra, make this praise of mine closer than even a companion.’ (RV 1.10.9cd)

The comparative of inferiority/minority is a relatively rare type of gradation construction in OIA, with the adjective *ūna-* ‘deficient, defective, less(er) [than normal]’ used as parameter marker. It is not attested before Classical Sanskrit.

(34) Classical Sanskrit

sīmantinīnām kānta=udantaḥ suhṛd-upanataḥ saṃgamāt
 women.GEN beloved-news.NOM friend-brought.NOM encounter.ABL.SG
 CPREE STAND.STM

kiṃ cid ūnaḥ
 something lesser.NOM.SG.M
 (PAR-)PM

‘For women, the news about a lover brought by a friend are (just) a bit less than an encounter [with him].’ (Kalid. Megh. 97)

(35) Classical Sanskrit

lakṣād ūnam
 Lakṣa.ABL less.ACC
 ‘less than a Lakṣa (= 100.000)’ (Kathās. 9.3.10)

3.2.2 Type 3-3-2: flag is adposition

This minor type must be of secondary character, probably a modification of the productive type 1, with the postposition added to the ablative case, as in (36):

(36) Early Vedic

<i>yás</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>sákhībhya</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>váram</i>
REL.NOM	2SG.GEN	friend.ABL.PL	towards	wish
CPREE		STAND.STM-	-STM	PAR

‘...who is better than your friends’ (RV 1.4.4)

(37) Early Vedic

<i>ayám</i>	<i>saptábhya</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>váram</i>
this.NOM	seven.ABL.PL	towards	wish
CPREE	STAND.STM-	-STM	PAR

‘This [Soma], better than seven [other sorts of sacrifice (?)]²...’ (RV 10.25.11c)

Jamison and Brereton (2014) consistently render the collocation *á váram* as ‘according to wish’³ or ‘choice’⁴ for all of its attestations. However, as Andersen (1983: 155) has demonstrated, a comparative interpretation ‘better than, preferable to’ is more likely for at least four occurrences in the RV (RV 1.4.4; 2.5.5; 9.45.2; 10.25.11), with the postposition *á* governing the ablative of the comparee.

3.3 Type 3-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

3.3.1 Type 3-4-1: flag is case (instrumental)

This type is also of clearly peripheral nature.

(38) Epic Sanskrit

<i>balavanto</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>balibhiḥ</i>	<i>ḍṣyante</i>
strong.NOM.PL	for	strong.INS.PL	see.PRS.PASS.3PL
PAR		STAND.STM	[CPREE]

‘... for [there are] [men that] appear strong[er] than strong [men].’ (MBh. 5.95.9; Oberlies 2003: 323)

² Thus Renou, EVP IX: 72 (“Ce (*soma*), préférablement à sept (autres types de sacrifice)...”) and Elizarenkova (1999: 144, 433) (“Он – лучше, чем семь (других видов жертвы)...”).

³ E. g. ‘He, according to his wish, [will advance the blind and the halt] for the seven’ (Jamison and Brereton 2014: III, 1411 for RV 10.25.11).

⁴ ‘...who is your choice from among your comrades’ (Jamison and Brereton 2014: I, 93 for RV 1.4.4).

3.4 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The particle used in the following example is the common complementizer *yád*, originally a relative pronoun in the nominative-accusative singular neuter form:

(39) Middle Vedic

<i>ūrdhvāḥ</i>	<i>puruṣasya</i>	<i>bhūyāṃsaḥ</i>	<i>prāṇā</i>
upper.NOM.PL	man.GEN	numerous.CPD.NOM.PL	organ.NOM
CPREE		PAR.PM	CPREE

<i>yac</i>	<i>ca=</i>	<i>avāñco</i>
than	and-	lower.NOM.PL
STM		STAND

‘The upper organs of the human body are more numerous than the lower ones.’
(AB 3.29.6; Delbrück 1888: 196)

3.5 Type 3-6: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

This type presupposes the existence of the full construction with the standard.

(40) Early Vedic

<i>ayám</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>hásto</i>	<i>bhágavān</i>	<i>ayám</i>	<i>me</i>
this.NOM	my	hand.NOM	felicitous.NOM	this.NOM	my
STAND				CPREE	

<i>bhágavattaraḥ</i>
felicitous.SPD.NOM
PAR.PM

‘Felicitous is this mine hand, yet more felicitous is this of mine.’ (RV 10.60.12; Zeilfelder 2001: 183)

3.6 Types not included in the questionnaire

The comparative of inferiority in the following example belongs to a relatively rare type of gradation construction in OIA, with the standard as first member of a compound (see also Section 2.5). This type is not attested before Classical Sanskrit.

(41) Classical Sanskrit

<i>tato</i>	<i>'pare</i>	<i>jyeṣṭha-vṛṣās</i>	<i>tad-ūnānāṃ</i>	<i>svamātytaḥ</i>
then	next.NOM.PL	best-bulls.NOM	that-less.GEN.PL	own.mother.ABL
CPREE			STAND-[PAR].PM	

'...then the next best bulls [belong] to [the sons who are] inferior to that one (= the son of the first wife), depending on the status of their mothers.' (ManuSmṛ. 9.123c)

3.7 Remarks on morphosyntax and etymology

3.7.1 Adjectival comparative suffixes *-(ī)ya(ṃ)s-* and *-tara-*

There are two bound morphemes marking the comparative degree. Both are very solidly attested. The more archaic (and somewhat less productive) suffix *-(ī)ya(ṃ)s-* (i. e. *-(ī)yāṃs-* / *-(ī)yas-*) has two alternating stems: the strong stem in *-(ī)yāṃs-* (occurring in “strong” forms: nominative and accusative singular, nominative-accusative-vocative dual, and nominative-vocative plural) and the weak stem in *-(ī)yas-* (occurring in the other case forms); see esp. Wackernagel/Debrunner 1954 [AiG II/2]: 443–461. Both *-(ī)ya(ṃ)s-* and its superlative pendant *-iṣṭha-* (for which see below, Sections 4.1.1 and 4.4.1) are Caland suffixes. They are thus taken foremost by Caland adjectives, being added directly to the root (in the full grade), not to the stem; e. g. Ved. *pr̥th-ū-* ‘broad’ – *prāthiyas-* ‘broader’ – *prāthiṣṭha-* ‘broadest’, Ved. *tigmā-* ‘sharp’ – *téjīyas-* ‘sharper’ – *téjiṣṭha-* ‘sharpest’.⁵

The Proto-Indo-European etymon of the suffix is **-ios-*, originally probably an intensive morpheme meaning ‘very, rather’ or the like (Sihler 1995: 356 ff.). The nasal (*ṃ*) was probably introduced by analogy with the adjectival suffix *-vant-* ‘provided with’ and perfect participial (active) suffix *-vaṃs-*.

Another suffix, more productive (particularly in post-Vedic) and less archaic, is *-tara-* (see Wackernagel/Debrunner 1954 [AiG II/2]: 596–610; for its superlative counterpart *-tama-*; see below, under 4.1.1 and 4.4.1), going back to PIE **-tero-* (probably based on a still older comparative suffix **(e)ro-*, on which see below; see e. g. Szeмерényi 1996: 197). The original meaning of the suffix **-tero-*, still observable in Vedic and some other Indo-European languages, was contrastive rather than comparative proper, i. e. ‘one of a pair’ or the like; cf. Ved. *ka-tará-* (< PIE **k^o-teros*) ‘who/which of two’ (as opposed to Ved. *ka-tamá-* ‘who/which of many’) as well as formations in *-tara-* listed under (i) below. On both suffixes see, in particular, Whitney 1889: 173–176 and Renou 1960: 237–240.

⁵ For a discussion of Caland system and the status of the comparative and superlative suffixes therein, see primarily Rau 2009, Rau 2014, and, most recently, Bozzone 2016.

A remarkable morphosyntactic feature shared by both suffixes is their unusually broad combinability. They can be added not only to adjectival stems properly speaking (e. g. *vāsu-* ‘good’: *vās-yas-* ‘better’, *tavās-tara-* ‘stronger’), but also to:

(i) substantival stems (see e. g. Whitney 1889: 176, Speijer 1886: 188–189, with fn. 3), in particular to root nouns, cf. *śrī-* ‘light, splendour, glory, beauty’: *śré-yas-* ‘more splendid’; *rathī-tara-* ‘better charioteer’, *vīrā-tara-* ‘more heroic’; sometimes with lexicalization, preserving probably the older (original) contrastive meaning of *-tara-*, as e. g. in *aśva-tara-* ‘mule’ (← *áśva-* ‘horse’, thus probably ‘other than horse’ or the like)⁶ or *vatsa-tará-* (ŚB) ‘calf, rather than a young bull or heifer (of grown animals which have not yet copulated)’ (← *vatsá-* ‘calf’);

(ii) participial stems, cf. the part.perf.act. *vid-vāms-* ‘knowing’: *vidúṣ-ṭara-* ‘more knowing’ (see ex.27);

(iii) verbal roots, cf. *vyā-* ‘deprive of property, treat with violence’: *vyā-yas-* ‘superior, more excellent, greater, larger’; *bhū-* ‘become’: *bhū-yas-* ‘more numerous, more abundant, greater, larger, mightier’

(iv) pronominal stems, cf. *ka-tará-* ‘which of two’;

(v) adverbs and preverbs, cf. *ūt-tara-* ‘upper’; *pra-tara-* (in adv. *pra-tarām* ‘furthermore’), *vi-tarām* ‘wider, very widely’ (cf. examples 51–52); see, in particular, Speijer 1886: 189, Renou 1960: 156–157, as well as Szemerényi 1996: 197 and Dunkel 2014 [LIPP]: I, 158 on Indo-European parallels. Note also *ántaram* ‘closer’ based on the spatial prefix/adposition ‘in’ and traceable to PIE **h₁en-* ‘in’ + *tero-*.

Another bound morpheme that can be extracted from a few comparative forms is the relic suffix *-ra-* (< PIE **-ero-*) found in a few words with comparative degree semantics, such as adverbial particles: *ádha-ra-* ‘lower’, *ápa-ra-* ‘posterior’, *úpa-ra-* ‘lower, nearer, later’;⁷ see e. g. Renou 1960: 240.

3.7.2 Some free forms: adjectives and adverbs

The adjective *adhika-* ‘superior’ (in Epic and Classical Sanskrit) is based on the preverb *ádhi-* ‘on, over’ (< PIE **h₂d^hi-* ‘under, downwards’; see Dunkel 2014 [LIPP]: I, 123) with the nominal suffix *-ka-* (often used to form diminutives). The adverb *vāraṃ* ‘in accordance with the wish, better’ (cf. *vāra-* ‘choice; valuable, best, desirable’) results from lexicalization of an adjectival form (*accusativus adverbialis*). The adjective *ūna-* ‘deficient, defective, less(er) [than normal]’ < PIE **uh₂-no-* is originally the verbal adjective (traditionally called “ptc.perf.pass.”) of *²vā* ‘extinguish’.

⁶ See esp. Szemerényi (1996: 199) on a ‘differentiating value’ or ‘separative function’ of *-tara-*. Fay’s (1910: 405) explanation of this formation as resulting from a contamination of **aśvā-starī-* ‘equa sterilis’ and “a secondary **aśva[s]starā-s* ‘mulus’” (?) is untenable.

⁷ But cf. Dunkel 2014 [LIPP]: II, 835–837: **uper-* loc. adverb ‘above, over’ → **uper-o-* ‘upper’ (?).

4 Superlative

4.1 Type 4-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

4.1.1 Type 4-1-1: flag is case

In accordance with the cross-linguistically common model ‘better than any [other representative of the same class]’ → ‘best’, comparative degree forms can be used to express the superlative meaning (see, e.g., Renou 1960: 239), cf. (42–43):

(42) Early Vedic

<i>ná</i>	<i>vá</i>	<i>óṃyo</i>	<i>tvád</i>	<i>asti</i>	<i>rudra</i>
not	PTCL	mighty.CPD.NOM	2SG.ABL	be.PRS.3SG	Rudra.VOC
	PAR.PM		STAND.STM	[CPREE]	

‘There is not [one] mightier than you, Rudra.’ (RV 2.33.10; Zeilfelder 2001: 156)

(43) Epic Sanskrit

<i>sa</i>	<i>bibhatsuḥ</i>	<i>śreyān</i>	<i>anyair</i>	<i>dhanurdharaiḥ</i>
that	B.NOM	splendid.CPD.NOM	other.INS.PL	bowman.INS.PL
	CPREE	PAR.PM		STAND.STM

‘That Bibhatsu is better than other bowmen.’ (MBh. 5.137.6; Oberlies 2003: 323)

Alongside comparative degree forms that can be used to express the superlative meaning, there are two bound parameter markers in Old Indo-Aryan which derive superlative adjectives, *-iṣṭha-* and *-tama-*, both productive and well-attested from Early Vedic onwards. As outlined in the introduction to this volume, the base of the comparison given in the genitive is *stricto sensu* the scope rather than a standard.

(44) Classical Sanskrit

<i>bhūtānām</i>	<i>prāṇīnaḥ</i>	<i>śreṣṭhāḥ</i>	<i>prāṇīnām</i>
being.GEN.PL	animated.NOM.PL	best.NOM.PL	animated.GEN.PL
STAND.STM	CPREE	PAR.PM	STAND.STM
<i>buddhi-jīvināḥ</i>	<i>buddhi-matsu</i>	<i>narāḥ</i>	<i>śreṣṭhā</i>
mind-living.NOM.PL	mind-provided.LOC.PL	man.NOM.PL	best.NOM.PL
CPREE	STAND.STM	CPREE	PAR.PM
<i>nareṣu</i>	<i>brāhmaṇāḥ</i>	<i>smṛtāḥ</i>	
man.LOC.PL	Brāhmaṇa.NOM.PL	remembered.NOM.PL	
STAND.STM	CPREE	PAR.PM	

‘Among creatures, the best are living beings; of living beings, those who live by intelligence; among the intelligent ones (= those who have intelligence) –

human beings; among the human beings – Brāhmaṇas.’ (ManuSmṛ. 1.96) (see Olivelle 2005: 91, 242)

4.2 Type 4-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

4.2.1 Type 4-3-1: flag is case

This type, again, typically instantiates comparative degree forms used to express the superlative meaning, as in (45):

- (45) Early Vedic
- | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| <i>prá te</i> | <i>agnáyo</i> | <i>’gníbhyo</i> | <i>váraṃ níḥ [...]</i> |
| PRV that.NOM.PL.M | Agni.NOM.PL | Agni.ABL.PL | better PRV |
| | CPREE | STAND.STM | PM |
- śośucanta*
light.INT.INJ.MID.3PL
PAR
‘Those Agnis burst into light brighter (lit. better) than [other] Agnis.’ (RV 7.1.4; Zeilfelder 2001: 294)

Here and in the following example, the parameter marker is the adverbialized accusative form *varam* of the adjective *vara-* ‘preferable, best’, ultimately based on the substantive *vāra-* ‘wish’ (see esp. Wackernagel/Debrunner 1954 [AiG II/2]: 453). See also 3.2.2 above.

- (46) Classical Sanskrit
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------|------------|--------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|------------------|
| <i>paṇḍīto</i> | <i>’pi</i> | <i>varam</i> | <i>śatrur</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>mūrkho</i> | <i>hitakāraḥ</i> |
| wise.NOM | even | preferable | enemy.NOM | PTCL | foolish.NOM | friend.NOM |
| CPREE- | (PAR-) | PM | -CPREE | | STAND | |
- ‘A wise enemy is even better/preferable, rather than (lit. not) a foolish friend.’ (Pañc. 1.451) (Speijer 1886: 190)

4.3 Type 4-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

As is common with superlative forms, the standard is often left unexpressed. Alternatively, it is only indirectly mentioned by indicating the general domain where it belongs; this is the case of *bhuvi* ‘on earth’ in (47), which cannot be considered a standard proper.

(47) Epic Sanskrit

ayaṃ samājah sumahān ramaṇīyatamo bhuvī
 this.NOM assembly.NOM great.NOM pleasing.SPD.NOM earth.LOC
 CPREE PAR.PM [STAND.STM]

‘This great assembly is the most pleasing on earth.’ (MBh. 1.131.3; Speijer 1886: 188)

(48) is an example of a superlative derived from a root compound:

(48) Early Vedic

agnīm īḷe [...] ratna-dhātām
 Agni.ACC invoke.PRS.MID.1SG wealth-establisher.SPD.ACC
 CPREE PAR-PM

‘I invoke Agni, [...] the best establisher of wealth.’ (RV 1.1.1)

4.4 Remarks on morphosyntax and etymology

4.4.1 Adjectival superlative suffixes *-iṣṭha-* and *-tama-*

There are two bound morphemes marking the superlative degree. Both are productive. The more archaic (and somewhat less productive) morpheme is the Caland suffix *-iṣṭha-*, superlative counterpart of *-(i)yāms-* / *-(i)yas-* (see Sections 3.1.1 and 3.7.1). The Proto-Indo-European etymon of this suffix is probably the zero grade of the comparative degree suffix (**-is-*) extended with the adjectival suffix **-to-* (Szemerényi 1996: 196, Fortson 2009: 136, Rau 2014: 329), **-t(H)o-* (Beekes 2011: 221) or **-th₂o-* (NIL: xxii).

The more productive (particularly in post-Vedic) and less archaic *-tama-* is the superlative counterpart of *-tara-* (see above, Sections 3.1.1 and 3.7.1). The Proto-Indo-European etymon of this suffix is somewhat less clear, reconstructed by various scholars as **(t)ṃmo-* (e. g. Sihler 1995: 364 f., Fortson 2009: 136, Dunkel 2014 [LIPP]: I, 207, 214), **(t)mo-* (**-tmHo-*?) (Beekes 2011: 222; cf. also Rau 2014: 331), or **(t)ṃo-* (Szemerényi 1996: 197), and probably resulting from the *t*-extension of **-mo-* (on which see below) in analogy with the corresponding comparative suffix **-tero-* (see already Brugmann 1903: 6).

A remarkable morphosyntactic feature shared by both suffixes (as well as their comparative counterparts) is their unusually broad combinability. They can be added not only to adjectival stems (e. g. *tavās-tama-* ‘strongest’, *tuvīṣ-tama-* ‘mightiest’), but also to:

(i) substantival stems, cf. *vīrā-tama-* ‘most heroic’; including (compounded) root noun stems, as in *soma-pā-tama-* ‘best Soma-drinker’; *ratna-dhā-tama* ‘best establisher of wealth’ (ex.48), *dasyu-hān-tama* ‘best killer of dasyu/enemies’; see esp. Pinault 1985: 117–118, with fn. 21.

(ii) participial stems, cf. *mṛḍayāt-tama-* ‘showing more mercy, most merciful’;

(iii) verbal roots, cf. *ḡyā* ‘deprive of property, treat with violence’: *ḡyēṣṭha-* (← *ḡyā-iṣṭha-*) / *ḡyēṣṭhā-* (AV, Taittirīya-Saṃh.) ‘most excellent, greatest, largest etc.’; *bhū* ‘become’: *bhūy-iṣṭha-* (instead of **bhūv-*, with *-y-* taken from the comparative stem *bhū-yas-*) ‘most numerous, most abundant, greatest, largest, mightiest’ (see esp. Wackernagel/Debrunner 1954 [AiG II/2]: 444–445, 456–458);

(iv) pronominal stems, cf. *ka-tamá-* ‘which of many’;

(v) adverbs and preverbs, cf. *ut-tamá-* ‘upper’.

Another bound morpheme, which in fact underlies *-tama-*, is *-ma-*. The Proto-Indo-European etymon is unclear: it may be PIE **-m-h₂-o-* (Gotō 2013: 49) or **-ṃmo-* (Dunkel 2014 [LIPP]: II, 832); see also Rau 2014: 331. This morpheme can be found with adjectival/pronominal stems (*para-mā-* ‘extreme, highest’ ← *pāra-* ‘far, distant’) as well as with adverbial particles, e. g. *ādha-ma-* ‘lowest’, *apa-mā-* ‘remotest’, *upa-mā-* ‘uppermost, nearest’.

4.4.2 The suffix *-adhama-*

A parameter marker (PM) of the superlative of minority / inferiority is the bound morpheme *-adhama-* ‘lowest, worst’, attested from Classical Sanskrit onwards. This PM appears as the final member of compounds (ultimately grammaticalized as a suffix), as in:

- *narādhama-* ‘the worst of men’ (Purāṇas)
- *śaśakādhama-* ‘the most miserable/smallest rabbit’ (Hit.)
- *surādhama-* ‘the lowest or worst of the gods’ (Purāṇas)

This suffix is etymologically based on *adha-* ‘below’, combined with the relic superlative suffix *-ma-* (see above).

5 Elative

As most commonly the case with elative forms cross-linguistically, virtually all attested forms rendering the elative degree are of a type where the standard (and therefore the standard marker) is not expressed; see in particular types 9 and 10 according to the classification adopted in the present volume. While type 10 (parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme) is virtually unknown in Vedic, type 9 is well-represented and employs various bound morphemes, almost exclusively prefixes of different origins.

5.1 Type 5-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Typically, the parameter marker (PM) is a prefix.

(i) prefix *su-* ‘good, well; very; much’ is very productive and occurs in several thousand formations, many of which are attested from early Vedic (RV+) onwards, such as

- *sú-juṣṭa-* ‘very welcome, very enjoyable’ (RV 6.61.10+)
- *su-pīváś-* ‘very fat’ (RV 10.94.11+)
- *sú-mahant-* ‘very great’ (RV 7.8.2+)

More examples can be found in post-Vedic Sanskrit, such as:

- *su-bahu-* ‘very much, very numerous’ Ep., Cl. Skt.
- *su-bala-* ‘very strong’ Ep. Skt.

(ii) The prefix (preverb) *áti-* ‘very, excessive(ly)’ is relatively rare in Early Vedic, with only one formation, *ati-yājá-* ‘excessive sacrifice’, attested in the RV:

(49) Early Vedic

<i>ní</i>	<i>hīyatām</i>	<i>ati-yājásya</i>	<i>yaṣṭá</i>
down	abandon.PRS.MID.3SG	excessive-sacrifice.GEN	sacrificer.NOM
		PM.PAR	

‘Let the sacrificer of an excessive sacrifice be abandoned!’ (RV 6.52.1)

More forms occur in post-Vedic texts. Examples include:

- *ati-kāya-* ‘gigantic, having a very big body’ (R.)
- *ati-kṛcchra-* ‘very strict ascetic exercise’ (Smṛti)
- *ati-jara-* ‘very old’ (Pāṇini)
- *ati-māruta-* ‘very strong wind, hurricane’ (Yājñavalkya-Smṛti)

(iii) The prefix (preverb) *abhi-* ‘very, extremely’ is limited to post-Vedic (Classical and Epic) Sanskrit, as e. g. in *abhi-nava-* ‘very fresh’:

(50) Classical Sanskrit

<i>abhinavair</i>	<i>jālakair</i>	<i>mālatīnām</i>
very.new.INS.PL	bud.INS.PL	jasmin.GEN.PL
PM.PAR	CPREE	

‘...with very fresh jasmine buds’ (Kalid. Megh. 95)

Other examples include:

- *abhi-tamra-* ‘very red, dark-red, murrey-coloured’ (MBh.)
- *abhi-rucira-* ‘very bright’ (R.)

On the use of these two relative prefixes (preverbs) with copula verbs, most importantly as ‘be’, yielding the meaning ‘surpass’ or the like, see Andersen 1983: 132–134.

(iv) prefix *bahú-* ‘very, much, most’ is likewise post-Vedic, attested, e. g., in:

- *bahu-kalyāṇa-* ‘very illustrious, most noble’ (MBh.)
- *bahu-citra-* ‘very various, manifold’ (Pañc.)
- *bahu-sadṛśa-* ‘very similar, very fit’ (Pañc.)

The parameter marker (PM) may also be a suffix, as both comparative degree and superlative degree morphemes (e. g. *-tara-* and *-tama-*) can be used to express the relative degree,⁸ as in (51) and (52):

(51) Early Vedic

<i>bhadrá</i>	<i>tvám</i>	<i>uṣo</i>	<i>vitarám</i>	<i>ví</i>
auspicious.NOM	2SG.NOM	Dawn.VOC	widely.CPD	widely
			PAR.PM	

ucha

shine.PRS.IMP.2SG

‘Dawn forth widely, o Dawn, auspicious one, very widely!’ (RV 1.123.11c)

(52) Early Vedic

<i>sákhe</i>	<i>viṣṇo</i>	<i>vitarám</i>	<i>ví</i>	<i>kramasva</i>
companion.VOC	Viṣṇu.VOC	widely.CPD	widely	stride.PRS.IMP.MID.2SG
			PAR.PM	

‘Viṣṇu, my companion, stride out very widely!’ (RV 4.18.11d)

Note that in these cases, the comparative degree suffix *-tara-* is not attached directly to the adverbial particle constructed with the verbal forms, but to a ‘morphological copy’ of the same adverb.

5.2 Remarks on morphosyntax and etymology

5.2.1 Preverbs *áti-* ‘over, beyond’ and *abhí-* ‘at, against’

Two relative prefixes are also used as preverbs: *áti-* ‘over, beyond’ (< PIE **eti-*; Dunkel 2014 [LIPP]: II, 260 ff., 263 f.) and *abhí-* ‘at, against’ (< PIE **h₂ob^hi-*; Dunkel 2014 [LIPP]: II, 350; Casaretto 2010). The semantic development of the latter morpheme can prob-

⁸ See e. g. Speijer 1886: 187–188; Fay 1910: 409; Wackernagel/Debrunner 1954 [AiG II/2]: 596; Sihler 1995: 365.

ably be schematised as follows: ‘act against [smb./smth.]’ → ‘overcome [smb./smth.]’ → ‘exceed [smb./smth.]’ → ‘be excessive’.

5.2.2 Prefixes *bahú-* ‘much, richly, often’ and *su-* ‘very, much’

Both prefixes originate in first members of nominal compounds, subsequently grammaticalized as prefixes for the elative degree: *bahú-* ‘much, richly, often’ < PIE **b^hŋǵ^h-u-* ‘thick’; *su-* ‘very, much’ < ‘good, well’ < PIE **h₁su-* ‘good, well’; see Mayrhofer, EWAia II, 221 and 735.

6 Excessive

6.1 Type 6-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Some elative degree markers, foremost *áti-* ‘very, excessively’, also mark excessive degree in such formations as *áti-kṛṣá-* ‘too meager’, *áti-sthūla-* ‘too fat’, *aty-ucchríta-* ‘too high’, etc., attested from Middle Vedic (or from the very end of the mantra language) onwards (YV+), in particular at VS 30.22 and TB 3.4.19, cf. (53–54); they also occur later, in post-Vedic texts (e. g. MBh. 6.28.11 = BhG 6.11, cf. ex.55).

(53) (Middle) Vedic

<i>átha= etán</i>	<i>aṣṭáu vírūpān</i>	<i>á labhaté</i>	
then this.ACC.PL	eight deformity.ACC.PL	sacrifice.PRS.MID.3SG	
<i>’tidīrghaṃ</i>	<i>ca= átihrasvaṃ</i>	<i>ca= átisthūlaṃ</i>	<i>ca=</i>
over.long.ACC	and over.short.ACC	and over.thick.ACC	and
PM.PAR[.CPREE]	PM.PAR[.CPREE]	PM.PAR[.CPREE]	
<i>átikṛṣaṃ</i>	<i>ca= átiśuklaṃ</i>	<i>ca= átikṛṣṇaṃ</i>	<i>ca=</i>
over.thin.ACC	and over.white.ACC	and over.black.ACC	and
PM.PAR[.CPREE]	PM.PAR[.CPREE]	PM.PAR[.CPREE]	
<i>átikulvaṃ</i>	<i>ca= átilomaśaṃ</i>	<i>ca</i>	
over.bald.ACC	and over.hairy.ACC	and	
PM.PAR[.CPREE]	PM.PAR[.CPREE]		

‘Then [the sacrificer] sacrifices these eight deformities: a too long [man], and a too short [man], and a too thick [man], and a too thin [man], and a too white [man], and a too black [man], and an excessively bald [man], and a too hairy [man].’ (VS 30.22)

Compare the similar sequence in (54):

(54) Middle Vedic

átha= etān áruṣebhya á labhaté átihrasvam
 then this.ACC.PL deformity.DAT.PL sacrifice.PRS.MID.3SG over.short.ACC
átidīrgham, átikṛṣam átyaṁśalam, átiśuklam, átikṛṣṇam,
 over.long.ACC over.thin.ACC over.fat.ACC over.white.ACC over.black.ACC
átiślakṣṇam, átilomaśam, átikiriṭam,
 over.smooth.ACC over.hairy.ACC over.with.small.teeth.ACC
átidanturam, átimirmiram, átimemisam
 over.with.large.teeth.ACC over.blinking.ACC over.staring.ACC

‘Then [the sacrificer] sacrifices to these Deformities: [a man who is] too short, [a man who is] too tall, [a man who is] too lean, [a man who is] too stout, [a man who is] too light-complexioned, [a man who is] too dark, [a man who is] too smooth (i. e. whose skin is too smooth), [a man who is] too hairy, [a man whose] teeth are too small, [a man whose] teeth are too prominent, [a man who] blinks too much, [a man who] stares (i. e. who opens the eyes) too much.’ (TB 3.4.19)

The same usage of the relative/excessive prefix *ati-* is well-attested in post-Vedic Sanskrit, cf.:

(55) Epic Sanskrit

[...] *pratiṣṭhāpya sthiram āsanam ātmanah na= atyucchritam*
 establish.CONV solid.ACC seat.ACC oneself.GEN not over.high.ACC
 CPREE PM.PAR
na= atinīcam [...] yuñjyād yogam
 not over.low.ACC practice.PRS.OPT.3SG yoga.ACC
 PM.PAR

‘...having established a solid seat for himself, not too high, not too low, [...] [the yogin] should practice yoga.’ (MBh. 6.28.11–12 = BhG 6.11–12)

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15 Old Iranian

1 Introduction

Our knowledge of Old Iranian (until the 4th/3rd century BC) mainly rests on two corpora of texts, the surviving books of the Avesta and the Old Persian inscriptions, whereas our records of other ancient Iranian languages such as Median and Scythian are limited to some words and names recovered from secondary traditions. The Avesta is the collection of the sacred texts of the Zoroastrian religion. A small part of them, contained in the central section of the Yasna book, is composed in the so-called Old Avestan (or Gathic) variety and can be dated to around 1000 BC. The remaining part was probably predominantly composed in the 6th-5th centuries BC and testifies to a later, historically somewhat more evolved language, Young Avestan, which also seems not to be perfectly identical to Old Avestan from a dialectological point of view.

Except for Yasna 35.3 – 41.6 (the Yasna Haptāñhaiti), the other Old Avestan texts (the Gāthās, Yasna 28–34, 43–51, 53) are metrically constrained; moreover, as has been rediscovered by modern scholarship (cf. Kellens 2006), the Young Avestan corpus is not pure prose but a mixture of prose and octosyllabic poetry. The Avestan texts were transmitted orally for centuries before they were written down in the Sasanian era (maybe in the 6th century AD) by means of a specifically created alphabet capable of signaling fine-grained, even allophonic, distinctions. Though the phonological shape of the Avestan words as recorded in the written corpus reflects a liturgical pronunciation that does not correspond exactly to that of the time of composition, the latter can be reconstructed on comparative and metrical grounds.¹

Old Persian, the native tongue of the Achaemenid kings, is documented by an inscriptional corpus, whose texts, dated to the 6th-4th centuries BC, were engraved in a cuneiform semialphabetic script, also specifically created for this language. The linguistic stage attested by Old Persian is not distant from that of Young Avestan; thus both varieties have lost the tripartite aspectual opposition present/aorist/perfect (i. e. imperfective/perfective/stative-resultative), which on the contrary is basically preserved in Old Avestan, but their words generally retain the original number of syllables. On the other hand, Old Persian also exhibits a decrease in the number of cases

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¹ On the textual tradition, see de Vaan (2003: 11–27), Cantera (2014), Skjærvø (2012), Humbach (1991/I: 56–81 – on the Old Avestan Texts), all with further references.

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vis-à-vis Young Avestan, having lost the genitive-dative opposition, and makes greater use of adpositions.

Dialectologically, Avestan is a non-south-western variety (therefore showing alveolar rather than dental outcomes for PIE palatal obstruents) most probably originating in eastern Iranian areas, whereas Old Persian belongs to the south-western area of Iran.

Given the repetitive content and limited extent of the Old Persian corpus (about 6700 word tokens as against the roughly 83000 word tokens of the extant Avesta)², our description of Old Iranian gradation will be mainly based on the analysis of Avestan constructions. When used without adjectives, the term Avestan will indicate Young Avestan passages.³

The examples adduced in this chapter, arranged according to the classification devised by Hock, Keydana & Widmer (this book, introductory chapter), will comprise both predicative and non-predicative constructions, since the exclusion of the latter would have critically reduced the possibility of taking advantage of available data.

2 Similitive

This section deals with constructions that are distinguished from equatives proper in that they do not involve identical scores on a scale of the relevant property, but rather express a holistic comparison or a comparison of manner (Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998).

2.1 Type 1-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The *-want-*similitive suffix, which could be classified as a fused marker of both parameter/degree and standard (i. e. STM and PM), will be treated below (§ 2.6 and § 2.6.1).

² Figures from de Vaan & Lubotsky (2012: 194), MacKenzie (1969: 451).

³ Abbreviations used for the Avestan texts: A. = Āfrīnagān; AZ. = Āfrīn-i Zardušt; FrW. = Fragment Westergaard; H. = Hāδōxt Nask; N. = Hērbedestān and Nērangestān; P. = Pursišnihā; Vd. = Vidēvdād; Vr. = Vispered; Y. = Yasna; Yt. = Yašt. When not differently specified, Avestan quotations, transliterated (and normalized as to š and ś) according to Hoffmann (1975: 326), follow Geldner's edition (1886–1896), except for the Old Avestan texts, quoted according to Humbach (1991), and Yt. 8 and Yt. 19, quoted according to Panaino (1990) and Humbach & Ichaporia (1998), respectively. Old Persian is quoted following Schmitt's (2009) text and transliteration. Half brackets are used to help the reader in comparing the text with the proposed English rendering. Hyphens and double hyphens are sometimes added to indicate morphological and clitic boundaries, respectively.

2.1.1 Type 1-1-1: flag is case

A construction to be mentioned here is the one found in Y. 28.8, where the compound *hazaoša-* ‘having the same wishes’⁴ (cf. AiWb.: 1795f.) contains a second member *zaoša-*, ‘wish’, expressing the parameter and a first member *ha-*, lit. ‘together’, that can be considered as the parameter marker. However, *ha-* is not a true affixal morpheme, but a compositional allomorph of the lexical adverb *hqm* ‘together’. Like Old Indic *samāná-* ‘similar’, *hazaoša-* governs the instrumental.

- (1) Y. 28.8 (Old Avestan; cf. also Y. 29.7):

<i>θβā</i> [...]	<i>yēm</i>	<i>ašā</i>	<i>vahištā</i>	<i>hazaošəm</i>	<i>ahurəm</i>
2SG.ACC	REL.ACC	order.INS	best.INS	same.wish.ACC	ahura.ACC
	CPREE	STAND.STM		PM.PAR	
<i>yāsā</i>					
entreat.PRS.1SG					

‘I entreat you Ahura, who has the same wishes as the Best Order’

2.2 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

2.2.1 Type 1-3-1: flag is case

In Y. 32.16 (Old Avestan) there is an instance of *hama-* ‘like, equal’ plus instrumental: *hamēm taṭ vahištā=cīt* ‘That (prize is) equal to (what is) the very best.INS’ (cf. Humbach 1991: 135), but the passage is very obscure (cf. Kellens & Pirart 1991: 93).

2.3 Type 1-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Adverbs of manner in *-ða* can serve as parameter markers in similitive constructions, as in the following example; here *hamaða* ‘in the same way’ is correlated with the usual standard marker *yada*, which from the formal point of view is indeed a relative adverb of manner:

⁴ The conventionalized meanings ‘to be in harmony with’, ‘to agree with’ are assumed in the renderings given by Humbach (1991: 119) and by Kellens & Pirart (1988: 106).

(2) Yt. 5.65

frāiitaiiat [...] *aoi nmānəm yim xʷaēpaiθim drūm*
 arrive.PST.3SG to house.ACC REL.ACC his.own.ACC healthy.{ACC}
 PAR
*auuaṇtəm airištəm hamaða yaða para=ciṭ*⁵
 not.ill.{ACC} without.damages.{ACC} in.the.same.way like before=PTCL
 PAR PAR PM STM STAND
 ‘he arrived at his own house healthy, not ill, without damages, in the same way
 as before’

An adverb of manner derived from the pronominal stem *ava-* is used in the following Old Persian sentence (cf. also Yt. 10.118 as to Avestan):

(3) DB 1.63

yaθā paruvam=ci avaθā adam akunavam
 like before=PTCL in.that.manner 1SG.NOM make.PST.1SG
 STM STAND PM
āyadanā
 sanctuary.ACC.PL
 CPREE
 ‘Just as (they were) before, in the same manner I made the sanctuaries’

In Yt. 11.7 the adverb *aētaṭ*, an adverbial use of the accusative neuter of a demonstrative pronoun, seems to serve as a correlative of *yaða*:

(4) Yt. 11.7

yaṭaca ₁*pasuš.hauruuāṅhō* ₁*aētaṭ* ¹*sraošəm* [...] ₁₁*pairi.barāmaide* ₁₁
 ‘₁₁We surround₁₁ ¹Sraoša¹ [...] like ₁sheepdogs₁’

In Avestan texts, a recurring pattern in similes is characterized by the use of the adverb *mṇaiiən* (most probably an adverbialized causative participle of *man-* ‘think’: ‘in a way that reminds of, in a way resembling’; cf. Hoffmann 1975: 264 f. fn.; de Vaan 2009: 45). Though it would probably not be appropriate to consider it as a fully grammaticalized element, *mṇaiiən* can be thought of as something similar to a parameter marker of the similitive.

Two quasi-formulaic contexts are observed. In the first we find the sequence *mṇaiiən ahe yaða*, in which *mṇaiiən* governs the cataphoric genitive neuter

⁵ *Yim* is irregularly inflected according to the nominal declension. As for *drūm* and the following two words, note that in Young Avestan, an accusative can occur instead of a nominative in postverbal position (Reichelt 1909: 225f.).

pronoun *ahe*, which in turn announces the clausal standard introduced by *yaθa* (cf. Yt. 8.55 ‘Tištrya [...] enchains that Pairika [...] like [*mānaiiān ahe yaθa*] one thousand men would enchain a single man’). In the second, *mānaiiān*, followed by the particle *bā* (perhaps to be compared with Greek φή ‘like, as if’ and the PIE root **b^heh₂-* ‘say’), is placed in clause-initial position and the clausal standard introduced by *yaθa* is not announced by a cataphoric pronoun (cf. Vd. 7.55: *mānaiiān bā... yaθa*, ‘So resembling, O Spitama Zarathustra, they who are Daēvas guzzle [...] by these graves like you who are men in this material world press cooked food and eat cooked beef’).

2.4 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

The standard marker *yaθa* can be the only signal of the similative construction (in Y. 43.10d – Old Avestan – the standard marker is *yaθənā*, cf. § 2.7).

(5) Yt. 14.13

<i>yō</i>	<i>hištaite</i>	<i>vīdiδuuā</i>	<i>yaθa</i>
REL.NOM	stand.PRS.MID.3SG	look.around.PTCP.PRF.NOM	like
	PAR		STM

sāsta *hamō.xšaθrō*
 master.NOM complete.power.NOM
 STAND

‘who stands with his gaze directed in all directions, like a master endowed with complete power’

In some cases constructions lacking an expressed degree marker seem to be comparisons between truth values rather than true similatives. This seems to be the case e. g. in the list of the properties that dogs and other entities have in common, which is contained in Vd. 13; thus Vd. 13.45 ₁₁*aipi.jatō*₁₁ ‘*gəm huδāñhəm*¹ *yaθa* ₁₁*raθaēštā*₁₁ ‘₁₁in the attack of/as concerns the fact that he attacks₁₁ ‘the beneficent cow¹, (the dog is) like ₁₁a warrior₁’ (cf. AiWb.: 84, s. v. *aipi.jatay-*).

2.5 Type 1-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

Assuming the text is not corrupted, the following passage shows an indirectly expressed standard:

(6) Vd. 8.32 (and 31)

<i>hāu</i>	<i>hauuqs</i>	<i>daēuuō</i>
that.NOM	similar.NOM	daēuua.NOM
CPREE	PM	{STAND}

‘that (man) is a *daēuua* similar = that (man) is similar to a *daēuua*’

Here, the comparee seems to be categorized as a *daēuua* by extension (i. e. as if it were an atypical kind of *daēuua*), while the understood standard might be the *daēuua* strictly speaking (cf. AiWb.: 1787, s. v. *havant-*).

A sort of *comparatio compendiaria* is found Vd. 5.14:

(7) Vd. 5.14

<i>auuauuaṇtəm</i> ⁶	<i>ašauua-γniiāi</i>	<i>tqm</i>	<i>ciθqm</i>
so.much.ACC	ašauuan-murder.DAT	DEM.ACC	punishment.ACC
PM	{STAND}		CPREE

daēsaiiō

show.INJ.PRS.2SG

‘impose the punishment like (the one) for the murder of an ašauuan’

2.6 Types not included in the questionnaire

Though lacking a similitive case like that found in Ossetic (on which see Kambo-
lov 2006: 328–335 with references), Avestan exhibits derivative adjectives formed by
the addition of the suffix *-want-* (which also forms proprietive derivatives, cf. § 6.3.1
below). Formations of this kind are also well documented in Old Indic, where a par-
ticular similitive construction is based on the zero-suffixed adverb derived from the
similitive adjective; e. g. *ṇṅvat* ‘like a man, manfully’ (cf. Pinault 1985, 1989). Indeed,
the most likely etymology for the Ossetic similitive case marker *-aw* is that it contin-
ues the Indo-Iranian suffix *-want-/wat-* (Miller 1903: 92 f.; Cheung 2008: 95). It is quite
possible, on the other hand, that the Old Iranian predecessor of Ossetic (on which see
Mancini 2008) made a greater use of *-want/wat-* than Avestan and Old Persian.

The Avestan documentation of the similitive adjective is limited to lexemes
derived from personal pronouns (more precisely, from the stem of personal posses-
sives, cf. de Vaan 2005: 706 and fn. 8): Av. *hūuāuuuaṇt-* ‘like himself’, OAv. *mauuuaṇt-*
‘like me’, *θβāuuuaṇt-* ‘like you (sg.)’, *xšmāuuuaṇt-/γūšmāuuuaṇt-* ‘like you (pl.)’. In the
Old Avestan texts this kind of formation can be used in substantival function as a
quasi-synonym of the corresponding pronominal form (i. e. ‘one such as me’ for ‘me’;
cf. Kellens in Kellens & Pirart 1990: 281 f.).

⁶ Apparently a case of lack of feminine agreement.

A true similitive value seems to occur in Yt. 13.146 for Av. *hūuāuuuṇt-* ‘like himself’ (cf. de Vaan 2003: 52f.; AiWb.: 1855):

(8) Yt. 13.146

mąθra=ca [...] *yim* *zaraθuštrō* *frāṛənaoṭ*
 formula.INS=and REL.ACC Zarathustra.NOM assign.PST.3SG
 (CPREE)

hūuā-uuuṇtəm *aṇhuue* *astuuaitē*
 he-like.ACC existence.DAT bony.DAT
 STAND-STM

‘and with the formula (...) which Zarathustra assigned as something similar to himself to the material world (lit. to the bony existence)’

2.6.1 Compounding-based constructions

A type of compound employable in similitive constructions is Av. *hauuaṭ-zam-* (similar-soil) ‘such as soil, similar to soil’, with structure PM-STAND: Vd. 7.48 *hauuaṭ.zəmō bauuaiṇti* ‘(the men which have been buried in the soil) become such as soil’. In a sense, one might say that the second member serves as both standard and parameter, since the properties shared by standard and comparee are actually the semantic features of *zam-*.

The compound *hazaoša-* ‘having the same wishes as, wishing like’ (plus instrumental, cf. § 2.1.1) has the structure PM-PAR.⁷

A set of compounds with first member *hama-* ‘same’ also deserves mention here. In Avestan they can occur either applied to a plural referent to indicate a reciprocal similitive or applied to a singular referent to indicate uniformity:

(9) Yt. 10.125:

caθβārō *auruuuṇtō* *spaētita* *hama.gaonāṇhō*
 four.NOM.PL courser.NOM.PL white.NOM.PL same-colour.NOM.PL
 CPREE-STAND PM-PAR

‘four white coursers, alike in colour’

(10) Yt. 8.58:

pasūm [...] *hamō.gaonəm*
 ‘a sheep of uniform colour (acc.)’

⁷ An interesting three-member similitive compound might be *hūuarə.hazaoša-* ‘having the same will as the sun’ (Yt. 10.51, 13.92), which would exhibit the structure STAND-PM-PAR. Doubts on its occurrences have been cast by Duchesne-Guillemin (1936: 128f.).

Compare also the triad *hamō.manah-*, *hamō.vacah-*, *hamō.šīiaoθna-* ‘having the same thoughts/words/deeds = alike in thoughts/words/deeds’ at Yt. 13.83.⁸

A further type of similative compound has the structure STANDARD-PARAMETER (cf. also § 3.6.1); an example is *naire.manah-*⁹ ‘having the thought of a man, thinking like a man (manfully)’ (“heroic-minded”, Humbach & Ichaporia 1998: 39), epithet of Keresāspa (Yt. 19.38). The adjective *druxšmanah-* ‘Druj-thought’, used as a substantive in Yt. 1.18, may also belong to this type if it is interpreted as ‘having the thought of Druj = thinking like Druj’ instead of ‘having Druj in his thought’ (as per AiWb.: 781).

2.7 Formal means of expressing grading and comparison

Indo-Iranian possesses a series of depronominal adverbs in *-*thā* (OI. -*thā*, Av. -*θa*, OAv. OP. -*θā*) which specifically express the notion of manner.¹⁰ If similatives are defined as comparisons based on manner (cf. Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998), the fact that the corresponding Old Iranian constructions are based on such adverbs is therefore fully expected. Noticeably, similative constructions seem to be the only degree constructions that exhibit a formal parallelism between the parameter/degree marker and the standard marker. Indeed, though they also use or can use the *yaθa*-standard, equative and comparative constructions do not typically employ *-*thā* > -*θa* adverbs as parameter/degree markers.

As is expected, a correlative pair of demonstrative adverb and relative adverb follows the order relative...demonstrative: cf. the OP. *yaθā... avaθā* construction at DB 1.63 (§ 2.3). Moreover, the role of the standard can be filled by a conditional comparative clause (e. g. Vd. 13.21f-g: $\text{I} \text{ya} \theta \text{a} \text{I} \dots \text{ma} \delta \text{ə} \text{m} \bar{\text{o}}. \text{nm} \bar{\text{ā}} \text{n} \text{a} \text{h} \text{e} \text{nm} \bar{\text{ā}} \text{n} \bar{\text{o}}. \text{p} \text{a} \text{i} \text{t} \bar{\text{i}} \text{m} \text{I} \text{I} \text{p} \text{a} \text{i} \text{t} \bar{\text{i}} \text{ tar} \bar{\text{o}}. \text{p} \text{i} \theta \beta \text{ə} \text{m} \text{d} \text{a} \text{i} \theta \text{i} \bar{\text{i}} \bar{\text{ā}} \text{t} \text{I} \text{I} \text{I} \text{a} \theta \text{a} \text{I} \bar{\text{ā}} \text{s} \text{t} \text{r} \text{i} \text{i} \bar{\text{e}} \text{i} \text{t} \text{i}$ ‘as if_I ... _Ihe would refuse food to_I a house-master of a middle-rank-house, ‘in the same way¹ he commits sin’).

The Old Av. standard marker *yaθanā* is analysed as a combination of the subordinating conjunction *yat* (identical with the neuter relative pronoun) plus a particle *na*.¹¹

⁸ Compound adjectives of this kind are still used in New Iranian; e. g. New Persian *ham-rang* ‘of the same colour’ (cf. Saeed 2018: 101).

⁹ The first member of this compound is the denominal adjective **narja-*, derived from **nar-* ‘man’. The corresponding (synonymous) compound with **nar-* is probably the anthroponym *Nərəmanah-* (Mayrhofer 1977: 64 f., n° 232).

¹⁰ Bartholomae (AiWb.: 22) posits a correlation *aēuua* (cf. OI. *evā*)... *yaθa* for the initial sentence of Az. 2. The passage is syntactically difficult, however, and it is not impossible that *aēuua* is simply used as a connective particle here.

¹¹ For a critique of other interpretations, see Hintze (2007: 66–68). Note that the passage *t > θ* can be ascribed to the Iranian preconsonantal spirantisation. The element *na* is usually classified as an affirmative particle (Hintze 2007: 67), but it cannot be excluded that it is originally connected to the PIE negation particle **ne* (cf. de Vaan 2008, s. v. -*ne* concerning the Lat. “positive” -*ne*). The analysis

As for the similitive derivative in *-uuant-* (§ 2.6), it is hardly a coincidence that in the Avestan corpus the similitive function of this formation is chiefly, if not only, observed with personal pronouns as bases. Indeed, the creation of a compound like *hauuat.zam-* ‘like soil’ (§ 2.6.1) seems to be a strategy aimed at deriving an equivalent of a *-want-*similitive from a non-pronominal lexeme.

As we have seen, specific formulaic patterns involving the participial adverb *mānāiian* (cf. § 2.3) are employed in the stylistic figure of simile. Note that Avestan similes are often characterized by the use of the present optative for expressing what J. Kellens has called the “imagined present”; in such cases, the optative mood indicates that a certain state of affairs is evoked for comparison’s sake with no assessment of its likelihood being involved (Kellens 1984: 304 f.; cf. Yt. 8.55 ‘like one thousand men... would enchain [*ādarəzaiiōi* fasten.PRS.OPT.3SG] a single man’).

3 Equative

3.1 Type 2-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

3.1.1 Type 2-4-1: flag is case

Avestan has a construction which lacks an expressed parameter/degree marker and could be regarded as using case as standard marker, at least insofar as the genitive case is the morphosyntactic property by means of which the standard is syntactically integrated into the pattern. However, the peculiar feature of this construction lies in the fact that the parameter is expressed by an abstract noun and appears as the object of a ‘belong’-like verb whose object expresses the comparee.

(11) Yt. 19.68

<i>hacaiti</i>	<i>dim</i>	<i>aspahe</i>	<i>aojō</i>
belong.to.PRS.3SG	him.ACC	horse.GEN	strength.NOM
	CPREE	STAND.STM	PAR

“(The River Haētumant) is endowed with the strength of a horse” (Humbach & Ichaporja 1998: 50) ≈ ‘(The River Haētumant) is as strong as a horse’

The fact that the standard is here a genitival modifier of an abstract noun is reminiscent of constructions found in some Middle and New Iranian languages (cf. § 3.7.2).

of *yaθnā* described above entails that this word is etymologically identical to Av. *yaθna* “und zwar” (AiWb.: 1250). For a different view about the Old Av. ‘affirmative’ *nā*, see Kellens & Pirart (1900: 170; 1988: 44).

In other passages (Yt. 5.3, Y. 65.3, Vd. 751) we find similar constructions with *auuauuant-* in which the parameter is expressed by *masō*, acc. sg. of the noun *masah-* ‘size’ (cf. AiWb.: 1154). This use of the instrumental and of the accusative is traditionally labelled ‘instrumental of relation’/‘accusative of relation’.

Noticeably, *auuauuant-* seems to be semantically neuter with respect to the antonymy ‘big’ / ‘small’. Thus, according to the AiWb. (col. 1582, s. v. *sūkā-*), in Yt. 14.33 *auuauuat* (n. sg. acc.) is a substantivized neuter meaning ‘something as small (as)’.¹⁶

3.5 Type 2-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

In the following example the parameter quality is expressed by a noun appearing as the complement of a ‘have’-like verb having the comparee as subject. It might be said that the degree (i. e. the PM) is expressed by the construction as a whole or that the standard marker, i. e. the unbound element *yaθa*, also serves as a degree marker.

(15) Yt. 5.96

	<i>masō</i>	<i>xšaiiete</i>		<i>xʷarənanḡhō</i>
[She]	great.GEN	have.at.one’s.disposal.PRS.3SG		glory.GEN
	<i>PAR</i>			<i>CPREE</i>
<i>CPREE</i>	<i>DUMMY PAR</i>			<i>PAR</i>
<i>yaθa</i>	<i>višpā</i>	<i>imā</i>	<i>āpō</i>	
as	all.NOM.PL	DEM.NOM.PL	water.NOM.PL	
<i>STM (/PM)</i>				
<i>STM</i>			<i>STAND</i>	
		<i>yā</i>	<i>zəmə</i>	<i>paiti</i>
[have.xvarnah.at.their.disposal]		REL.NOM.PL	earth.INS	in/on
<i>STAND</i>				
<i>frataciṅti</i>				
forward.flow.PRS.3PL				
‘She (Ardvi Sūra Anāhita) has (such) a great glory at her disposal as all the waters that flow on the earth have glory at their disposal.’				

On the strictly syntactico-semantic level (corresponding to the italicized labels in the glosses above), the comparee is the glory possessed by the river goddess Ardvi Sūra Anāhita and the standard is the glory possessed by all the other waters together, whereas the adjective *mas-* expresses a semantically general parameter (‘greatness’).

¹⁶ According to a different interpretation, the form is an adverbial accusative modifying the adjective *brāza-* ‘shining’ (cf. Lecoq 2016: 534).

On the semantico-pragmatic level, on the contrary, the comparison is between the goddess (the comparee) and all the other waters (the standard), whereas ‘glory’ (*x^varnah*) is the parameter (cf. the corresponding adjective *x^varənauuant-* ‘provided with glory, glorious’).

3.6 Types not included in the questionnaire

An Avestan example of equative comparison involving one entity and two predicates is in Y. 19.7. Here the parameter is expressed by two neuter nouns indicating the compared qualities in the accusative (of relation), while the entity being the comparee/standard figures as subject of two predicates containing the correlative adjectives *uuant-* and *yauuant-* (≈ Lat. *tantus*, *quantus*).

(16) Y. 19.7

<i>asti=ca</i>	<i>īm</i>	<i>zā</i>	<i>auuaiti</i>	<i>bqzō</i>
be.PRS.3SG=and	DEM.NOM	earth.NOM	so.great.NOM	height.ACC
		CPREE/STAND	PM	PAR ^{cpree}

<i>yauuaiti</i>	<i>fraθas=ciṭ</i>
as.great.NOM	breadth.ACC=PTCL
STM	PAR ^{stand}

‘and this earth is just as much in height (thickness) as in breadth’

3.6.1 Compounding-based types

In a first type of equative compound adjective the first element is a demonstrative adjective of degree and the second a noun indicating the compared property. We find it in Y. 10.13, where the exocentric compound *hauuaṭ.masah-* occurs. The second member *masah-* is clearly the noun for ‘size’. The first member *hauuaṭ-* is apparently the compositional form of the adjective *hauuaṭ-* ‘similar (to him)’. However, it is very likely that *hauuaṭ^o* should be corrected into *auuaṭ^o* (cf. Pirart 2004: 99, notes 280 and 282), since the meaning of the compound is analogous to that of other Avestan phrases containing *uuant-* (cf. *uuant- masō* at Yt. 5.3) and is not structurally parallel to that of *hauuaṭ.zam-* ‘similar to soil’ (cf. § 2.6.1), which certainly contains *hauuaṭ*.

(17) Y. 10.13

<i>nāmō</i>	<i>haomāi</i>	<i>yaṭ</i>	<i>kərənaoiti</i>	<i>driyaoš</i>	<i>[h]auuaṭ-masō</i>
homage.ACC	haoma.DAT	since	make.PRS.3SG	poor.GEN	so-size.ACC
					PM-PAR

3.7 Formal means of expressing grading and comparison

3.7.1 The demonstrative adjectives of degree

As we have seen, in Old Iranian equative constructions an important role is played by demonstrative adjectives of quantification and degree in *-want-* (Av. *-uuant-*) and by the corresponding converted adverbs.¹⁹

While, in combination with lexemes designating gradable qualities, they receive an interpretation in terms of degree, another of their functions is to express quantity. Thus, the substantivized neuter of *auuuuuant-* followed by a plural partitive genitive is equivalent to ‘as many as’ (e. g. Yt. 5.77 *mē* ₁*auuuuuant* *daēuuaiiasnanqm*, *nijatəm yaða sārəm=a* [Geldner *sārəm*; cf. Reichelt 1909: 269] *varsanqm barāmi* ‘₁so.much Daēva worshippers.GEN (= as many Daēva-worshippers), have been smashed by me as I bear hairs on (my) head’).

In their use as degree markers in equative comparisons, two major structures are observed. In the first (type A) the adjective is not converted into an adverb and the quality is expressed by a noun in the accusative or instrumental of relation (cf. Hübschmann 1875: 202, 262; Reichelt 1909: 229 f., 237; Bichlmeier 2011: 286 f.). In the second (type B) the adjective is converted into an adverb and the quality is expressed by an adjective.

DEMONSTRATIVE-BASED PATTERNS (GRAMMATICALIZED)²⁰

Type A) (cf. Yt. 8.50, § 3.4)

	<i>auuant-</i>	<i>yesniata</i> (← <i>yesniia-</i>)
word class	ADJECTIVE	NOUN
syntactic relation	HEAD	MODIFIER
inflectional category values	AGREEMENT with CPREE	INS (OR ACC)
role in the construction	PM	PAR

¹⁹ One might note that the PIE ancestor of Armenian *k’an* ‘as/than’ is perhaps also a form in **-wnt-* (**kweh₂-wnt-*). For a general typology of demonstratives of degree, see König & Umbach (2018).

²⁰ Please note that in this kind of table the order of the quoted words does not necessarily correspond to that found in the text.

Type B) (cf. Yt. 8.6, § 3.3)

	<i>auuuuuat</i> (← <i>auuuuuant</i> -)	<i>xšuuuēβa-</i>
word class	ADVERB	ADJECTIVE
syntactic relation	MODIFIER	HEAD
inflectional category values	—	AGREEMENT with CPREE
role in the construction	PM	PAR

As concerns the morphological-derivational relationships, type A is not, in fact, more complex than type B. It is true that gradable qualities are more frequently associated in the lexicon with adjectives than with other word classes, and that type A is therefore expected to often need to resort to deadjectival nouns (as with the example recalled in the table above, where *yesniiatā-* is a derivative noun from *yesniia-* ‘worth of being worshipped’). However, in the oldest lexical stratum of Old Iranian, there are several pairs of adjective and abstract noun that consist of two simple lexemes (being typically primary co-derivatives of the same root from the etymological point of view), e. g. *uyra-* ‘strong’ – *aojah-* ‘strength’.²¹

Type B is quite familiar. It is basically identical to the pattern of a modern European language such as German (*so* ADJ *wie*...) and similar to that of Latin (*tam* ADJ *quam*...). Nevertheless, type A seems to be at least as harmonic with the Old Iranian system as type B. Indeed, we also found it in a construction with one entity and two qualities such as that in Y. 19.7 (cf. § 3.6).

3.7.2 The ARGUMENT-PARAMETER pattern

Other patterns involving quality nouns in lieu of adjectives are those in which the noun expressing the parameter and that expressing the comparee are the subject and the complement, respectively, of a verb like ‘belong (to)’ or the complement and the subject of a verb like ‘have’ (cf. Yt. 19.68 § 3.1.1 and the complex periphrasis in Yt. 5.96 § 3.5). We might name them ARGUMENT-PARAMETER schemes, with the “subject-parameter” and “complement-parameter” subtypes. In these cases, the relationship between standard and parameter may be also conceptualized as a relation of possession or contiguity, which can be expressed through a genitive (§ 3.1.1); as an alternative, the standard can be introduced by *yaθa* (§ 3.5). Schematically:

²¹ One might add that a derivational step is also required by type B, since it does not directly employ the *-uuant-* adjective but makes use of the corresponding converted adverb. However, it is likely that, as words of relatively high usage frequency, these converted adverbs were stored in the lexicon as separate units.

ARGUMENT-PARAMETER patterns (non-grammaticalized)

Type c) genitive-standard (cf. Yt. 19.68 – subject-parameter subtype – § 3.3.1)

	<i>hacaiti</i>	<i>dim</i>	<i>aojō</i>	<i>aspahe</i>
word class	VERB	(PRO)NOUN	NOUN	NOUN
syntactic relation	HEAD OF CLAUSE	ARG _x	ARG _y {SUBJ}	MODIFIER OF ARG _y
role in the construction	—	CPREE	PAR	STAND(+STM)

Type d) *yaθa*-standard (cf. Yt. 5.96 – complement-parameter subtype – § 3.5)

	<i>xšaiiete</i>	<i>pro</i>	<i>xvarənaŋhō</i>	<i>masō</i>	<i>yaθa</i>	<i>vispā imā āpō</i>
word class	VERB	(PRO)NOUN	NOUN	ADJ.	PTCLE	NOUN
syntactic relation	HD OF CLAUSE	ARG _x {SUBJ}	ARG _y	MOD. OF ARG _y	CONJ/ COMP	DEPENDENT OF <i>yaθa</i>
role in the construction	—	CPREE	PAR	DUMMY PAR	STM	STAND

These constructions may be considered non-grammaticalized schemes. Nevertheless, they are of structural importance in that they share some features with grammaticalized structures found in subsequent stages of language.²²

3.7.3 The expression of the standard

Despite the fact that the Old Iranian demonstrative adjectives of degree in *-want-* have a relative counterpart, i. e. *yawant-* (Av. *yauuaŋt-*), the usual way of expressing the standard is that employing *yaθa* ≈ ‘in which way’ (cf. § 2.7). There is, therefore, a neutralisation between the standard of the simulative (understood as a comparison related to manner, as per Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998) and that of the equative.

On the other hand, the comparison (type A) with one entity and two parameter qualities found in Y. 19.7 (cf. § 3.6) is based on the correlation *auuaŋt-... yauuaŋt-*.

A phrasal standard introduced by *yaθa* can exhibit derived case – i. e. it is inflected in the same case as the comparee (see Stassen 1984: 149 f.; 1985: 200; cf. above Yt. 8.50, § 3.4) – but nominative inflection is also attested (Yt. 17.20: *auuauuata*

²² Cf. Middle Persian Pahlavi (Anthology of Zādspram 2.8–9, Gignoux & Tafazzoli 1993): *gāw* [...] *čiyōn-iš bālāy*, *čiyōn Gayōmard* ‘ox [...] which (was) as tall as Gayōmard’, lit. ‘_ihis height_i (was) like Gayōmard’; New Persian *Ordon* *be bosorgi-ye Mesr nist* ‘Jordan is not as large as Egypt’, lit. ‘Jordan _ito largeness_i of Egypt is not’ (cf. Saeed 2018: 99); Ossetic: *Dossanæjy* *ɾæsuɣdæn* *‘čyzz’ zyn ssaræn wyd*, ‘it was very hard to find a girl as beautiful as Dossana, lit. ‘_ia girl_i _ithe beauty.DAT_i of Dossana’ (cf. Abaev 1964:18). On the typological interest of these structures, see Haspelmath (2017: 23 f.).

ᵛsnaiθiša_J yaθa 'asma¹ katō.masā[°] 'ᵛwith a weapon (ins.)_J as big as 'a stone (nom.)¹ of the size of a house'.

The role of the standard can be fulfilled by a consecutive clause,²³ as in the following example where the *-want*-adjective derived from the distal pronoun, i. e. *auu-uuuant-*, serves as the parameter/degree marker and the consecutive clause is introduced by *yaθa + yaṭ*: Yt. 19.68 *astica ahmi [...]_J auuauuauṭ_J kauuaēm xvarənō 'yaθa yaṭ¹ iḍa anairiā[°] darjḥūš hakaṭ usca_J us.frāuuaiiōiṭ_J* "In that (river) [...] there is ᵛso much_J Kavyan Glory 'that¹ it ᵛcould sweep away_J therewith all the (inhabitants of the) non-Aryan lands in one sweep" (Humbach & Ichaporia 1998).

4 Comparative

4.1 Type 3-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

4.1.1 Type 3-1-1: flag is case

The inherited ablative-comparative (Delbrück 1893–1900, vol. 1: 216 f.; Hübschmann 1875: 235; Reichelt 1909: 249 f.; Bichlmeier 2011: 130–139) belongs to this type.

(19) Y. 57.28

<i>āsianḥa</i>	<i>aspaēibiia</i>
fast.CPD.NOM.DU	horse.ABL.DU
PAR.PM	STAND.STM
'faster than two horses'	

(20) H. 2.7

<i>vātō [...]</i>	<i>hubaoiḍitarō</i>	<i>aniiaēibiiō</i>	<i>vātaēibiiō</i>
wind.NOM	fragrant.CPD.NOM	other.ABL.PL	wind.ABL.PL
CPREE	PAR.PM		STAND.STM
'A wind more fragrant than the other winds' (pragmatically equivalent to a superlative, cf. § 5.7)			

A possible Old Persian example is the following, which contains the comparative *fratarā-* derived from the local particle *fra* 'forward':

²³ For an example of a (similitive) construction with a conditional comparative clause standard see above (§ 2.7).

- (21) DNb 38 (cf. XPI 42–43)
fratarā maniyaj afuvāyā
 forward.CPD.NOM think.PRS.MID.1SG fear.ABL
 ‘I consider myself superior to fear’.

The form *afuvāyā*, however, might also be a genitive-dative, an instrumental, or a locative. Therefore, the morphosyntactic interpretation given above, although plausible (see Hoffmann 1975: 52–27; cf. Skjærvø 2009: 112; Schmitt 2000: 43; 2009: 109; 2014: 77, 126), is not completely beyond doubt (cf. also Bichlmeier 2011: 131).

4.1.2 Type 3-1-2: flag is adposition

This type is usual in the languages of the Middle Iranian period, in which the standard is typically marked by adpositions originating from Old Iranian *haca* ‘from’ (e.g. Inscriptional Parthian *ᵛāž šāhpuhr šāh, rāštestar* ‘more righteous ₁ than king Šāhpuhr’, with *až* < *haca*, cf. Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: 274, 469).

If the usual interpretation of *afuvāyā* in DNb38 is correct (§ 4.1.1), the adpositional *haca*-standard had not yet replaced the ablative-standard at the stage of language testified by the Old Persian inscriptions.²⁴ This would be noteworthy, since in the Old Persian corpus the ablative is otherwise normally accompanied by an adposition (*haca* ‘from’ or *yātā* (*ā*) ‘up to’, cf. Meillet & Benveniste 1931: 211; Kent 1953: 82).

As for Avestan, the only apparent case of standard introduced by a preposition (*upairi* plus instrumental) is Vd. 5.23 (cf. § 4.2.1); cf. also § 4.6.1 on *ā* in Yt. 8.22.²⁵

4.2 Type 3-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

4.2.1 Type 3-3-1: flag is case

A structure analogous to the “exceed-comparative” (cf. Stassen 1985: 42 ff.) probably occurs in the following Old Avestan passage:

²⁴ In DNa 17–18 (cf. XPh 16) we read *tayā adam agrbāyam, apataram hacā Pārsā* ‘these (Lands) I seized, further than Persia’, where the comparative adverb *apataram* (cf. *apa* ‘away’) is combined with a prepositional phrase with *haca*. However, in this case, the presence of *haca* ‘from’ may be due to the local meaning of the adverb.

²⁵ A special kind of “quasi-comparative” structure is that involving a few occurrences of *tarō* ‘through, beyond’ plus accusative (cf. Bichlmeier 2011: 139 f.). However, the constructions at issue seem not to be comparatives proper: cf. Vd. 5.36 *tarō 1yārə, mərətō* ‘that has been dead through/beyond ₁a year₁ (i.e. for at least a year, more than a year)’.

(22) Y. 53.5

<i>ašā</i>	<i>vā</i>	<i>aniiō</i>	<i>ainīm</i>	<i>vīuuōnghanū</i>
order.INS	2PL.GEN	other.NOM	other.ACC	surpass.DES.PRS.IMP.3SG
PAR		CPREE	STAND.STM	PM

The literal rendering ‘let each of you try to surpass the other in *ašā-*’, with *vīuuōnghanū* being the desiderative imperative of *van-* ‘surpass’, can be considered as roughly equivalent to ‘let each of you try to be more *ašauuan* (i. e. adherent of *ašā-*) than the other’. The accusative case, marking the object of *van-*, may be considered as the standard marker, while the parameter is expressed by the noun *ašā-* inflected in the instrumental (instrumental of relation).²⁶

A Young Avestan example which could also be classified as belonging to the ‘exceed’ type is found in Vd. 5.23, where, however, the parameter/degree is expressed by the elliptical ‘be’ verb plus the particle *upairi*:²⁷

(23) Vd. 5.23

<i>aētəm</i>	<i>dātəm</i>	<i>yim</i>	<i>vīdōiūm</i>	<i>zaraθuštri</i>
this.NOM	law.NOM	REL.NOM	anti-daevic.NOM	Zarathustrian.NOM
	CPREE			
<i>upairi</i>	<i>aniiāiš</i>	<i>srauuāiš</i>	<i>masana=ca</i>	
[is] over	other.ACC(=INS).PL	speech.ACC(=INS).PL	greatness.INS=and	
PM		STAND.STM	PAR	
<i>vanhana=ca</i>	<i>sraiana=ca</i>			
goodness.INS=and	beauty.INS =and			
PAR	PAR			

‘This anti-daevic Zarathustrian law surpasses the other speeches in greatness, goodness and beauty’ (pragmatically equivalent to a superlative, cf. § 5.7)

If the particle *upairi* ‘over’ with ellipsis of *asti* ‘is’ is viewed as equivalent to ‘surpasses’, then the case endings in the phrase *aniiāiš srauuāiš*²⁸ may be considered as standard markers (a less attractive alternative would be to take *upairi* as an adpositional standard marker).

It should be noted that this construction, which is not the unmarked comparative type in Avestan, is nested within a simile: The sentence reported above is preceded by

²⁶ On this interpretation of the instrumental *ašā* cf. AiWb. (1350, s. v. *van-*) and Humbach (1991/I: 193). Different choices are made by Insler (1975: 111), Kellens & Pirart (1988: 190), Ahmadi (2015: 305), and Lecoq (2016: 808).

²⁷ In the passage *aētəm* and *yim* have nominal – instead of pronominal – endings and *srauuāiš* follows the *-a-* instead of the *-ah-* declension.

²⁸ This is a case of the Avestan instrumental for nominative-accusative with neuter plural nominals (see de Vaan 2018).

mānāiēn (cf. § 2.3) and followed by *yaθa zraiiō vouru.kašəm upairi aniiā āpō* ‘the way(/ the measure) in which the Vourukaša sea surpasses the other waters’. The structure of the simile certainly influenced the choice of the “exceed comparative” in lieu of the adjective-based construction.²⁹

4.3 Type 3-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

4.3.1 Type 3-4-1: flag is case

Absence of a parameter/degree marker is perhaps found in a passage in which the compared quality is expressed by an adjective appearing as the first member of a compound (Skjærvø 2009: 125).³⁰ Clearly such a construction can only be used with a standard in the ablative case – or possibly with a *yaθa*-standard announced by a cataphoric *ahmāt* – since a bare *yaθa*-standard would entail a similitive/equative reading.

- (24) Yt. 13.31b
uyra.zaošā *tbišiiānbiō*
 strong.wish.NOM.PL hostile.ABL.PL
 PAR STAND.STM
 ‘(the Fravašis) having stronger wishes than those hostile’³¹

²⁹ A more complex case is that of Vd. 5.22, the paragraph which immediately precedes that quoted above and contains the question to which Vd. 5.23 is the answer. While usually questions and answers exhibit identical syntactic patterns, in this case the question additionally, and somewhat redundantly, contains comparative forms of the adjectives ‘big’, ‘good’ and ‘beautiful’ (i. e. *masiō*, *vanhō*, *sraiiō*), which are absent from the answer. For a partially different treatment of Vd. 5.22 and 5.23, see Bichlmeier (2011: 140).

³⁰ Analogous ablatives governed by first members of compounds are in Vr. 7.4: *paoirio.dāta* [...] *ašnāatca apāatca* (Vr. 7.4) ‘first-created (created early) than the sky (abl.) and the water (abl.)’ (cf. also Bichlmeier 2011: 133).

³¹ However, other interpretations of the passage are possible, since *tbišiiānbiō* might also be a dative: Bartholomae’s (AiWb.: 380), Lecoq’s (2016: 486: “dont la volonté s’oppose vivement aux adversaires”) and Lommel’s (1927: 115: “die gegen Feinde starkmütigen”) renderings involve the notion of ‘opposing’ (viewed as implied by the dative case).

4.4 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

(25) Vd. 18.65

<i>tās=ca</i>		<i>tē</i>		<i>mraomi</i> [...]		<i>jaθβō.tara</i>
that.NOM.PL=and		2SG.DAT		say.PRS.1SG		more.deserving.to.be.killed.ACC.PL
(CPREE)						PAR.PM
<i>yaθa ažīiō</i>		<i>xšuaaēβāñhō</i>		<i>yaθa vā vāhrkāñhō</i>		
as snake.NOM.PL		twinkling.NOM.PL		as or wolf.NOM.PL		
STM	STAND			STM	STAND	
<i>srauañhauuō</i>		<i>yaθa vā vāhrqam</i>		<i>azrō.daiđim</i>		<i>gaēθqam</i>
creeping.NOM.PL		as or she-wolf.ACC		hunt-maker.ACC		property.ACC
		STM	STAND			
<i>auui frapataiti</i>		<i>yaθa vā vazayqam</i>		<i>hazanrō.hunqam</i>		
into penetrate.PRS.3SG		as or she-frog.ACC		thousand.brood.ACC		
		STM	STAND			
<i>āpəm</i>		<i>auui frapataiti</i>				
water.ACC		into penetrate.PRS.3SG				

‘I tell you (that) those [women] (are) creatures more deserving to be killed than the twinkling snakes or than the creeping wolves or than the prowling she-wolf [who] penetrates into a property or than the she-frog with her thousandfold brood [who] penetrates into the water’^{32, 33}

In the following example, where the standard is clausal and *yaθa* actually serves as a subordinating conjunction, the ‘pragmatic’ parameter is expressed by a quality noun appearing as subject of the verb *hacaitē* (cf. the ARGUMENT-PARAMETER pattern discussed in § 3.7.2).

32 The syntax of this passage exhibits some difficulties (cf. also Bichlmeier 2011: 138). While *ažīiō xšuaaēβāñhō* and *vāhrkāñhō srauañhauuō* are simple phrasal standards, the nouns introduced by the two other tokens of *yaθa* are also the subjects of following, apparently parenthetical, verbal predicates. A further issue concerns case selection: The accusative of *vāhrqam* and *vazayqam* would be justified as “derived case” but is inconsistent with the preceding nominatives.

33 The Frahang i Oim also contains an example (150): *ıuxdašna₁ mašiiō¹ [vañhā¹] yaθa₁₁ danrō uxδō. vacā¹¹* ‘a man₁ who knows the speech₁ is ‘better’ than₁₁ a skilful speaker₁₁’. This kind of structure is probably also found in Y. 10.9, but the text of this passage is not certain.

(26) Yt. 10.107

<i>nōiṭ</i>	<i>mašim</i>	<i>gaēθim</i>	<i>stē</i>	<i>masiā</i>	<i>hacaite</i>
NEG	man.ACC	material.ACC	in.existence	great.CPD.NOM	follow.PRS.3SG
				<i>PAR.PM</i>	
	<i>CPREE</i>			<i>DUMMY PAR.PM</i>	
<i>āsnō</i>	<i>xratuš</i>	<i>yaθa</i>	<i>miθram=ciṭ</i>	<i>mainiiaom</i>	
inborn.NOM	insight.NOM	as	Mithra.ACC=PTCL	spiritual.ACC	
	<i>CPREE</i>	<i>STM</i>			
	<i>PAR</i>	<i>STM</i>	<i>STAND</i>		
<i>hacaite</i>	<i>āsnas=ciṭ</i>	<i>xratuš</i>			
follow.PRS.3SG	inborn.M.SG.NOM=PTCL	insight(M).SG.NOM			
		<i>STAND</i>			
		<i>PAR</i>			

‘No material man in existence has a greater inborn insight than spiritual Mithra’s inborn insight’ (lit. ‘A greater inborn insight does not belong to ... as inborn insight belongs to ...’)

At the syntactico-semantic level (italicized labels), this comparative construction involves two entities: the ‘inborn insight’ (*āsna- xratu-*) belonging (or not belonging) to the material men and the inborn insight belonging to Mithra, each one of them having its predicate (i. e. ‘does not belong (*hacaite*) to a material man in existence’ and ‘belongs to spiritual Mithra’). The comparative adjective *masiā*, nom. of *masiiah-* ‘greater’, indicates parameter and degree.

At the semantico-pragmatic level (regular labels), however, the two occurrences of *āsna- xratu-* ‘inborn insight’ both express the actually compared quality, whereas *mašiiia- gaēθiia- stē* ‘material man in existence’ and Mithra are comparee and standard, respectively. In other words, the pattern ‘a greater *P* (*P*=quality) does not belong to (any) *x*’ is pragmatically equivalent to ‘*x* is not more *P*-ful’.

Notably, the particle *yaθa* can be announced by the cataphoric demonstrative pronoun *ahmāṭ*, which is in the ablative case (cf. also Reichelt 1909: 376; Bichlmeier 2011: 134). In this case, the “syntactic” standard marker is the ablative ending of the pronoun.

(27) Vd. 2.11

<i>āaṭ</i>	<i>yimō</i>	<i>imqm</i>	<i>zqm</i>	<i>višāuuaiiaṭ</i>	<i>aēuua</i>
then	yima.NOM	this.ACC	earth.ACC	make.expand.PST.3SG	one.INS
			<i>CPREE</i>		
<i>θrišuuua</i>	<i>ahmāṭ</i>	<i>masiiehīm</i>	<i>yaθa</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>ahmāṭ</i>
third.part.INS	DEM.ABL	big.CPD.ACC	as	before	DEM.ABL
	<i>STAND.STM</i>	<i>PAR-PM</i>	<i>STM</i>	—————	<i>STAND</i> —————

as
be.PST.3SG

‘Then Yima made this earth expand bigger by one-third than it had been before that (time)’.³⁴

4.5 Type 3-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

As expected, absence of an expressed standard is possible when the sense is clear from the context, as in the following Old Persian example (an Old Avestan instance is in Y. 45.2b).

(28) DSe 39–41

yaθā haya taviyā tayam skaṇḡim naṅ janti
so.that the.NOM strong.CPD.NOM the.ACC weak.ACC not smite.PRS.3SG
CPREE.PAR.PM

naṅ vimardati
not ruin.PRS.3SG

‘So that the stronger one does not smite and does not ruin the weak one’

4.6 Types not included in the questionnaire

An example of a comparative of majority which involves two entities and two predicates is found in P. 28.

(29) P. 28

nazdiiō ahmi [...] azəm [...] viśpahe aṅhəuš
near.CPD.NOM be.PRS.1SG 1SG.NOM whole.GEN existence.GEN
PAR(CONTINUES)PM CPREE

³⁴ The cataphoric *ahmāt* is also in Yt. 13. 64, in P. 33 (cf. AiWb.: 1243, 297, sv. *ahmāt*, 1195, sv. *mrav-*; JamaspAsa & Humbach 1971: 50 note b) and in other cases where the second term is a conditional comparative clause with *yaθa yaṅ* (Vd. 18.10, N. 48) or with *yaδōiṅ* (Vd. 16.17). A noteworthy construction is found in Vd. 4.47 (cf. Bichlmeier 2011: 135): *pourum framraomi ...₁viśāne₁ ‘ahmāt yaθa’₁₁əuuisāi₁₁* ‘I grant the priority...₁ to one who has a family₁ (rather) than₁ to one who has no family₁₁’. A dubious case of *ahmāt ... yaθa* is in Vd. 13.8, where a different interpretation is possible (cf. Lecoq 2016: 983).

<i>astuuatō</i>	<i>manās=ca</i>	<i>vacās=ca</i>	<i>šīiaoθna=ca</i>			
bony.GEN	thought.ACC.PL=and	word.ACC.PL=and	action.ACC.PL=and			
_____	PAR-CPREE					
<i>yaθa</i>	<i>nāṅha</i>	<i>haca</i>	<i>gaošaēibiia</i>	<i>yaθa</i>	<i>vā</i>	<i>gaoša</i>
as	nose.NOM	from	ear.ABL.DU	as	or	ear.NOM.DU
STM	STAND	PAR.STAND	-----┐	STM		STAND
<i>haca</i>	<i>θraṅhibiia</i>					
from	edges-of-mouth.ABL.DU					
PAR-STAND	-----┐					

‘Nearer am [...] I [...] to the thoughts, words, and actions of the whole bony existence than the nose is from the ears or the ears are from the edges of the mouth’ (see JamaspAsa & Humbach 1971: 44 and footnote c).

Indeed, the two predicates are parallel (the elliptical head of the VP of the subordinate receives its interpretation from the main clause, i. e. ‘is near/distant [to/from y]’ from ‘am nearer [to x]’) but not identical.

4.6.1 Compounding-based types

Yt. 8.5 provides an example of a compound comparative wherein the standard is expressed by the first member of the compound itself³⁵

(30) Yt. 8.5 (cf. also Yt. 5.7)

<i>kaḍa</i>	<i>xā</i>	<i>aspōstaoiiehiš</i>	<i>apaqm</i>
when?	source.NOM.PL	horse-strong.CPD.NOM	water.GEN.PL
	CPREE	STAND.PAR.PM	

tacāṅti *nauua*
 flow.PRS.SBJV.3PL new.INS

‘when will the sources of water flow afresh stronger than horses?’ (Panaino 1990: 96)

The form *aspō-staoiiehiš* is the feminine nominative plural of *aspō-staoiiah*³⁶, formed by *aspa-* ‘horse’ and *staoiiah-*, which in turn is the comparative of a reconstructible positive **stūra-* ‘strong, big’, probably also contained in the anthroponym *Pairistūra-* (‘powerful all around’, cf. Mayrhofer 1977: 66, no. 240). In fact, Avestan adjectival compounds are most frequently exocentric noun-headed structures, so that an expected

³⁵ Cf. Lecoq (2016), Panaino (1990), Kellens (1974: 382), Lommel (1927: 50).

³⁶ The adjective also occurs in Yt 5.7. The similar *bāzu.staoiiehi* later occurring in the same stanza as a qualification of Ardi Sūra Anāhita is interpretable in different ways: ‘stronger than an arm/a pair of arms/her arms’ (cf. Duchesne-Guillemin 1936: 128; Kellens 1974: 104) or ‘stronger in her arms’.

positive counterpart of a *X-staoiiāh-* comparative would be *X-stauuah-*, like *gao-stauuah-* ‘having the strength/size of an ox, as strong/big as an ox’ (cf. § 3.6.1 above). Thus, except for the endocentric/exocentric mismatch, the structures *X-stauuah-* and *X-staoiiāh-* can be said to form a positive-comparative pair, whereby the one element realizes an equative and the other a comparative of majority.

Another example of a compound comparative is *taxmō.tqšiiā* ‘stronger than strong’, (Vr. 7.3) which, from the semantico-pragmatic point of view, can be considered a kind of elative (cf. § 6.4.2).³⁷

A different kind of compounding-based expression is found in Yt. 8.22, where a construction occurs which contains a particle-noun compound with the structure *aiβi-X-* (cf. the value of *abhi* in Old Indic *bhū-* ‘become, be’) + *abhi* ‘overcome’ and *abhi-bhū-* ‘who surpasses’). This is noteworthy because compounds of this kind are often used in IE languages to form elatives, whereas they are not a typical way of expressing the comparative.

(31) Yt. 8.22

<i>ā</i>	<i>dim</i>	<i>bauuaiti</i>	<i>aiβi.aojā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>dim</i>
to ³⁸	he.ACC	become.PRS.3SG	PTCL.vigour.NOM	to	he. ACC
STM	STAND		PM.PAR	STM	STAND
<i>bauuaiti</i>		<i>aiβi.vaniiā</i>			
become.PRS.3SG		PTCL.exceed.CPD.NOM			
		(PM.PAR.PM)			

‘[Apoša] becomes over-vigorous to him (scil. to Tištrya), [he] becomes over-victorious to him’

The compound *aiβi-aojah-* is semantically exocentric, so that the predicate is equivalent to ‘becomes having over/more-vigour’. The subsequent sentence contains an adjective *aiβi-van-iiā* that presents both the particle *aiβi-* as first compound-element and the suffix *-yah-*, which usually forms comparative adjectives but here is applied to the verbal root *van-* ‘exceed’ (cf. Old Indic *vanīyas-*; Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 446; on *aiβi-*, see also § 6.3.1 below).

³⁷ It should be noted, however, that according to Schindler (1986: 388 fn. 12) this form was created by ancient diasceusts due to a false analysis of an original phrase *taxmāt tqšiiā*.

³⁸ Bartholomae (AiWb.: 932, 88) proposes a different analysis, according to which *ā* is a detached preverb and *dim* ‘him’ is governed by the compound-internal particle *aiβi-*.

4.7 Formal means of expressing grading and comparison

4.7.1 The bound degree markers of comparative and superlative

Like Old Indic and Greek, Old Iranian possesses two different suffixes serving for the formation of the comparative: *-yah-* (Av. *-iih-*³⁹) and *-tara-* (cf. OI. *-yas-* and *-tara-*)⁴⁰. A parallel pair of suffixes exists for the formation of the superlative: superlatives in *-išta-* (cf. OI. *-iṣṭha-*) correspond to comparatives in *-yah-* and superlatives in Av. *-təma-*, OP. *-tama-* (OI. *-tama-*) correspond to comparatives in *-tara-*. The principle governing the alternation is that *-yah-* and *-išta-* attach directly to root morphs which are morphologically non-decomposable and, just as importantly, not inherently specified for word-class membership; on the other hand, *-tara-* and *-tama-* attach to nominal (substantival or adjectival – including participial and gerundival) stems.⁴¹ Compare the following examples:

- Av. *uruuād-* ‘joy’ (root) → comparative (OAv.) *uruuāidiiah-* ‘more joyful’
- Av. *darəz-* ‘firm’ (root) → superlative *darəzišta-* ‘firmest/very firm’
- Av. *jaḡβa-* ‘to be killed’ (nominal stem: gerundive of *jan-/gan-*) → comparative *jaḡβō.tara-*⁴²
- Av. *vahmīia-* ‘worth being addressed by prayers’ (nominal stem: derivative of *vahma-* ‘prayer(M)’) → superlative *vahmīiō.təma-*⁴³

The denominal suffixes were expanding at the expense of the deradical ones (probably already in the Indo-Iranian period, cf. Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 599); consider the doublets *sraiih-/srīrō.tara-* ‘more beautiful’, *spəništa-/spəntō.təma-*, and the secondarily created *pourutəma-* (OAv.), directly based on *pouru-* as opposed to the deradical *fraēšta-*, formed from the same base from which *pouru-* is derived (cf. below).

³⁹ On the prosody of *-iih-* in Young Avestan see Kellens (2006: 267); on Old Avestan, cf. Beekes (1988: 135).

⁴⁰ A thorough treatment of the morphology of these suffix and of their Indic cognate is in Wackernagel & Debrunner (1954: 443–461, 596–610).

⁴¹ A series of directional adjectives derived from local particles also show the denominal suffixes: e. g., Av. OP. *fratarā-*, Av. *fratəma-*, OP. *fratama-* from *fra* ‘forwards’. These lexemes belong to the oldest nucleus of the *-tara-/tama-* formations (cf. Gr. *próteros*, OI. *pratará-* from PIE **pro*). Indo-Iranian *-tara-* < PIE **-tero-* is also found in the pronoun OI. *katará-*, Gk. *póteros* ‘which of two (?)’ (cf. Av. *katāra-*). For more on these suffixes, see also Meier-Brügger (2003: 219–223, with further references).

⁴² The appearance of an Avestan presuffixal vowel *-ō-* (typically followed by a dot that normally separates second compound members rather than suffixes) in lieu of *-a-* is commonly attributed to the intervention of later redactors (cf. de Vaan 2003: 433 ff.). Avestan forms in *°-stara-*, *°-stəma-* can derive from stems in *°(n)t-* by virtue of the sound change *-tt- > -st-* and, by analogical extension, from stems in *-n-* (cf. Cantera & Redard 2019: 173 f.).

⁴³ The only Old Persian documented *-tara-/tama-* formations are derivatives of local particles/preverbs: *apataram* (adv.; cf. *apa-* ‘away’), *fratarā-*, *fratama-* (cf. *fra-* ‘forwards’).

Since, from a general point of view, the formation of comparatives and superlatives is neither prototypically derivational nor prototypically inflectional (cf. Dressler 1989), a relatively loose paradigmatic organization is to be expected.

In particular, the derivational processes involving the suffixes *-yah-* and *-išta-* create a synchronic situation in which, as observed for the first time by Wilhelm Caland (1892, 1893; cf. Collinge 1985: 23–27), for a certain number of roots, positive adjectives are formed by means of a suffix of the set *-ra-* (< PIE **-ro-*), *-u-*, *-ant-* (< PIE **-ont-*) while corresponding comparative adjectives in *-yah-* are directly formed from the bare root. Such alternations are of Proto-Indo-European antiquity, since they are also attested in other IE languages, notably Old Indic and Greek.

Thus, from the PIE root **ōk-*, we have the positive adjective PIE **ōk-u-* > Av. *āsu-* ‘fast’ and the comparative adjective PIE **ōk-ijos-* > Av. *āsiih-* ‘faster’.

This pattern may reflect a principle of economy: if the sole function of the adjectival suffixes found in the positive form is to determine the word class of the derivative, then their presence is redundant in the comparative, where the degree-suffix itself has the effect of determining the word class. Significantly, avoidance of the same suffixes is also observed when the adjective appears as the first member of a compound, in which case they are substituted in PIE by an interfix **-i-*: e. g. Gk *κῠδ-ρῶ-* ‘glorious’ and *κῠδ-ι-άνειρα-* ‘with glorious men, that renders men glorious’; Av. *tiγ-ra-* ‘sharp’ and *tiž-i-sruua-* ‘sharp horned’.⁴⁴ (The *-u-*, however, seems to escape such replacement: cf. OI. *āśu-* ‘fast’ and *āśu-ratha-* ‘having fast chariots’.)

It can be assumed that at an ancient Proto-Indo-European stage, **ōk-u-* ‘fast’ and **ōk-ijos-* ‘faster’ did not derive from one another, but were rather co-derivatives of the root **ōk-* existing as an autonomous item of the mental lexicon. From a certain point in time onwards, however, the *-u-* adjective must have been felt as the derivational base of its co-radical comparative, so that the shape of the comparative stem could be reanalyzed as the output of a process of suffix deletion.⁴⁵

At a later stage, Caland’s alternation is simply one of multiple factors creating instances of stem allomorphy in the morphological process forming comparatives or superlatives. Indeed, at least three other sources of allomorphy are relevant: 1) original alternations in the ablaut grade of the root between positive and comparative or superlatives; 2) diverging phonological developments due to ablaut alternations; 3) diverging phonological developments due to suffix alternations.

⁴⁴ This behaviour is also reminiscent of constraints of morphotactic nature. The question of whether or not the interfixal element *-i-* should be identified with some otherwise documentable or reconstructable formative (cf. Kuryłowicz 1964: 232; Nussbaum 1976: 4; Meyer-Brügger 2003: 289) pertains to a deeper level of backward reconstruction.

⁴⁵ A different kind of suffixal asymmetry is found in some passages where superlatives containing the suffix *-ya-* (^o*-iītōtama-* = *-ya-tama-*) serve as counterparts of positives lacking this suffix; thus *is. xšaθriiōtōtama-* : *is. xšaθra-* (Yt. 1.13).

Examples of stem allomorphy related to the suffixes *-yah-* and *-išta-* are the following:

positive	comparative	superlative
Av. <i>āsu-</i> ‘swift’	<i>āsiih-</i>	<i>āsišta-</i>
Av. <i>bərəzaṅt-</i> ‘high’	<i>barəziih-</i>	<i>barəzišta-</i>
Av. <i>darəya-</i> , OAv. <i>darəga-</i> ‘long’ (OP. <i>darga-</i>)	<i>drājiiah-*</i>	<i>drājišta-*</i>
Av. <i>dərəzra-</i> ‘firm’		<i>darəzišta-</i>
Av. <i>draoya-</i> , <i>draoga-</i> ‘false’		<i>draojišta-</i>
Av. <i>kamna-</i> ‘little’		<i>kambišta-*</i>
Av. <i>pouru-</i> ‘much, many’ (OP. <i>paru-</i>)	<i>frāiih-</i>	<i>fraēšta-</i>
Av. <i>spəṅta-</i> ‘bountiful’	<i>spaṅiih-</i>	<i>spəṅišta-</i>
Av. <i>sṛīra-</i> ‘beautiful’	<i>sraiih-</i>	<i>sraēšta-</i>
Av. <i>sūra-</i> ‘strong’		<i>səuuišta-</i>
Av. <i>taxma-</i> ‘strong’	<i>tašiih-</i>	<i>taṅcišta-</i>
Av. <i>uyra-</i> , OAv. <i>ugra-</i> ‘strong’	<i>aojiiah-</i>	<i>aojišta-</i>

* only adverbial forms are attested (*drājiiō*, *drājištəm*, *kambištəm*).

A case of suppletion is documented in Old Persian, where *maṅišta-* ‘greatest’ serves as superlative counterpart of *vazṛka-*; moreover, in Old Persian, the positive adjective **wahu-* belonging to the original series **wahu-*, **wahyah-*, **wahišta-* ‘good, better, best’ had already been replaced in the lexicon by *naiḅa-* (cf. the corresponding Middle Persian forms *nēw*, *weh*, *wahišt*; cf. Skjærvø 2007: 896).

4.7.2 Non-canonical positives

Some degree adjectives in *-yah-* and *-išta-* may be considered as counterparts of an agent noun or a participle. Examples are:

- bar-* + *niš* ‘away’ ‘bring’ → *nižbairišta*⁴⁶ ‘who/which removes the most’
- mar-* ‘remember’ → *mairišta-* (OAv.) ‘who/which remembers the most’
- van-* ‘win, surpass’ → *aiḅi-vaniih-* (cf. § 4.6.1 above)
- vid-* ‘know’ → *vaēdišta-* (OAv. *vaēd^o*) ‘who/which knows the most’, cf. *viduuāh-/viduš-* ‘knowing’ (perfect participle)⁴⁷
- yaod-* ‘fight’ → *yūidišta-* ‘who/which fights the most’
- žnā-* ‘know’ → *žnōišta-* ‘who/which knows the most’ (cf. the agent noun *žnātar-* ‘knower’)⁴⁸

⁴⁶ On *bairišta-*, which has a parallel in Gk. φέριστος, see also García Ramón (2013).

⁴⁷ That Av. *paošišta-* ‘most stinking’ contains an aorist stem (cf. Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 446) seems uncertain; on Av. *pairi.uruuāēšta-*, cf. Hoffmann (1976: 396).

⁴⁸ Cf. Wackernagel & Debrunner (1954: 448). In Yt 1.13 the agent noun and the deradical superlative form a climax: *žnāta nqma ahmi. žnōišta nqma ahmi* ‘knower I am by name, most knower I am by

The following forms contain a reduplicated root (see Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 446; cf. also Grestenberger 2013; Hoffmann 1976: 396):

gan-/jan- ‘smite, smash, kill’ → *jayništa-* ‘who smites the most’
gam-/jam- ‘go, reach’ → (*vi-*)*jaymišta-* ‘who/which (far-)reaches the most’

The deradical adjectives in *-yah-* and *-išta-* allow verbal (accusative case) government:

Yt. 11.3 *drujəm jayništō ... drujəm niž.bairištō*
 ‘who smites the Druj the most... who removes the Druj the most’ (cf. Kreyenbroek 1985: 61).

Degree derivatives formed on bases which do not indicate a scalar property pose a problem as to the interpretation of the degree operator. Several scholars translate these forms as implying a reference to an evaluative semantic component GOOD: thus e. g. *yūidišta-* is rendered as ‘der am besten kämpft’ in AiWb.: 1302, but “non-evaluative” renderings are also possible (cf. Darmesteter 1892–1893/II: 274, ‘plus belliqueuse’; 1895: 224, ‘most warlike’; Lecoq 2016: 1034, ‘qui le plus combattent’).

The denominal suffixes *-tara-* and *-təma-* can be applied to participle stems:⁴⁹

grab- ‘seize’ → **jāgərəbuuāh-/uš-* → *jāgərəbuštara-* (comparative from *-uuāh-/uš-* perfect participle): Vd. 4.48 (text according to AiWb.: 607): *vohu manō jāgərəbuštārō aṇhaṭ* ‘will be the one who has seized Good Thought (acc.) in greater measure’
tar- ‘overcome’ → **tauruuāiiaṇt-* → (*tbaēšō*)*tauruuāiiaṣtəmā-* (superlative from *-nt-* participle): Yt. 1.4: *taṭ tbaēšō.tauruūaiiaṣtəməm* ‘that is what overcomes the hostility the most’
gam/jam- ‘go’ → **jaymuuāh-/uš-* → *jaymuštəma-* (superlative from *-uuāh-/uš-* perfect participle): Y. 57.4: *yō aṣahe jaymuštəmō* ‘who has reached Order (gen.) the most’

The denominal degree-suffixes can also be applied to substantives: *mahrkō.təma-* lit. ‘the most death’ (comparative examples are found in OI., e. g. *virātara-* ‘manful’; cf. Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 601);

Superlatives of the superlative are *sraēštō.təma-* (Yt. 3.5; cf. the analogously formed Old Indic *śreṣṭhatama-*), which appears in a passage where *sraēšta-* is employed as if it were a positive, and *draējištō.təma-* (Vd. 3.19) from *driyu-* (OAv. *drigu-*) ‘poor’.

name’ (cf. also Panaino 2002: 56). In Yt. 1.12, *pouru.darštəma-* and *dūraēdarštəma-* serve as superlativized counterparts of the *-tar-* suffixed compound agent nouns *pouru.darštar-* and *dūraēdarštar-*. Thus, the superlatives are formed as if they were derived from compounds having a bare root as their second member. Indeed, IE root compounds often serve as agent nouns (cf. Meillet 1925: 136 ff.). On the other hand, this class of compounds originally took the deradical suffix.

⁴⁹ Kellens’ idea (2005: 43 f.) that superlativized perfect participles are to be interpreted as ‘who is the first to...’ has not been proven beyond doubt. On the Avestan superlatives derived from perfect participles, see also Kümmel (2000: 631, 656, 669, 673, 677).

In H. 24, we find the comparative *fratarō.tara-* of the adjective *fratarā-*, which is itself a *-tara-*derivative of the local particle *fra* ‘in front’: *fratarō.taire gātuuoō* ‘in a seat located even more ahead (i. e. an even better seat)’.⁵⁰

4.7.3 The two types of standard marking

As seen above, Old Iranian possesses two patterns for expressing the standard of the comparative of majority: the ablative-construction and the construction with the relative adverb of manner *yaθa*, which is necessarily employed when the standard is not a nominal element.

As expected, the *yaθa*-standard of a comparative can also be a conditional comparative clause. An example is the following, in which the complex subordinator *yaθa yaṭ* is employed: Vd. 18.10 *nōiṭ* ₁ *vanhō* ₁ *ahmāṭ* ¹ *šiiāoθnəm vərəziieiti* ¹ *yaθa yaṭ* ¹ *hē pąstō*. *fraθanḥəm kamərəðəm kərənuiiāṭ* ‘(he) does not perform a ₁better₁ deed ¹than if¹ (he) would cut (*kərənuiiāṭ*, opt.) his head at the margin of the hair’.

The relation between the ablative and the *yaθa*-standard deserves some more words. In the inventory of the major conceptual sources from which comparative constructions are most frequently derived cross-linguistically, some scholars (e. g. Heine 1997: 118 f.) include a ‘similarity schema’ characterized by the use of standard markers meaning ‘like’ (cf. also Stassen 1985: 191). The Avestan *yaθa*-construction (as well as its Old Indic homologue with *yathā*) would certainly be an optimal member of this class. Moreover, it has been observed that languages using the ‘similarity schema’ for the comparative are likely to also use the same pattern for the equative – excepting, of course, the difference in degree markers – and this is also true for Avestan, since *yaθa* also serves as the default standard marker in equative and similitive constructions. Indeed, such formal parallelisms have been viewed as a corroboration of the hypothesis that, in the languages at issue, the equative provides the “conceptual template” for the comparative.

Another possibility, however, is that equative constructions simply lend their “morphosyntactic template” to the comparative, i. e. that the comparative parasitically exploits the syntax of the equative as concerns the expression of the standard. In other words, this behaviour may be viewed – as already indicated by Skutsch (1908: 47), who, dealing with the Latin constructions, used the term “Nachahmung” – as a kind of analogy or neutralisation at the syntactic level. This view seems to particularly fit the cases in which the neutralisation in standard marking between equative and comparative coexists with a non-neutralizing pattern, as in Avestan or in Latin. Thus,

⁵⁰ Interestingly, in the New Iranian languages of the Shughni-Yazghulami group, a special intensified comparative is also found, formed via suffixes (Yazgh. *-dardūr*, Roshani *-dardī*) which are reflexes of a reduplicated comparative suffix **-tara-tara* (Ēdel’man 1990: 181); e. g. Yazgh. *xi-dardūr* ‘even better’, Roshani *xoy-dardī* ‘even sweeter (m.)’.

rather than postulate the coexistence of two different cognitive motivations for the comparative, one might imagine that an actual cognitive model underlies the ablative-construction or – in other words – was the starting point of the path leading to its grammaticalization,⁵¹ whereas the construction with ‘like’ (*yaθa*) has a system-internal basis.

One might add that if the standard introduced by *yaθa* ‘like’ is announced by a preceding cataphoric demonstrative pronoun, the latter appears in the ablative case, e. g. *ahmāt* ‘this. n.SG.ABL’ (cf. § 4.4; see also Reichelt 1909: 376); this reveals how misleading it would be to consider the ablative-comparative as a ‘secondary’ construction within the system.

Furthermore, if the idea that the positive/comparative opposition is neutralized in first members of compounds is correct (cf. Skjærvø 2009: 125 and § 4.3.1), then there is a type of construction in which the ablative case is the only signal of the comparative.⁵²

As for word order, Young Avestan evidence shows less variability than Vedic Indic, since ablative noun and comparative adjective are typically contiguous and the order ABLATIVE – COMPARATIVE seems to be avoided clause-initially (Bichlmeier 2011: 136 f., 144).

4.7.4 The ARGUMENT-PARAMETER pattern

As is the case with equatives (§ 3.7.2), comparatives may also use ARGUMENT-PARAMETER constructions. In such cases, the comparative *masiiah-* ‘greater, larger’ may serve as a quasi-functional word, where SIZE can be considered as a “dummy parameter”.

ARGUMENT-PARAMETER PATTERN (cf. Yt. 10.107, § 4.4 – subject-parameter subtype)

	<i>nōiθ hacaite</i>	<i>mašim</i>	<i>āsnō xratuš</i>	<i>masiia</i>	<i>yaθa</i>
word class	VERB	NOUN	NOUN	ADJ(CPD)	PTCLE
syntactic relation	HD OF CLAUSE	ARG _x	ARG _v {SUBJ}	MOD. OF ARG _v	CONJ/COMP
role in the construction	—	CPREE	PARAM	DUMMY PARAM	STM

⁵¹ Indeed, it is conceivable that once a construction is grammaticalized, its capacity to mentally activate the conceptual structure from which it originated may be more or less strong from speaker to speaker, even when such a motivation is potentially recoverable from the synchronic behaviour of the language.

⁵² The coexistence of two standard markers continued even after the ablative-standard had been replaced by the prepositional standard. Thus e. g. in Middle Persian, besides the standard expressed by *az* (< *haca* ‘from’) plus oblique, we also find a particle standard introduced by the polyfunctional conjunction *kū* ‘that, where, so that’ or by the complex conjunction *kū ciyōn* (cf. Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: 274).

	<i>hacaite</i>	<i>miθrəm=cit̥</i>	<i>āsnas=cit̥ xratuš</i>
word class	VERB	NOUN	NOUN
syntactic relation	HD OF <i>yaθa</i> -CLAUSE	ARG _x	ARG _x {SUBJ}
role in the construction	—	STAND	PARAM

4.7.5 Comparatives and antitheses

A type of cross-linguistically recurrent comparative construction is based on coordinate clauses contrasted to each other by means of lexical antonymy ('that is big, this is small') or opposite syntactic polarity ('that is big, this is not'; cf. Stassen 1984: 157 f. and 1985: 44 f.). In Avestan, such patterns are observed as purely stylistic devices (West 2011: 138). Notably, however, when two antonymous adjectives form an antithesis, one of the two may show comparative morphology:

- (32) Y 45.2 (Old Avestan)
spaniiā ... angrəm
 'the more bountiful (spirit)... the harmful one' (cf. Humbach 1991/I: 97).

Antitheses with positive vs. superlative/relative are also found. (For the Old Avestan texts, cf. Humbach 1991: 98.)

4.7.6 The comparative of minority

The extant Old Iranian corpora do not permit detailed insight into the possible constructions expressing the comparative of minority. The morphosyntactic strategy of using the comparative of majority of an antonym was certainly available. Moreover, nonce-antonyms could be created by means of the negative prefix *a-*, and it is likely only due to chance that no occurrence of a negativized superlative in *-yah-* or *-tara-* is attested (cf. OI. *ātavyas-* 'not stronger'; for other Old Indic examples see Wackernagel & Debrunner 1954: 458, 597). On the other hand, a comparative of majority based on the opposite of an adjective *X* can be semantically different from the comparative of minority based on *X*: e. g. 'more impure' (cf. OI. *āsucitara-*) is not equivalent to 'less pure', at least insofar as connotative meaning is concerned.

5 Superlative

5.1 Type 4-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

5.1.1 Type 4-1-1: flag is case

The default superlative construction employs a bound superlative marker (Av. *-išta-* or *-tama-*) and a standard signaled by a case marker, i. e. by the partitive genitive:

- (33) Yt. 10.98
yō aojištō yazatanəm
 REL.NOM strong.SPD.NOM god.GEN.PL
 CPREE PAR.PM STAND.STM
 ‘Who (is) the strongest of the gods’

As for Old Persian, compare:

- (34) DHa 7–8 (and elsewhere)
haya mašišta bagānām
 who.NOM great.SPD.NOM god.GEN.PL
 ‘who (is) the greatest of the gods’

An Old Avestan example is the following:

- (35) Y. 35.3
yā hātəm šīiaoθananəm vahištā
 REL.NOM.PL exist.PTCP.PRS.GEN.PL action.GEN.PL good.SPD.NOM.PL
 CPREE STAND.STM PAR.PM
xiīāt ubōibiīā ahubiīā
 be.PRS.OPT.3SG both.DAT.DU existence.DAT.DU
 ‘(those actions) which might be the best of the actions which exist (or ‘of those who exist’) for both existences’

When the standard is conceived as a proper superset of the comparee (as in superlatives) but the participants involved are merely two, superlative constructions with comparative morphology are found, as in the following example (see also Vd. 4.48, Vd. 13.41, and Old Avestan Y. 45.2):

(36) Y. 19.9

frā *mē* *spaniiā* *maniuuā* *vauuaca* [...]

pro-[claim] 1SG.DAT bountiful.CPD.NOM spirit.GEN.DU proclaim.PRF.3SG

CPREE.PAR.PM STAND.STM

‘The more bountiful of the two spirits has proclaimed to me ...’⁵³

A noteworthy stylistic figure is found in Y. 36.6 (an Old Avestan passage belonging to the Yasna Haptaṅhāiti), where the standard of the superlative construction is indicated by two occurrences of the same lexeme, one in a partitive genitive noun phrase – as in the examples immediately above – and the other within the noun phrase expressing the comparee – as in Y. 58.8, § 5.7:

(37) Y. 36.6

sraēštqm *aṭ tōi* *kəhrpām* *kəhrpqm*

beautiful.SPD.ACC 2SG.GEN/DAT form.ACC form.GEN.PL

PAR.PM CPREE STAND.STM

āuuāēdaiiamahī [...] *imā* *raocā*

make.know.PRS.1PL this.ACC.PL light.ACC.PL

‘We make known these lights (to be) the most beautiful form among Thy forms’ (On the interpretation of the passage, see Narten 1986: 163 f.; Humbach 1991/II: 122; Kellens & Pirart 1988: 135.)

This scheme is recurrent in Vedic: RV. 10.170.3 *idaṃ śrēṣṭhaṃ jyōtiṣām jyōtiṣ* ‘this most beautiful light of lights’ (Narten 1986: 164; Watkins 1995: 241 f.).

A comparative construction with a bound standard marker onomasiologically equivalent to a superlative (cf. § 5.7) occurs in H. 2.7 (see § 4.1.1).

5.2 Type 4-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

5.2.1 Type 4-3-1: flag is case

See Vd. 5.23 (§ 4.2.1) for a comparative of this kind which can be considered equivalent to a superlative.

⁵³ Here the adjective *spaniiāh-* (comparative of *spənta-*) is substantivized, so that it expresses both the comparee and the parameter.

5.3 Type 4-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

5.3.1 Type 4-4-1: flag is case

The sentence *gaṇtumō yauuanāqm ratu-friš* (wheat.NOM cereal.GEN.PL dear.to.the.Ratu.NOM; N. 28a) has been analysed as a superlative lacking an overt expression of the degree, i. e. a construction analogous to the default superlative except for the use of a positive, non-superlativized, adjective: “wheat (is) of (all) cereals the dear[est] to the Ratu” (Watkins 1995: 245).⁵⁴

On the one hand, since Old Iranian (unlike e. g. Hittite) does use degree markers for distinguishing the superlative from the positive, in structuralist terms it seems that if an adjective is in the positive form and no other element interpretable as a degree marker is present, then it is *eo ipso* a non-superlative. On the other hand, as in superlatives, the construction singles out an element of the set indicated by the genitive and qualifies it in a distinctive way: ‘wheat is among cereals (the one) dear to the Ratu’. Notably, a possible implicature of a proposition of this kind is that the other cereals are not dear to the Ratu.⁵⁵

A further example of a positive which might be viewed as a “superlative-equivalent” is the following:

(38) Y. 53.3 (Old Avestan)

yezuii dugədrqm zaraθuštrahē
young.VOC.SG daughter.GEN.PL Z.GEN

‘(O thou) youngest among Zarathuštra’s daughters’ (cf. Humbach 1991/I: 98).

In Yt. 3.5 there are pairs of verse-lines in which a positive accompanied by a genitive partitive and the corresponding superlative also accompanied by the same genitive partitive are juxtaposed in order to form a stylistic climax:

(39) Yt. 3.5

mąθranqm uyrəm | mąθranqm uyrōtəməm
formula.GEN.PL vigorous.ACC formula.GEN.PL vigorous.SPD.ACC

⁵⁴ Moreover, the superlative reading is coherent with the Pahlavi passage in the context of which this sentence is quoted (cf. Kotwal & Kreyenbroek 1995: 59).

⁵⁵ In a sense, the structure suggests a pseudo-logic whereby there is a bi-unique relationship between items and qualities, so that a quality can belong to only one item. Importantly, semantics and pragmatics must be kept apart: implying that all members of the set *X* except *x* are not sufficiently P-full as to be qualified as P-full, might be pragmatically equivalent to a superlative stating that *x* is the most P-full member of *X*.

It seems harmonic with the two-member climax figure to assume that *uyrōtəməm* simply serves here as an elative counterpart of *uyrəm* (cf. § 6.4.1), i. e. ‘the vigorous among the formulas, the very vigorous among the formulas’.

5.4 Type 4-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

(40) AZ. 2

	<i>səuuištō</i>	<i>bauuāhi</i>	<i>yaθa</i>	<i>mazdā</i>
[you]	strong.SPD.NOM	be.SBJV.2SG	like	mazdā.NOM
CPREE	PAR.PM	(CPREE)		

‘you will be the strongest, like Mazdā’

In this sentence *səuuištō* (cf. § 4.7.1) is a superlative with a bound degree marker and the standard is not expressed (but a generic standard – ‘of all’ – is implied).

Adverbs derived by conversion from superlatives can also be used:

(41) Vd. 3.20

<i>mazdaiiasna</i>	<i>taṇcištəm=ca</i>	<i>vaēdiiōtəməm=ca [...]</i>	<i>hē</i>
mazdean.NOM.PL	energetic.SPD=and	knowledgeable.SPD=and	he.DAT
	PAR.PM	PAR.PM	

kamərəδəm *vināθaiiən*
head.ACC destroy.OPT.3PL

‘the Mazdean [...] may destroy his head in the most energetic and knowledgeable way’ (cf. Hintze 2009: 186 f. – with a different interpretation as to the verbal head)

As usual, such forms may be interpreted as unconditioned superlatives or (less aptly here) as elatives.

5.5 Type 4-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

When the parameter is expressed by a verb, the degree cannot be signaled by one of the superlative affixes and must be realized by a syntactically autonomous word. In Vd. 9.2 this function is performed by Av. *fraēštəm* ‘most’ – derived by conversion (with the usual neuter acc. ending) from *fraēšta-* ‘the most’, superlative of *pouru-* ‘much’ (cf. § 4.7.1).

(42) Vd. 9.2

yō fraēštəm apiuuatāite daēnaiiā māzdaiiasnōiš

REL.NOM most be.acquainted.SBJV.3SG religion.GEN mazdean.GEN

CPREE PM PAR

yaoždāḡriāṭ haca

cleanser's.office.ABL from

‘who should be the most acquainted with the Mazdean religion as concerns the cleanser’s office’ / ‘who should be acquainted to the highest degree with...’.

In this case the construction can be read as a superlative lacking an expressed standard, or, perhaps better, as an unconditioned superlative. It should be noted that here *api-uuat-* is a stative verb so that the semantic structure of the predicate at issue is close to that of an adjectival predicate.⁵⁶

Though marginal from the point of view of the linguistic system, the use of an unbound superlative marker with an adjective is not completely excluded. It occurs in a superlative of the superlative, i. e. a strengthened superlative:

(43) Vd. 5.46

yaṭ ahmi nmāne yaṭ māzdaiiasnōiš fraēštəm

REL.NOM this.LOC house.LOC REL.NOM mazdean.GEN the.most

CPREE PM

yaoždātō.zəmətəməm=ca huškō.zəmətəməm=ca

cleansed.ground.SPD.NOM=and dry.ground.SPD.NOM=and

PAR.PM PAR.PM

‘that (place) by this house of a Mazdean which absolutely (lit. the most) possesses the most cleansed and driest ground’⁵⁷

5.6 Types not included in the questionnaire

5.6.1 Compounding-based types

Like the standard of equative and comparative constructions (cf. § 3.6.1, 4.6.1), the standard/scope of the superlative of majority can figure as the first member of a com-

⁵⁶ Moreover, the sentence belongs to a list of qualities that a good cleanser should possess, whereby the first requirement is expressed by an adjective plus ‘be’ (*yō aḡhaṭ ... arš.vacō* ‘who should be of right words’).

⁵⁷ If Bartholomae (AiWb.: 1018 f.) is correct, a parallel structure – but in this case with the morphological comparative *frāiiah-* – occurs in Yt. 17.17: *frāiio... sraēštəm* ‘by far the most beautiful (acc.)’. Other scholars interpret this *frāiio* as a modifier belonging to the participle *zbaiēntəm* (‘those invoking’) and referring to frequency (‘celles qui m’invoquent le plus’ Lecoq 2016: 570; cf. also Pirart 2006: 121).

pound. This pattern is documented in the Old Avestan adjective *vispā.mazišta-* ‘the greatest of all’ (Y. 33.5; on the composition-vowel, see de Vaan 2003: 466).⁵⁸

The same pattern is also observed in a series of compounds in which the first element correspond to the positive form of a superlative (in *-tāma-*) figuring as the second member. In particular, in Yt. 3.14–15, this scheme is applied to a long series of superlativized nouns; e. g. *tafnu-tafnōtāma-* ‘the most fever of the fevers’ (cf. also Duchesne-Guillemin 1936: 129 f.)⁵⁹. Significantly, this series, which lists the evil beings that are attacked by Aša Vahišta, also contains phrasal elements of the kind *mahrkanqm mahrkōtāməm* (death.PL.GEN death.SPD.SG.ACC) ‘the most death of the deaths’. On the semantico-pragmatic level these *figurae etymologicae*, both the phrasal and the compound type, can be considered elativizing devices (cf. § 6.3, 6.4.2).

Among the stylistic figures based on repetition we also find a parameter-doubling scheme in which an instrumental noun derivationally connected with the superlativized adjective is placed in fronted position:

- (44) Yt. 14.3
ama ahmi amauuastāmō
 force.INS be.PRS.1SG endowed.with.force.SPDL.NOM
vərəθra ahmi vərəθrauuastāmō ...
 victory.INS be.PRS.1SG endowed.with.victory.SPD.NOM
 ‘as for force, I am the most endowed with force, as for victory, I am the most endowed with victory...’.⁶⁰

5.7 Formal means of expressing grading and comparison

The standard of the superlative⁶¹ is typically expressed, as we have seen, by a partitive genitive. In the absence of an expressed standard, a superlative can be interpreted in

⁵⁸ An interesting partial parallel to *vispā.mazišta-* is the Latvian superlative formed by prefixing *vis-* ‘all.GEN.PL’ to a comparative form (see Stang 1966: 269).

⁵⁹ In this list, the compounds formed from *-a-* stems show a vowel *-a-* at the end of the first element instead of the expected *-ō-* required by the ‘post-redactional synchronic rule’ (de Vaan 2003: 15, 433 ff.), which consists in the diasceustic *-a- → -ō-* substitution before a compound-internal boundary; e. g. *ažiciθra.ažiciθrōtāma-* ‘the most serpent breed of the serpent-breeds’, *vəhrkō.ciθra.vəhrkō.ciθrōtāməm* ‘the most wolf breed of...’. According to de Vaan (2003: 185; cf. also the question marks in AiWb.: 1933–1934), these compounds cannot be genuine Avestan. But one might wonder whether e. g. a hypothetical **vəhrkō.ciθrō.vəhrkō.ciθrōtāməm* would have appeared less clear as to its internal structure.

⁶⁰ From a purely stylistic point of view, this figure is reminiscent of the Old Persian *asabāra uvasabāra ami*, *ḡanuvaniya uḡanuvaniya ami* (DNb 41–43) ‘as a rider, I am a good rider; as an archer, I am a good archer’.

⁶¹ For the morphology of Old Iranian superlativized adjectives, see § 4.7. It should be noted that in the subsequent stages of development of Iranian languages the morphological superlative is recessive.

at least three different ways: 1) as an actual superlative with an understood standard, which might be inferrable from the context or coincide with a psychologically salient category to which the comparee belongs, e. g. Yt. 14.3 *ama ahmi amauuastəmō* ‘as for strength, I am the strongest (of all humans)’; 2) as an unconditioned superlative in the sense of Sapir (1944), e. g. Yt. 10.3 *razištəm paṇṭəm daḍāiti* ‘(he) gives (them) the straightest (possible) path’; 3) as an elative (cf. § 6.4.1).

The noun phrase indicating the comparee may contain the understood standard:

- (45) Y. 58.8
apanōtəmaiīā paitī vacastaštā
 effective.SPD.LOC in strophe.LOC
 PAR.PM CPREE{STAND}

Here the comparee *vacastašti-* ‘strophe’ also indicates the standard: ‘by (pronouncing) the most effective strophe ≈ the most effective of strophes’ (different rendering of *apanōtəma-* in Kellens 2005: 43 f. and 2011: 118).

Marginal phenomena include the use of superlative constructions employing a morphologically positive adjective (§ 5.3.1) and resorting to a free superlative marker, a strategy which in the example Vd. 9.2 (§ 5.5) can be connected (as we noted above) to the fact that the parameter is here expressed by a verb.

Furthermore, in the Avestan corpus constructions of the kind ‘X is/are more P-ful than every other S’ (see H. 2.7, § 4.1.1; Vd. 5.23, § 4.2.1) are possible alternatives to the default superlative pattern ‘X is/are the most P-ful of S’.

5.7.1 The superlative of minority

An Old Iranian adverb meaning ‘the least’ is Av. *kambištəm*, a conversion-derivative of the superlative adjective **kambišta-*, which in turn is connected with the positive *kamna-* ‘few’. It is found in Vd. 3.15, where it modifies a verbal phrase: ‘(where the small and the large cattle etc.) would the least (*kambištəm*) go forth (*fraiiqn*)’. However, in this case the adverb is to be interpreted in the sense of frequency rather than of degree.

Thus e. g. in Khotanese (Eastern Middle Iranian) the superlative in *-tama-* is attested but not fully productive (Emmerick 2009: 387). Several New Iranian languages (e. g. Ossetic, cf. Arys-Djanaieva 2004: 84 f.; Baluchi, cf. Frolova 1960: 30; New Persian before the creation of a new superlative formation, cf. Maggi & Orsatti 2018: 43, with refs.) exhibit a two-member positive vs. comparative morphological opposition whereby the comparative is marked by a continuation of the suffix **-tara-* and the superlative construction also employs the comparative form, often with a standard containing the quantifier ‘all’ (on this type from a cross-linguistic point of view, see Gorshenin 2012: 65).

The deadverbial superlative *nitāma-*, from *nī* ‘below’, also conveys the meaning of ‘least quantity’; e. g. Y. 10.6 *nitāma-ciṭ haoma-hūitiš* ‘even the least pressing of *haoma* ...’. The instrumental singular is also used adverbially:

(46) N. 106

cuuat nā nitāma aēsmāhe paiti.barō
 how.much man.NOM the.least.INS firewood.GEN offer.PTCP.PRS.NOM
ratu.friš
 dear.to.the.Ratu.NOM

‘How much is the least (quantity) of firewood a person should offer so as to satisfy the Ratus’ (Kotwal & Kreyenbroek 2009: 95).

The extant Old Iranian corpus does not permit an exact idea of the extent to which adverbs like *kambištām* or *nitāma*, used with other kinds of predicates, in particular with stative predicates expressing qualities, allowed for an interpretation in terms of degree.

A non-marginal strategy for expressing that an element *x* belonging to a set *X* possesses the quality *P* to the lowest degree within *X* is to select the negativized derivative of the adjective meaning ‘*P*-ful’ – or its lexicalized opposite, if existent – and form its superlative of majority. Due to the productivity of the negativizing prefix *a-*, this construction is generally available for gradable adjectives, and indeed is well-documented in the Avestan corpus. Thus:

(47) Vd. 3.7

kuua paoirīm airjḥā zəmō ašāištam
 where? first.NOM this.GEN earth.GEN NEG.pleasant.SPD.NOM
 STAND.STM NEG.PM.CPREE/PAR.PM

‘Where is the first most unpleasant (part/place) of this earth?’

6 Elative

6.1 Type 5-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The morphological superlative also serves as an elative:

- (48) Yt. 10.29
tūm akō vahištās=ca miθra ahi daijhubiiō
 2SG.NOM bad.NOM good.SPD.NOM=and M.VOC be.PRS.2SG country.DAT.PL
 CPREE PAR.PM
 ‘You, o Mithra, are bad and very good to the countries’

Frequently both interpretations are possible. Thus e. g. Y. 33.3 (Old Avestan) *yā ašāunē* ₁*vahištō*₁ is rendered as a superlative by Humbach (1991/I: 136) – “(That one) who is best to the truthful one” – and as an elative by Kellens and Pirart (1988: 123) – “celui qui [...] est très bon pour le partisan de l’Harmonie”.

6.2 Type 5-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

As in the case of the superlative, it is to be expected that an unbound degree marker of the elative degree may be used in order to intensify a property expressed by means of a non-gradable part of speech.

In Yt. 8.38 *pouru* seems to be used for intensifying the meaning of the preverb *fra-*:

- (49) Yt. 8.38
he [...] pouru paṇtqm fracāēšaētəm
 he.DAT much path.ACC forward.prepare.AOR.3DU
 PM PAR
 ‘(the two) prepared for him (Tištrya) the path far away’ (cf. Panaino 1990: 62)⁶²

⁶² Panaino (1990: 128) suspects *pouru* to be an error for *pairi*, which occurs in a similar passage in Yt. 8.7. A further example of this pattern is in Yt. 14.34, if we follow the translation given by Malandra (1983: 85), who apparently considers the *pouru.narqm* occurring there (with *narqm* gen. pl. of *nar-* ‘man’) as two separate words rather than as a compound: *yaṭ bauuāni* ₁*aiβi-sastō aiβi-šmarətō* ₁ ‘*pouru*’ ₁‘*narqm tβišiiantqm*’ ₁ “When ₁I am, ₁‘much’ ₁‘cursed verbally (or) mentally’ ₁‘by hostile men’ ₁” (half-brackets ours). See also Pirart’s translation (2006b: 170), which apparently takes *pouru* as referring to *tβišiiantqm* ‘hostile, harmful (gen. pl.)’: “s’il se présente que les hommes nuisibles de multiples façons me jettent un sort [maudissent]” (italic ours).

pounds with *aš-* ‘big, much’⁶⁴ as first member; e. g. Av. *aš-xʷarənah-* ‘having much (*aš-*) glory (*xʷarənah-*) ≈ highly endowed with glory’, *aš-varəcah-* ‘very rich in power’, *aš-aojah-* ‘very rich in strength’. The *aš-* compounds are typically exocentric and indeed there is no sure instance⁶⁵ of a compound in which *aš-* directly modifies an adjective (i. e. *aš-* cannot function as an intensifying adverb like *very*).⁶⁶

Two major kinds of positive-relative relations can be posited for these formations:

- 1) The compound can be considered the relative counterpart of the corresponding proprietive adjective (meaning ‘possessing X’) in *-want-*; e. g. elative *aš-xʷarənah-* and *aš-varəcah-* vs. positive *xʷarənaŋʰaŋt-* and *varəcaŋʰaŋt-* (both with *-aŋʰaŋt-* < **-ah+want-*) ‘endowed with glory/power’, respectively (for Greek pairs of this kind, see Risch 1974: 153).
- 2) The compound can be considered the relative counterpart of a deradical adjective co-derivative of the second member of the compound itself. For instance, the second member of *aš-aojah-* is the abstract noun in *-ah-aojah-* ‘strength’, beside which the Avestan lexical system possesses the cognate adjective in *-ra-uyra-* (OAv. *ugra-*) ‘strong’. Therefore, since **aš-uyra-* would not have been consistent with the distributional properties of *aš-*, *aš-aojah-* may serve as the *aš-*elativized counterpart of *uyra-*.⁶⁷ In other words, it can be hypothesized that, at a certain historical stage, a synchronic derivational strategy for elativizing an adjective consisted of taking an abstract noun in *-ah-* (< PIIr. **-as-* < PIE. **-es/os-*)⁶⁸ derived from the same root and forming an exocentric *aš-* compound with it (for Greek cf. Risch 1974: 83).

A relation of the second kind can coexist with one of the first. Thus, Old Avestan also exhibits a *-want-* derivative *aojaŋʰaŋt-* (with *-aŋʰaŋt-* < **-ah+want-*) ‘endowed with strength’, which is connected with *aš-aojah-* as well.

Both the simple proprietive type in *-want-* and the exocentric compound with relative meaning can form their own regular superlative/elative derivative (thus, *xʷarənaŋʰaŋt-* → *xʷarənaŋʰastəma-*; *aš-aojah-* → *aš-aojastəma-*) and even the comparative derivative (*aš-aojah-* → *aš-aojastara-*).

The adjective *pouru-* ‘much/many’ can also form adjectives with relative meaning, when used as the first member of exocentric compounds: cf. *pouru-mahrka-* ‘much-

⁶⁴ *aš-* serves as compound-allomorph of Av. *mazānt-*, *mas-*, OAv. *maz-* ‘great, big’, cf. Schindler (1987).

⁶⁵ A dubious case is *aš-vaŋdra-*, for which Duchesne-Guillemin (1936: 131) assumed that *vaŋdra-* is an adjective meaning ‘praised’. On *aš-paourva-*, see Schindler (1987: 340).

⁶⁶ This circumstance has been highlighted by Schindler (1987: 144 f.), who states that Young Avestan may not have possessed an intensifying adverb like the Latin *valde*. It seems likely, however, that the adverbial neuter accusatives *pouru-* (‘much’), *frāiio-* (‘more’ and in some cases ‘much’), *fraēštəm-* (‘most’) could be employed in ways connected to the semantic dimension of degree.

⁶⁷ Besides the regular superlative *aš-aojastəma-*, the more recent variant *aš-aojišta-* is also attested (FrW. 8.2). This form may indicate that the second member of *aš-aojah-* had been identified with the simple *uyra-*, whose superlative is indeed *aojišta-*.

⁶⁸ For the original function of the *-es/os-* nominalizing suffix, cf. Niederreiter (2001: 41).

death = very deadly' (Yt 10.134).⁶⁹ Bartholomae (AiWb.: 92; cf. also Reichert 1909: 267) also ascribed an analogous value to the particle *aiβi/auui* (cf. OI. *abhi*): cf. *aiβiθūra-*, rendered with 'sehr siegreich', and *aiβii.ama-/auui.ama-* rendered with 'überstark' (see also § 4.6.1 above). In *pouru-jira-* 'very clever, very active' we have, perhaps, an example of an elative formed by directly prefixing *pouru-* to an adjectival stem (*jira-* 'clever, active' – cf. Delbrück 1883–1900, vol. 3: 226).

A particular case is that of six doubly-compound adjectives formed by preposing *frāiiō-* lit. 'more' to *humata-* 'of good thoughts', *hūxta-* 'of good words', *huuaršta-* 'of good deeds' and to their opposites *dušmata-*, *dužūxta-*, *dužūuaršta-*: i. e. *frāiiō-humata-* etc. Usually these forms are rendered as 'whose good thoughts exceed (his evil ones)' etc. (Kreyenbroek 1985: 43 at Y. 57.14; cf. AiWb.: 1019 f.). However, this is not particularly satisfactory, since it relativizes the virtues of the pious man to whom the positive epithets are applied. Perhaps it is better to assume that here *frāiiō-* has the value of a simple positive, so that the whole compound should be classified as an elative: *frāiiō-humata-* = 'of very good thoughts' (a different proposal is put forward in Kellens 2011: 87).

Among the elative constructions one might also include a series of compounds which belong to the equative type (cf. § 3.6.1), cf. *katō-masah-* 'having the size of a house/as big as a house', *dānu-drājah-* 'as long as a river', *huuarə.barəzah-* 'as high as the sun', *zəm.fraθah-* 'as broad as the earth'. To be sure, in these cases the comparees prototypically occupy the high pole as concerns the scalar property figuring as the parameter. Generally speaking, however, onomasiological classifications should not obliterate the distinction between semantics and pragmatics. Thus, an adjective like *katō-masah-* may conventionalize as a semantic elative but can only come into existence as a semantic equative pragmatically used as an elative.

6.4 Formal means of expressing grading and comparison

6.4.1 Superlative for elative

As we have seen (§ 6.1), in Old Iranian, as in other ancient IE languages, the morphological superlative can serve as an elative. Nevertheless, in the absence of the expression of a scope/standard, it is not always easy to establish whether the superlative is to be understood as a superlative proper or as an elative. Sometimes such an ambiguity also depends on the interpretation of the context. Thus it has been debated whether the formula *mazištō yazatō* should be rendered as 'the greatest god', in which case

⁶⁹ A modification of meaning similar to that effected by an elative is also shown by forms like *hu-xšnuta-* (Yt. 10.24, 39) 'well-sharpened', said of spears, and *hu-θaxta-* 'well-stretched' (Yt. 10.39), said of a bow.

yazatō would implicitly indicate the standard, or as ‘the very great god’ (cf. Gershevitch 1959: 52).

The distinction between elative and unconditioned superlative readings (in the sense of Sapir 1944) is also not straightforward. Thus in the *Yašt* to *Tištrya*, we read:

- (52) Yt. 8.56
hē asti dāitiōtəmō yasnas=ca
 he.DAT be.PRS.3SG to.be.given.SPD.NOM worship.NOM=and
vahmas=ca
 prayer.NOM=and

If we assume that the scope of the degree operator is the modal meaning component of the gerundive, this clause admits both the elative interpretation ‘worship and prayer are very much due to him’ and the unconditioned superlative interpretation ‘worship and prayer are due to him in the highest possible degree’.

The use of morphological comparatives as elatives or as excessives is not a typical strategy in Old Iranian.⁷⁰ However, there seems to be some evidence for a non-comparative use for the Avestan quantifying comparative adjective *frāiiāh-*. Thus, in Y. 4.5 *frāiiēhīš* (much.CPD.F.ACC.PL) does not have a second term of comparison and seems to mean ‘abounding’ rather than ‘greater, more numerous’ (for the use of *frāiiāh-* in compounds, cf. § 6.3.1).⁷¹ Strictly speaking, however, this is a case of comparative-for-positive rather than comparative-as-elative, since the meaning ‘much, abounding’ is in fact already associated with the positive form *pouru-* ‘much’.⁷²

6.4.2 Analytic means: free intensifiers, pseudo-superlatives, pseudo-comparatives

As shown in 6.2, unbound intensifying adverbs seems to be chiefly used when the parameter quality is expressed by a non-nominal form. Other multi-word elatives are

⁷⁰ Some alleged instances are uncertain. An elative reading has been suggested (AiWb.: 46) for *akata-* ‘bad-CPD’ at Yt. 10.26, but the context can provide an understood second term (Gershevitch 1959: 181). Analogously, in H. 2.14 *frataire gātuuō* can mean ‘in a place positioned more forward (than the others)’. A true comparative value would also belong to the *frata-* ‘more forward’ of *frata- vitasti-*, which, according to Bartholomae (AiWb: 980; Vd. 8.76), indicates a ‘good span’, i.e. a span (*vitasti-*) longer than the normal one.

⁷¹ Perhaps another instance of comparative-for-elative (but in this case concerning frequency rather than degree) is constituted by *frāiiō zbaiieṅtqm* ‘much.CPV invoke.PTCP.PRS.GEN.PL = those who invoke [me] (very) often’ (Yt. 17.17, cf. footnote 57 above). On frequency readings of quantifying adverbs, see Doetjes (2007).

⁷² Instances of the diachronic development from comparative to positive are well documented in Middle Persian: MPers. *freh* < **frāyah-* means both ‘more’ and ‘much’; MPers. *weh* < *wahyah-* ‘better’ means both ‘better’ and ‘good’ (cf. also Germ. *baß* ‘a lot, quite’ < ‘better’).

the pseudo-superlative elative (*taxmanqm taxmō* ‘stronger than strong’) and the pseudo-comparative elative (*āsaot āsiā* ‘faster than fast’, cf. § 6.3).

In Avestan, the pseudo-superlative elative seems to be halfway between a stylistic figure – especially used in eulogistic passages – and a morphosyntactic device proper. The adjective is in its positive grade, but it is accompanied by a genitive plural that creates a sort of ‘purpose-made’ standard corresponding to the set of the entities to which the same adjective can be applied. The predicated quality is distinguishably possessed by the comparee even in comparison to the members of this set.

In Old Persian this pattern is found in the Great King’s title *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθi-yānām* ‘king of kings’ – with postnominal genitive – (e. g. in DB 1.01), which echoes the Akkadian title *šar šarrani* adopted by Urartean kings (Gnoli 1974).

This kind of periphrastic elative recurs in several Semitic and non-Semitic languages of the Near East, where it is typically employed in divine titles.⁷³ At the same time, intensifying constructions based on the combination of a noun and a tautolexic adnominal genitive are well documented in Old Indic (cf. the type *satyāsya satyām* ‘truth of truth, absolute truth’, on which see Oertel 1937; Watkins 1995: 241 ff.).

In Avestan, this scheme can also involve adjectives with superlative morphology. Three subtypes can be observed (cf. also § 6.3):

- 1) positive – positive, e. g. *taxmanqm taxmō* ‘strong among the strong’ (Yt. 10.65);
- 2) superlative – positive (standard), e. g. *mahrkanqm mahrkōtəməm* (Yt. 3.14) ‘“most-death” among the deaths’, *mašiiānqm uyrānqm aojištō* ‘the strongest among the strong mortals’ (Yt. 19.38), cf. Ol. *préṣṭham u priyāñāṃ* ‘dearest of the dear’ (RV. 8.103.10);
- 3) superlative – superlative, e. g. *aojištanqm... aojištəm* (acc.) (Yt. 10.141) ‘mightiest among the mightiest/among the very mighty’.

Type 2) and the pseudo-comparative elative also have compound counterparts:

- compound pseudo-superlative elative: *tafnu-tafnōtəma-* ‘most fever among the fevers’ (Yt. 3.15, cf. § 5.6.1);
- compound pseudo-comparative elative: *taxmō.tašiiā* ‘stronger (nom.) than strong’ (Vr. 7.3, cf. § 4.6.1).

7 Excessive

In Old Iranian the same expression of quantification can apply to both a large quantity – i. e. ‘much, many *X*’ – and an excessive quantity – i. e. ‘too much, too many *X*’. A revealing Old Persian passage is DB 4.47–50, where *paru θadayāti* (much/many.NOM

⁷³ For its use in Biblical Hebrew, cf. Gesenius & Kautzsch (1909: 452 § 133i). Passages in several languages are cited by West (1997: 557 f. and note 26). For Indic parallels, see also Watkins (1995: 245).

seem.SBJV.3SG) certainly means ‘will seem too much’. Darius is stating that the many other things done by him have not been written in the inscription in order to avoid that “to the one who will later read this inscription, what I have done will seem too much [...] and (he) will consider (it) false”. The diagnostic value of this text lies in the fact that a rendering of *paru* as ‘much/a lot’ would not cohere with the context (obviously, Darius cannot simply have feared that his achievements would seem numerous).⁷⁴

The existence of such an ambiguity in the sphere of quantification allows us to imagine that an analogous situation may obtain with adjectival intensification. A situation of this kind can be observed in Modern Greek, where the adjective *πολύς* can mean both ‘much’ and ‘too much’ and the corresponding adverb *πολύ* can mean both ‘very’ and ‘too’ (cf. Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warburton 2012: 399 f.).

As for Avestan, an elative of the compound type (cf. § 6.3.1) for which the rendering as an excessive is felicitous is attested in Vd. 19.3. Here Druj (the cosmic principle of deception) is lamenting that *pouru.x^varənanəhō*⁷⁵ *ašauua zaraθuštrō* ‘The righteous Zarathustra is endowed with (too) much glory, is (too) glorious’ (cf. Lecoq 2016: 1025).

In other cases, the idea of an excessive degree is conveyed by lexical means, i. e. as ‘greater than convenient’. Thus, in N. 30 (Kotwal & Kreyenbroek 1995: 82) there is an antithesis between *ᵛdāitiīā* *draōnā*^ᵛ ‘prescribed/convenient portions’ and *fraiīā*^ᵛ *draōnā*^ᵛ ‘larger portions’, where the second term ‘than the convenient ones’ can be inferred from the context.

8 Further remarks

We have seen that, as is the case for other ancient Indo-European varieties, Old Iranian comparative constructions are generally characterized by the use of morphological means for marking the relational concepts involved. The simple phrase *ās-iiənh-a asp-aēibiia* (Yt. 57.28) ‘faster than two horses’ constitutes an example, the comparative degree being expressed by the suffix *-yah-* (> *-iiənh-*) contained in *āsiiənh-a* and the ablatival ending *-aēibiia* of *asp-aēibiia* functioning as a standard marker.

However, the characterization of Old Iranian as a language using inflectional and derivational means should not obscure the role played by analytical and compounding-based strategies.

Inasmuch as morphological devices are affected by restrictions related to word-class distinctions, morphology alone cannot guarantee a full coverage of the potential

⁷⁴ The same lack of distinction between ‘much’ and ‘too much’ is also present in the Elamite version of DB. In the sentence corresponding to DB 4.49 ‘(too) much’ is *ir-še-ik-ki* (cf. Cameron 1960: 67; Hinz & Koch 1987: 780 f. sv.), but the same word is also used in passages where the meaning ‘too much’ is certainly excluded (e. g. DSz 54 f.).

⁷⁵ Thematicized, for *pouru.x^varənanəhā*^ᵛ (cf. AiWb.: 903, s. v. *pouru.x^varənah-*).

domain of applicability of gradation. This is particularly evident when a morphologically bound or fused marker is an exponent of an inflectional category value, since the set of inflectional categories associated with a word strictly depends on its word class. Thus, if the morphological device for signaling the standard of a comparative construction is the selection of the ablative case (as in Avestan, Old Indic or Latin), the morphology-based strategy is unavailable whenever the standard is expressed by a non-nominal element (i. e. by a word not belonging to the classes pronoun, noun, adjective, participle or by a linguistic unit different from the word).

This eventuality is not so marginal. Thus comparisons between two different points in time – e. g. ‘X is bigger than before’ – are relatively frequent in language use but cannot resort to the ablative standard and must resort to an analytic pattern. (In Avestan, for example, the common lexical items for ‘before’ are the adverb *para* and the two-word expression *para ahmāt* ‘before this.SG.ABL’, cf. the example in Vd. 2.11 in § 4.4.) The same applies, as expected, when the standard is a state of affairs that must be expressed by a clause.⁷⁶

Thus, regardless of the fact that analytic strategies for marking the standard can be extended to nominal phrases which would also permit the synthetic expression, the coexistence of a synthetic and an analytic construction is an unavoidable consequence of the intrinsic limitations of morphological devices.⁷⁷ This has some consequences for attempts to pass from the typological classification of comparative constructions to a typological classification of languages according to their comparative constructions.

Speaking of Latin, which also has an ablative-comparative and a particle-comparative (with *quam*), Stassen (1984: 148) considers the *quam*-comparative “primary” as opposed to the “secondary” ablative-comparative, stating that “the ablative comparative in Latin is restricted in its use to cases of NP-comparison, whereas the *quam*-comparative is not”. At the same time, one might say that Latin and Avestan employ the ablative-construction in the largest possible domain, since the exclusion of non-NP standards is due to unescapable conditions imposed by the morphosyntactic level (see also § 4.7.3).

Moreover, two arguments might induce us to consider the Avestan ablative-construction as “primary” rather than “secondary” in the synchronic system: (1) unlike

⁷⁶ Analogous restrictions can also be found in languages with unbound standard markers, in which case they typically depend on the distributional properties of the word class (e. g. adpositions) to which the standard marker originally belongs. Instead of an alternation between synthetic and analytic means, this produces an alternation between two different analytic patterns (typically adposition-based and particle-based).

⁷⁷ A further limit of the synthetic strategy is the ambiguity of sentences like Lat. *Brutum ego non minus te amo* (cf. Stassen 1985: 30), whereas the particle-based pattern can disambiguate them by means of derived case selection (cf. § 3.7.3).

the *yaθa*-pattern, it does not exhibit neutralization with the equative; (2) the ablative morphology of the cataphoric pronoun announcing the *yaθa*-standard. In sum, the synthetic option is systemically central, yet not sufficient for the needs of the language.

Partially similar reasoning applies to bound degree markers. At least for part of the period between the Proto-Indo-Iranian and the later Old Iranian, the productive derivational processes forming comparative and superlative adjectives took nominals as base words.⁷⁸ Even more importantly, the outputs of the available morphological processes forming comparatives and superlatives were necessarily nominals as to their word-class. This means that, for a gradable property expressed by a stative verb, a comparative construction must have either taken a nominal form of the verb (typically a participle) and used the corresponding comparative form (comparative and superlatives derived from participles are indeed well documented also for activity verbs) or else resort to some periphrastic expression.

The combination of the adverbialized superlative *fraēštəm* ‘most’ with the verb *apiuuatāite* ‘is acquainted’ appearing in the clause *yō fraēštəm apiuuatāite* ‘who is most acquainted’ (Vd. 9.2; cf. § 5.5) can be read as an example of the latter strategy. As for the *yaθa*-standard, syntax once again fills the gaps of morphology in this case.

The second noteworthy issue is that in the Old Iranian type, as well as in the Old Indic one, compounding morphology provides a relatively rich set of patterns for codifying comparisons of degree or manner. It is true that in the Avestan corpus we find but a minimal number of occurrences of each kind; but this fact, which is in fact expected if we suppose that compound comparatives must have had a lower usage frequency than non-compound ones, should not prevent us from appreciating the relevance of compounding-based strategies in this linguistic system.

Indeed, a compound like *aspō-staoiiāh-* ‘stronger than a horse’ contains all the elements required by a comparative of majority except for the comparee. The compounding-based strategy can certainly be ruled out when some modifier must be added to one of the involved lexemes, given that Indo-European compounds with three or more members are rather exceptional. Otherwise a compounding-based construction may be denotatively equivalent to a corresponding non-compounding based one. Two properties are worth mentioning here, which characterize one type as contrasted with the other. The first is that, at least on the surface, compounds produce a

78 As concerns the formation of comparatives and superlatives, however, a different situation can be imagined for a previous stage of the language. Indeed, one can assume that in the original Indo-Iranian system the basic sound-meaning pairs contained in the mental lexicon were elements not specified for word-class membership, i. e. the ‘roots’ understood as synchronic units (cf. also Alfieri 2016). In such a system, a basic lexical unit can serve at the same time as the derivational base of a verbal stem and of a comparative adjective, independently of the existence of a corresponding positive adjectival lexeme (cf. § 4.7.2).

lower morphosyntactic complexity of the clause in which they appear.⁷⁹ The second is that they are somehow inert from the pragmatic point of view, in that each of the two constituents of the compound can by itself neither undergo pragmatically motivated displacements nor be associated with focusing particles. It is likely that these properties played a role in the pragmatic-stylistic choice between the compound-based and simplex-based constructions.

In sum, we have picture with three layers, whereby syntactic, inflectional/derivational, and compounding-based patterns can serve as alternative strategies for the expression of the same element, with their distributional behaviours being partially constrained by grammar and partially determined by style and pragmatics.

8.1 A list of major non-compounding-based constructions

8.1.1 ‘Grammaticalized’ constructions

The major ‘grammaticalized’ non-compounding-based construction types employed in Avestan gradation can be schematized as follows (cf. §§ 2.7, 3.7, 4.7, 5.7, 6.4):

	PM	PAR	STM	STAND
similat.	[-əa-adv.]	(variously expr.)	yaθa	phrase* or clause
equat.	dem. base- (a-, auua-)	-uuant-adj. noun (ins. or acc.) -uuat-adv. positive adj.		
comparat.	comparative adj. in -iiah-/-tara-		ahmāṭ (abl.) abl.	yaθa noun-phrase
superlat.	superlative adj. in -išta-/-tama-		gen.	—
elat.			—	

*Noun phrases exhibit derived case or nominative.

Several points must be added to this scheme.

- The following pattern is attested for the equative with one entity and two parameters (§ 3.6):

⁷⁹ A compound can be viewed as a [X \mathfrak{R} Y]Z structure, where \mathfrak{R} is an implicit (and, therefore, not further specified) grammatical relation (cf. Guevara & Scalise 2009: 107).

	PAR _{COMP}	PM _{COMP}	PAR _{STAND}	PM _{STAND}
one-entity equative	noun acc.	dem.- <i>uuant</i> -adj.	noun acc.	<i>yauuant-</i>

- Adjectives with comparative morphology can be found in superlative constructions with two-element standard sets (§ 5.1.1).
- The comparative constructions whose standard is a set modified by ‘other’ (*aniia-*) are onomasiologically equivalent to superlatives (§§ 4.1.1, 5.7).

Major deviations from the patterns schematized above are:

- Superlative/relative constructions with unbound degree markers (§ 5.5), which seem to be constrained by morphological restrictions related to the word class of the lexeme expressing the parameter.
- Comparative and superlative constructions with no degree marker. The former, if actually attested (cf. § 4.3.1 and footnote), is morphologically constrained (parameter adjective appearing as first member of compound), whereas for the latter the interpretation as actual superlatives is questionable (cf. § 5.3.1).
- Equative constructions lacking an overt expression of the parameter SIZE, or those in which a demonstrative adjective of degree serves both as a degree marker and as an expression of the parameter SIZE (§ 3.2).

Moreover, Avestan preserves the similitive suffix **-want-*, but seems to restrict its applicability to personal pronouns (§ 2.6; see § 2.6.1 for *hauuat.zam-* as a possible example of a surrogate structure applicable to nouns).

8.1.2 Relevant non-grammaticalized constructions

Among the syntactic devices employed in gradation, there are equative or comparative constructions in which the parameter is expressed by a noun appearing in argument position (‘ARGUMENT-PARAMETER pattern’); e. g. ‘CPREE possesses a greater PARAMETER_{COMPLEMENT} than STANDARD’ or ‘a greater PARAMETER_{SUBJ} belongs to CPREE than (PARAMETER_{SUBJ} belongs) to STANDARD’ (§§ 3.7.2, 4.7.4). The use of the verb *hac-* with a SUBJECT-PARAMETER might not be a nonce-pattern since it occurs more than once (cf. Yt. 10.107, 19.68). In these cases a lexical item associated with SIZE serves as a “dummy parameter” and might perhaps be thought of as having a quasi-functional status (cf. *masō* in Yt. 5.96, § 3.5; *masiā* in Yt. 10.107, § 4.4).

Relevant stylistic figures equivalent to relatives are the frequent pseudo-comparative relative and the pseudo-superlative relative: ‘strongest among the strong’, ‘faster than fast’ (§ 6.4.2).

Some constructions realizing comparisons of the so-called ‘exceed’-type also occur.

8.2 A survey of compounding-based types

Given the peculiar status of compounding, somehow lying between morphology proper and syntax, the question arises of to what extent compound-based expressions like the ones analysed above (§§ 2.6.1, 3.6.1, 4.6.1, 5.6.1, 6.3.1) can actually be considered “constructions”, as opposed to “lexical items”.

One might think that compound equatives are most likely to appear with recurrent, at least partially conventionalized comparisons. Some of the items in the list of equative-compounds reported above (3.6.1) would seem to confirm that. However, this approach to the problem is misleading. Even if it is reasonable to posit as one of the definitional properties of compounds that it must be possible for them to acquire lexical status (Montermini 2010), a compound can only come into existence as a non-lexicalized unit.

Moreover, in the particular case of Old Indo-Iranian, the high productivity of compounding is unquestionable, cf. compounds containing proper names like *zaraθuštrō. fraoxta-* ‘proclaimed by Zarathustra’ (Y. 1.10).

The systemic relevance of compounding-based constructions is confirmed by the existence of a relatively rich set of subtypes. (In the following table DEGREE is used in lieu of PM both for constructions involving a parameter and for the parameter-less ones.)

Type	Examples	Gloss
1) DEGREE-STANDARD (= DEGREE-PARAMETER) similitive (§ 2.6.1)	<i>hauuaṭ.zam-</i>	‘like the soil’ (similar to the soil, having the soil as something similar to itself)
2) DEGREE-PARAMETER similitive (§ 2.6.1)	<i>hazaoša-</i>	‘wishing like...’ (‘having the same wishes as...’)
3) STANDARD-PARAMETER similitive (§ 2.6.1)	<i>hama.gaona-naire.manah-</i>	‘having the same colour’ ‘thinking like man, manfully’ (‘having the thoughts of a man’)
4) DEGREE-PARAMETER equative (§ 3.6.1)	<i>(h?)auuaṭ-masah-</i>	‘as large as...’ (‘having the same size as...’)
5) STANDARD-PARAMETER equative (§ 3.6.1)	<i>katō-masah-</i>	‘as large as a house’
6) STANDARD-PARAMETER comparative (§ 4.6.1)	<i>aspō.stao-iiah-</i>	‘stronger than a horse’
7) STANDARD-PARAMETER pseudocomparative elative (§§ 4.6.1; 6.4.2)	<i>taxmō.tqšiih-</i>	‘stronger than strong’
8) STANDARD-PARAMETER superlative (§ 5.6.1)	<i>višpā.mazišta-</i>	‘greatest of all’
9) STANDARD-PARAMETER pseudosuperlative elative (§§ 5.6.1; 6.4.2)	<i>tafnu-taf-nōtama-</i>	‘most fever among fevers’
10) DEGREE-PARAMETER elative (§ 6.3.1)	<i>aš-aojah-</i>	‘very strong’ (‘having great strength’)

Type 5), 9), and 10) are well represented in the Avestan corpus (type 2 with *hama-* also has more occurrences). The others are hapax or quasi-hapax types, but this does not imply that they should be considered exceptional formations. Thus it is possible that type 4) played a role in the creation of the Sogdian ‘relative/equative’ prefix *wā-/wat-*⁸⁰. A further recurring use of prefixing/compounding in gradation is the negatized superlative of the type *a-šāišta-* ‘most unpleasant ≈ least pleasant’ (cf. § 5.7.1).

As already observed, the choice between compounding-based and non-compounding-based constructions is a matter of style and pragmatics. A relevant property of comparative compounds is certainly their ability to be used as epithets.

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⁸⁰ This formative, which is employed – as a prefix or as the prefixal part of a circumfix – in equative and relative constructions (details are given in Gershevitch 1954: 196 f.), is most probably a continuation of the Old Iranian demonstrative of degree adj. *awant-*, adv. *awat* (cf. Milizia 2020).

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Máté Ittzés

16 Latin

1 Introduction

Latin is the chief representative of the Italic branch of the Indo-European language family. Its attestation begins with short inscriptions from the 7th c. BC, while the “end” of its history and its transition into its descendants, the Romance languages is probably to be dated to the 7th–8th c. AD (on the chronology and the periodization of Latin see, first of all, Adamik 2015; cf. also Weiss 2009: 23–24; Fortson 2010: 282). Between these two end points, Latin is recorded in a huge amount of literary texts (prose and poetry alike), non-literary inscriptions and various other sources of all kinds.

This chapter does not aim at offering an exhaustive treatment of all aspects of gradation and comparison throughout the history of Latin as a whole, and is restricted in more than one aspect. First of all, as far as chronology is concerned, the chapter concentrates on just two periods of the history of Latin: Old Latin (ca. 325 BC – ca. 120 BC) and Classical Latin (ca. 120 BC – ca. 250 AD). The reasons for not taking into account the earlier and later periods are manifold. One reason is that Archaic Latin, the period before Old Latin (from the earliest inscriptions ca. 700 BC until ca. 325 BC) cannot give us much information on gradation (except, perhaps, for morphology; note e.g. the comparative form *PLEORIS/-ES*, the antecedent of later *plures*, in the “Carmen Arvale”, the song of the Arval Brethren, *CIL* I² 2 and VI 2014; Weiss 2009: 360; cf. 3.13). On the other hand, an exhaustive survey of the developments in Late Latin (which, in accordance with Adamik 2015, can further be divided into the periods called “Vulgar Latin” and “Transitional Latin”) would require considerably more space, since among other matters it would also require the treatment of at least some questions concerning gradation in the Romance languages. Thus, developments in Late Latin (and *a fortiori* in the Romance languages) are mentioned in this chapter only very selectively, when contributing important and relevant material to the discussion. (For more information about gradation in Late Latin generally cf. the diachronically oriented overview in Cuzzolin 2011.)

As far as Latin sources are concerned, this chapter is based almost exclusively on literary texts. The two representative and most frequently cited authors are: Plautus (ca. 254 – ca. 184 BC, Old Latin), whose comedies can also give us some hints on constructions of a more colloquial character; and Cicero (106–43 BC, Classical Latin), whose rhetorical and philosophical writings are considered the peak of Classical Latin literary prose (next to the commentaries of Caesar), but whose letters also include a considerable amount of data that are supposedly representative of lower registers of the language. References to, and citations from, epigraphical material are only occasional. Citations of Latin texts are generally taken from the text editions that are

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digitally available in the *Classical Latin Texts* database of the Packard Humanities Institute (accessible online at <https://latin.packhum.org/>).

Gradation and comparison is a very extensively and thoroughly studied field within Latin linguistics, and the amount of secondary literature is vast. Apart from the relevant chapters of the important and widely used reference grammars (e. g. Kühner & Stegmann 1992; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972; Burkard & Schauer 2012; the second volume of Pinkster's new *Oxford Latin Syntax*, which will contain the chapter on comparison, is still unpublished), there are many specialized studies, monographs, collections, etc. devoted to this topic (e. g. Bertocchi & Orlandini 1996; Espinilla & Quetglas & Torrego 2002; Cuzzolin 2011; Tarrío 2011, among many others). This is another reason why this chapter does not pretend to be exhaustive, and why it is admittedly possible that some minor patterns or idiosyncratic phenomena have gone unnoticed, even if they are mentioned somewhere in the secondary literature. On the other hand, limitation of space has meant that relevant data and important details had to be consciously excluded, as well. The interested reader should therefore consult the secondary literature in order to get a full picture on gradation and comparison in Latin.

The abbreviations used for authors, texts, and corpora follow the practice of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (*ThLL*). The *Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur* of the *ThLL* is freely available online at <https://www.thesaurus.badw.de/tll-digital/index/a.html>. Note that I sometimes use the older abbreviation instead of the one currently employed in accordance with the text edition included in the PHI database. This applies mainly to texts that have survived only in fragments; thus I use e. g. “Cato *or. frag.*” (Malcovati's edition) instead of “Cato *orat.*” (Sblendorio Cugusi's edition).

The translation of Latin citations is generally based on, or taken from, translations available in the secondary literature on gradation in Latin and various online collections of Latin texts such as the Loeb Classical Library (loebclassics.com) or the Perseus Digital Library (<https://www.perseus.tufts.edu>).

As far as the orthography of Latin text passages and individual words is concerned, in accordance with the ancient spelling conventions the letter *u* is used in both vocalic and consonantal function (i. e. [u] and [w]). Vocalic length is generally not indicated by a macron.

1.1 A general note on constructions expressing gradation

It seems advisable to mention right at the outset a phenomenon which is frequent in Latin and which may appear in virtually all types of constructions treated in this chapter. This is the so-called compendiary or abbreviated comparison (“*comparatio compendiaria*”), a subtype of the syntactic figure called brachylogy (cf. e. g. Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 826; Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 566–577; Burkard & Schauer 2012: 115). In a compendiary comparison, a property (understood in a broad sense) of an

entity is compared directly to another entity rather than to the latter's corresponding property, due to a certain kind of metonymic transference. For instance, in ex. (1) the STAND *capris* properly stands for *figurae caprorum*, corresponding to the CPREE *figura* (*harum*, scil. *alcium*). (Note, incidentally, that from the *logical* point of view, the genitive possessor *alcium* may be regarded as the CPREE, while *figura*, which is the CPREE in formal terms, expresses the PAR. For a similar construction cf. ex. 60 in 4.3.1.)

- (1) Caes. *Gall.* 6.27.1
harum est consimilis capris figura
 this.GEN.PL be.PRS.3SG similar.NOM goat.DAT.PL shape.NOM
 PM STAND.STM CPREE
 'their shape (scil. of elks) is similar to [that of] goats'

Another remark on negation is in order at this point. As will become clear, there are many grading patterns in Latin that frequently, or even exclusively, occur in negative polarity contexts (i. e. involving a negation or a pragmatically equivalent interrogative element); and due to this, they allow an inference that the construction may be understood differently. For instance, the equative pattern *tam... quam* (cf. 3.6) very frequently involves negation, yielding an inference that the construction can be interpreted as a comparative of inferiority (*non tam... quam* 'not as... as' = 'less... than'). However, since none of these negative patterns is the only way of expressing the inferred relation (e. g. the comparative of inferiority can be expressed in Latin by means of the canonical pattern *minus... quam*), they are always dealt with according to their non-negated "base" construction and not according to their inference (e. g. *non tam... quam* is treated in 3.6 together with *tam... quam* and not in 4.6 together with *minus... quam*). In these and similar cases, however, I always refer the reader to the detailed discussion at the end of that section which deals with the inferred relation. (On various questions concerning negation in grading constructions cf. e. g. Bertocchi & Orlandini 1996.)

2 Similitive constructions

As in other languages, it is often difficult to distinguish similitive constructions from equatives in Latin, since in spite of their more or less clear semantic differences, they share many characteristics (cf., e. g. Tarrío 2011: 399–400 on some points of semantic and formal contact).

2.1 Type 1-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

2.1.1 Type 1-3-1: flag is case

This is a relatively frequent pattern in Latin, mainly using the adjective *similis* ‘similar’ (rarely *ad-*, *con-*, *persimilis*) and its antonym *dissimilis* ‘unlike, different’ (rarely *absimilis*). The STM is either the dative (e. g. Cic. *ac.* 2.118) or the genitive (ex. 2) (cf. Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 449–450). As far as *similis* and its prefixed varieties are concerned, the genitive is used mainly, but not exclusively, in the case of complete or all-pervading similarity, and the dative if the similarity is only partial or approximate. This explains why the dative is regularly used if the PAR is given explicitly. Another factor is the animacy of the STAND (thus e. g. in Cicero the genitive clearly prevails if the STAND is a person). There are also diachronic differences: While the genitive is more frequent in Old Latin, the dative clearly attains the upper hand from the time of Livius (2nd half of the 1st c. BC) onward.

In accordance with the holistic nature of similitive constructions, there is usually no explicitly given PAR (ex. 2); but it can be added, of course, namely in the form of an ablatival phrase (ablative of respect or “ablativus limitationis”) or a prepositional phrase with *in* (sometimes called “*in limitativum*”). However, as pointed out by Pinkster (2015: 807), the fact that the two devices may co-occur in one and the same sentence (e. g. Cic. *de orat.* 2.270; cf. also Cic. *ac.* 2.118) indicates that, even if being semantically very close to each other, they are not fully equivalent. (It seems that in many cases the prepositional phrase with *in* expresses the sphere or scope in which the comparison holds true rather than encoding the “true” parameter.)

(2) Plaut. *Capt.* 116

<i>liber</i>	<i>captiuos</i>	<i>avis</i>	<i>ferae</i>	<i>consimilis</i>	<i>est</i>
free.NOM	captive.NOM	bird.GEN	wild.GEN	similar.NOM	be.PRS.3SG
	CPREE	STAND.STM		PM	

‘a free man taken prisoner is similar to a wild bird’

Another pair of adjectives is *par* ‘equal, same, similar’ (e. g. Verg. *Aen.* 6.701–702) and *dispar* ‘unequal, dissimilar’ (with genitive and dative cases as STM), but these are mostly used in equative (cf. 3.3.1) rather than similitive constructions.

Latin has no dedicated verb meaning ‘to resemble, be similar to’. However, there are some verbs which, in spite of their different root meaning, may occasionally be used in this sense (i. e. as PM in E-type constructions): Such verbs include *refero* ‘to call to mind by similarity’ (ex. 3; Verg. *Aen.* 4.329), *imitor* ‘to imitate, simulate’ (Ov. *trist.* 4.8.1; Plin. *nat.* 22.161) and perhaps *assideo* ‘to sit near, be closely akin to’ (Hor. *ep.* 1.5.13–14, on which see e. g. *OLD*: 188, s. v. *assideo* 5.; but cf. also *ThLL*: 2, 877, 57–58). The STM is generally the accusative (with *refero*, *imitor*) or the dative case (with

assideo), in accordance with the subcategorization frame of the respective verb. The encoding of the PAR, if given explicitly, can be manifold: Either it adopts the form of an ablative of respect or it takes the role of the accusative object of the verb, which is then modified by a genitival or adjectival modifier encoding the STAND (ex. 3).

- (3) Cels. 5.28.13b
umor... crassitudinem mellis... referens
 fluid.NOM thickness.ACC honey.GEN resemble.PTCP.PRS.NOM
 CPREE PAR STAND.STM PM
 ‘a humour, in consistency like honey’

2.1.2 Type 1-3-2: flag is adposition

This is a rare pattern, which is attested occasionally with the adjective *par* ‘similar, same’. The STM is the preposition *cum* ‘with’ (Sall. *Iug.* 14.9 is probably equative).

- (4) Tac. *ann.* 2.59
sine milite incedere,... pari cum Graecis
 without soldier.ABL walk.INF same.ABL.SG with Greek.ABL.PL
 PM STM STAND
amictu
 dress.ABL
 CPREE
 ‘walking without his guards, in a dress identical with [that of] the Greeks’

Frequent, though not specific to similatives, is the use of the preposition *inter* in phrases like *similes inter se* ‘similar to each other’ (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 614–617).

2.2 Type 1-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

2.2.1 Type 1-4-1: flag is case

For a potential example cf. 3.4.1.

2.3 Type 1-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

This type is the most frequent pattern and the main representative of what are traditionally called “comparative clauses of manner” (see primarily Tarrío 2011: 399–420, based in part on Revuelta Puigdollers 2002). Some scholars even use the label “comparative clauses of manner” as the synonym of “similitive constructions” (e. g. Tarrío 2011: 399). However, there are also other types that can rightly be regarded as similitive constructions.

In Latin the STMs (‘as, like’) are the subordinators *ut* (the most frequent one), *uti*, *prout*, *utcumque* (with generalizing function), *utut* (rare), *sicut*, *sicuti*, *uelut*, *quemadmodum*, *quomodo* (the last is the only one that has survived in the Romance languages; Tarrío 2011: 403); more rarely *tamquam*, *quasi*, and *ceu* (the last one only in poetry and later prose, frequently used e. g. by Pliny the Elder; cf. Tarrío 2011: 407; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 634).

The most important PMs (‘so’) are the deictics *ita*, *sic*, *item*, *itidem*; furthermore the adverbs *perinde*, *proinde*, *exinde*, etc.; and ablative phrases (‘in such a way’) such as *eo/hoc/eodem modo/pacto/ordine*, *ea/hac/eadem ratione*, etc. The PM is often accompanied by *etiam* ‘too’, more rarely *quoque*, later also *et*. (Note, incidentally, that Tarrío [2011: 400–401] explicitly claims that these elements are not PMs, which is in contrast to the approach taken here.)

The STMs and PMs listed above may be combined rather freely. However, the most frequent STM+PM pairs are *ut... ita*, which is the oldest correlation, and *ut... sic* (e. g. Cic. *leg.* 3.2), which predominates in Classical Latin (Burkard & Schauer 2012: 834; Tarrío 2011: 405; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 633). The clause introduced by the STM is often “reduced” to a phrase (on clausal vs. phrasal STANDS cf. 4.5).

(5) Petron. 38.15

<i>solebat</i>	<i>sic</i>	<i>cenare</i>	<i>quomodo</i>	<i>rex</i>
be.accustomed.IPF.3SG	so	dine.INF	like	king.NOM
[CPREE]	PM	PAR	STM	STAND
‘he used to dine like a king’				

Subordinate clauses construed according to this pattern are frequently used to express hypothetical comparisons (i. e. conditional comparative clauses; see esp. Cabrilla Leal 2002). In such cases the verb of the clause always appears in the subjunctive (on its tenses cf. e. g. Woodcock 1959: 210–211; Burkard & Schauer 2012: 836; Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 455). The following subordinators occur as STMs (‘as if’): *quasi* (often *quasi vero* with ironic sense; rarely *quasi si* and *quam si*), *tamquam*, *tamquam si* (rarely divided into *tam... quam si*), *ut si*, *velut si* (rarely *velut* and *sicut* in themselves), *ac si* (rarely *et si*). The structure of most markers (e. g. *tamquam+si*, *velut+si*, etc.) clearly indicates the double (i. e. comparative and conditional) function of such clauses.

The occurring PMS ('so, thus') are the same as in the case of real (indicative) comparative clauses (cf. above): *ita*, *sic*, *perinde*, *proinde*, *iuxta*, *non secus*, etc.; in Old Latin also *tam* and *sirempse* (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 453–455; Burkard & Schauer 2012: 836–837). However, the PM is frequently missing in such constructions, in which case they properly belong to type 8 (2.5). Ex. (6) is an instance of the pattern “one entity–two predicates”.

- (6) Cic. *fin.* 5.42
- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|------------|-----------------|
| <i>parui...</i> | <i>primo</i> | <i>ortu</i> | <i>sic</i> | <i>iacent,</i> |
| small.NOM.PL | first.ABL | birth.ABL | so | lie.PRS.3PL |
| CPREE+STAND | | | PM | PAR |
| <i>tamquam omnino sine animo sint</i> | | | | |
| as.if | entirely | without | soul.ABL | be.PRS.SBJV.3PL |
| STM | —————STAND————— | | | |
- ‘infants just born lie as if they were absolutely inanimate’

Starting with Livius, but most frequently in Quintilianus and Tacitus, clauses introduced by *tamquam* adopted a “quasi-causal” usage (“subjektive Begründung”; cf. Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 597; e.g. Quint. *inst.* 9.4.53 without explicit PM). Another secondary function of *tamquam*, obviously related to the previous one, is its use as introducing a noun-clause (in place of *quod*, *ut/ne*, or an accusative with infinitive construction) after verbs such as *susplicari* ‘to suspect’, *timere* ‘to be afraid’, *opinari* ‘to think, believe’, *accusare* ‘to blame’, etc. (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 597; e.g. Sen. *contr. exc.* 6.5.1).

There are PMS which can be followed by *atque* or *ac* as STM too: *perinde* ‘so, thus, in the same way’, *proinde* ‘thus’ (rare), *non (multo) secus* ‘not (much) otherwise, just so’, *secus*, *aliter* ‘otherwise’, etc. (Burkard & Schauer 2012: 835). After *perinde* and *proinde*, *atque* and *ut* are about equally common (Woodcock 1959: 213).

- (7) Cic. *Marcell.* 12
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------|------------------|
| <i>uereor,</i> | <i>ut</i> | <i>hoc,</i> | <i>quod</i> | <i>dicam,</i> |
| fear.PRS.1SG | that | CORREL.NOM | REL.ACC | say.PRS.SBJV.1SG |
| | —————CPREE————— | | | |
| <i>perinde</i> | <i>intellegi</i> | <i>possit</i> | <i>auditu</i> | |
| in.the.same.way | understand.INF.PASS | can.PRS.SBJV.3SG | hearing.ABL | |
| PM | PAR | | CPREE | |
| <i>atque ipse cogitans sentio</i> | | | | |
| as | myself.NOM | think.PTCP.PRS.NOM | feel.PRS.1SG | |
| STM | —————STAND————— | | | |
- ‘I fear that this which I am saying cannot, when it is [only] heard, be understood [as fully] as I myself think and feel it’

Similitive clauses introduced by *ut* (together with *sic/ita* in the main clause) may also adopt special functions on the “interpersonal level” (for this concept see 2.5 in more detail). Firstly, they may assume an adversative or concessive value (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 451; Woodcock 1959: 209; Ernout & Thomas 1972: 355; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 633–634; e. g. Nep. *Paus.* 1.1). Secondly, constructions of the pattern *ita/sic* + (optative) subjunctive (in Old Latin rarely future) ... *ut* + indicative can also be used as asseverative formulae for solemn statements (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 451; 1, 191; Tarriño 2011: 413–414; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 634; e. g. Plaut. *Capt.* 877–879).

2.4 Type 1-7: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

This is a common pattern with adjectives and adverbs of similarity (and, by analogy, of dissimilarity) such as *similis* (*similiter*), *par* (*pariter*) and their antonyms *dissimilis*, *dispar*. It also occurs with pronouns and pronominal adjectives like *talis* ‘such’, *idem* ‘same’, *is* ‘such’ (attested rarely), *alius* ‘other’ and some others (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 18) if they are used in a qualitative (and not a determinative) sense. The STMs are *atque*, *ac* or more rarely *et* (on the origin of the use of these coordinating conjunctions as STMs in grading constructions cf. Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 6 and 18; Woodcock 1959: 206; Núñez Romero-Balmas 2002).

(8) Varro *rust.* 2.7.6

<i>emptio</i>	<i>equina</i>	<i>similis</i>	<i>fere</i>	<i>ac</i>
purchase.NOM	of.horses.NOM	similar.NOM	nearly	as
└──────────CPREE──────────┘		PM		STM
<i>boum</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>asinorum</i>		
COW.GEN.PL	and	ASS.GEN.PL		
└──────────STAND──────────┘				

‘the [terms of] purchase for horses are practically the same as [those] for cattle and asses’

The STM *atque* (*ac*) regularly undergoes attraction and is substituted by an adjectival relative pronoun (*qualis* or *qui*) if there is a corresponding correlative, i. e. adjectival demonstrative pronoun (*talis*, *is* ‘such’, *idem* ‘same’), in the main clause (e. g. *talis... qualis* in ex. 9 instead of *talis... atque* ‘such... as’; *idem... qui* instead of *idem... ac*). Note the similar attraction of *quam* in equative constructions (3.6). On the replacement of *atque* by *nisi* ‘if not, unless’ (e. g. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.64) and sometimes *quam* (e. g. Plaut. *Asin.* 236) in connection with *alius* ‘other’ and related adjectives and adverbs in negative polarity contexts cf. Ernout & Thomas 1972: 173–174.

(9) Cic. *Lael.* 82

<i>plerique</i>	<i>peruerse...</i>	<i>habere</i>	<i>talem</i>	<i>amicum</i>	<i>volunt,</i>
most.NOM.PL	perversely	have.INF	CORREL.ACC	friend.ACC	want.PRS.3PL
			PM	CPREE	
<i>quales</i>	<i>ipsi</i>	<i>esse</i>	<i>non</i>	<i>possunt</i>	
REL.NOM.PL	himself.NOM.PL	be.INF	NEG	can.PRS.3PL	
STM					

‘most men unreasonably want a friend to be such as they cannot be themselves’

Similis (and the adverbs *similiter*, *pariter*, *haud aliter*, etc.) can be followed by the STM *tamquam* (or *tamquam si*) ‘as if’ to introduce a subjunctive clause expressing a hypothetical comparison or, in other words, a conditional comparative clause (cf. 2.3).

(10) Cic. *div.* 2.131

<i>similes...</i>	<i>sunt</i>	<i>dei...</i>	<i>tamquam</i>	<i>si</i>
similar.NOM.PL	be.PRS.3PL	god.NOM.PL	as	if
PM		CPREE	STM	—
<i>Poeni...</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>senatu</i>	<i>nostro</i>	<i>loquerentur</i>
Carthaginian.NOM.PL	in	senate.ABL	1PL.POSS.ABL	talk.IPF.SBJV.3PL
—————STAND—————				

<i>sine</i>	<i>interprete</i>
without	interpreter.ABL

‘gods are as if Carthaginians were to address our Senate without [the aid of] an interpreter’

2.5 Type 1-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

Except for the omission of an explicit PM, this type of similitive construction is the same as type 1-6 (section 2.3). However, type 8 is less frequent in “ordinary” comparisons (such as ex. 11). Note that hypothetical comparisons following type 1-8 were treated together with those of type 1-6 in 2.3.

(11) Plaut. *Stich.* 543–544

<i>ille</i>	<i>erat</i>	<i>caeleps</i>	<i>senex, /</i>	<i>quasi</i>	<i>ego</i>	<i>nunc</i>
that.NOM	be.IPF.3SG	widower.NOM	old.man.NOM	as	1SG.NOM	now
		PAR	CPREE	STM	STAND	
<i>sum</i>						
be.PRS.1SG						

‘that old gentleman was a widower, just as I now am’

Nevertheless, type 1-8 is very common, in some cases even obligatory, in constructions that have some specific function on what Functional Grammar calls the “interpersonal level”, i. e. if they are concerned with the speech event rather than the narrated event itself. As Tarrío (2011: 412) says, “at this level, what the speaker is comparing is the propositional content with the set of knowledge, beliefs, and so on of an entity, either of the speaker himself or of another person. The speaker thus limits or reinforces the truth value of the proposition.” Unfortunately there is no space here to deal with such constructions extensively; therefore I refer the reader to the detailed treatment by Tarrío 2011 (especially 408–419; cf. also Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 450–452; Burkard & Schauer 2012: 96–97, 358–359, 835, 889; Woodcock 1959: 209; Ernout & Thomas 1972: 355–356; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 634–635).

Type 1-8 is frequently used to express generic comparisons of idiomatic nature as well. Tarrío (2011: 402) points out that these constructions “have an intensive value deriving from the lexical content, rather than from the comparative construction itself” and refers to their similarities to generic comparisons expressed in the form of a comparative construction (i. e. the *melle dulcior* type; cf. 3.1.1 and 4.1.1). The STM (‘as, like’) in such constructions is, in most cases, *tamquam* (e. g. Cic. *Cato* 84) or, less frequently, *quasi* (ex. 12), *sicut*, *ceu* (e. g. Verg. *Aen.* 5.740) or *quomodo*. The PM is regularly missing, but there are some exceptions, in which it is added as *sic* or *ita* (these are then properly type 1-6 constructions; cf. 2.3). In accordance with the holistic nature of similatives, such constructions generally, but not always, lack an explicit PAR.

(12) Plaut. *Aul.* 566

<i>ita</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>pellucet</i>		<i>quasi</i>	<i>lanterna</i>	<i>Punica</i>
so	it	be.transparent.PRS.3SG		as	lantern.NOM	Punic.NOM
PM	CPREE	PAR		STM	STAND	
‘it’s transparent like a Punic lantern’						

Formally identical to the phrasal standards of generic comparisons are phrases headed by *ut* or *tamquam* expressing the role or function in which a participant appears. This is what Functional Grammar calls “Role phrase”, which “can be thought of as secondary predication over a participant which is referentially controlled by that participant” (Tarrío 2011: 416–417). Despite their formal identity, “Role phrases” can be semantically distinguished from STANDS of generic comparisons (cf. Revuelta Puigdollers 2002: 196; Tarrío 2011: 417 on the different interpretation of *ut fratrem* in Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 1.3.3 vs. Cic. *Att.* 1.5.2).

2.6 Type 1-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

Apart from the omission of the STAND, which can be inferred from the context (and is often to be supplied in the form of *inter se* expressing reciprocity: e. g. Caes. *civ.* 3.110.4; cf. 2.1.2), this type is the same as type 1-3 (2.1.1) and is attested with the same adjectives (*similis, par*, etc.).

- (13) Verg. *Aen.* 6.184
hortatur socios paribus=que
 encourage.PRS.3SG companion.ACC.PL similar.ABL.PL=and
 PM
accingitur armis
 gird.PRS.PASS.3SG armor.ABL.PL
 CPREE
 ‘encourages his companions and equips himself with similar armors’

2.7 Types not included in the questionnaire

Patterns other than the most common “two entities–one predicate” are rare. Note, however, ex. (14), which is an instance of the pattern “one entity–one predicate” in which the predicate is evaluated at two different points in time (for the construction *idem... qui* cf. 2.4).

- (14) Cic. *fin.* 4.7
etiam qui assentiuntur... idem abeunt
 even REL.NOM.PL agree.PRS.3PL same.NOM.PL leave.PRS.3PL
 CPREE+STAND PM -CPREE
qui uenerant
 REL.NOM.PL come.PLUPF.3PL
 STM -STAND
 ‘even those who agree go away the same as they came’

Compounding is not a productive strategy of expressing similitive relations in Latin. However, there are some possessive (exocentric) compounds which contain an implicit comparison and thus are worth mentioning. I have not yet made a complete survey of all Latin compounds, but consulted only Oniga 1988, whose list (which is based on a selected corpus, cf. Oniga 1988: 168) contains only a handful of relevant material, most of the compounds under discussion being hapax legomenon.

For instance, *nocticolor* means ‘having the colour of night, night-coloured, sable’ (Laev. *carm.* frg. 9.4 apud Gell. 19.7.6). It is usual to treat compounds like this as

instantiating a STAND.PAR pattern (i. e. ‘similar to the night with respect to his color’). However, I prefer to take the second member as representing the CPREE and to regard the compound as comprising a simulative compendiary comparison: ‘having a colour which is similar to (the colour of) the night’. The same considerations apply to *tauriformis* Hor. *carm.* 4.14.25 ‘having the form of a bull’.

Furthermore, there are other exocentric compounds of the type STAND.CPREE which do not involve a compendiary comparison. For instance, *auricomus* Val. Fl. 4.92; Sil. 3.608 ‘golden-haired’ means ‘having a hair which is similar to gold’ and not, of course, ‘having a hair which is similar to (the hair of) gold’. The following compounds mentioned in Oniga 1988 belong to the same type: *anguimanus* Lucr. 2.537; 5.1303 ‘with snaky hands, serpent-handed’; *remipedus* Varro *Men.* 489 ‘having feet which are similar to oars’ (rather than ‘having oars for feet’ as per *OLD*: 1610 s. v.); *scrupipedus* Plaut. *Nerv.* fr. 7 ‘<term of abuse applied to women; perhaps:> having ankles that stick out like sharp rocks’ (cf. *OLD*: 1712 s. v. *scruppeda* [*scruppida*, *scrūpeda*]); *aeripes* Verg. *Aen.* 6.802; Ov. *epist.* 12.93 ‘having feet of bronze’; *alipes* Val. Fl. 5.611; Stat. *Theb.* 6.558; etc. ‘having feet which are similar to wings; i. e. moving as with the speed of flight’ (cf. *OLD*: 98 s. v.).

It is important to add that there are similarly built exocentric compounds (*anguipes*, *pinnipes*, etc.) which do not involve comparison at all. For instance, while *alipes* implies comparison and means ‘having feet which are similar to wings (as regards speed)’, *pinnipes* Catull. 58b.2 does not imply comparison and refers to someone (i. e. Perseus) who is ‘having feet which are, in fact, provided with wings’.

Simple adjectives may sometimes imply comparison, too. In what follows I will mention only one such type of simulative adjective, since I have not yet made a complete survey of Latin adjectives from this point of view. Adjectives of material derived by means of the suffix *-eus* (‘of X; made of X’) may, in general, have the secondary meaning ‘similar to X (with respect to some property)’; i. e. the base noun encodes the STAND and the suffix, in my opinion, encodes the PM (‘similar’) fused with the STM (‘to’). It is important to stress that the suffix is not a dedicated simulative suffix, but adopted this function only secondarily. I think it is slightly misleading to translate these adjectives as having an equative semantics by adding an explicit PAR (e. g. *corneus* ‘as hard as horn’), since, in my view, these are simply simulative adjectives with no explicit PAR (i. e. with a holistic approach): ‘similar to horn’.

(15) Enn. *scaen.* 139

<i>lapideo</i>	<i>sunt</i>	<i>corde</i>	<i>multi</i>	<i>quos</i>	<i>non</i>
of.stone.ABL	be.PRS.3PL	heart.ABL	many.NOM.PL	REL.ACC.PL	NEG
STAND.STM.PM		CPREE			
<i>miseret</i>	<i>neminis</i>				
feel.pity.PRS.3SG	nobody.GEN				

‘many people have a heart of stone, who don’t feel pity for anyone’

2.8 Formal means of expressing similatives

Due to limitation of space, I mention here only the etymology of the adjective *similis* ‘similar’, which, as we have seen above, often functions as a PM in E-type similative constructions. On the origin and development of the various STMS used in similatives cf. Tarrío 2011: 403–407.

According to most scholars *similis* is the result of assimilation from **semilis* < (by vowel reduction) **semalis* < **smh₂-el-i-* (cf. Greek *homalós*; thus perhaps originally an *o*-stem? cf. Weiss 2009: 317–318), which is ultimately related to the numeral stem **sem-* ‘one’, which appears in Latin in *semel* ‘once’, *semper* ‘always’, etc. (Leumann 1977: 101; Schrijver 1991: 218; *EDL*: 553, 564–565). However, this connection cannot be an immediate one since, as Meiser 2010: 176 points out, the meaning ‘one’ adheres to the stem form **sem-* while the meaning ‘similar, same’ is inherent to **semh₂-*, a derivative of the former. On the other hand, Weiss 2009: 138, 317–318 traces the adjective *similis* back to a non-laryngealistic **semilis* (from **sem-* ‘one’), whence **similis* > *similis*.

Note the adjective *uerisimilis*, which is the univerbation of the syntagma *ueri* (gen.) *similis* (occasionally *uero* [dat.] *similis*) ‘similar to the truth, i. e. seeming to be consistent with the facts, having the appearance of truth, likely, probable’ and is often written in two words in the texts. Taken as a syntagma, it is a similative construction of type 1-3 (cf. 2.1.1).

3 Equative constructions

3.1 Type 2-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

3.1.1 Type 2-1-1: flag is case

It is generally held that this type does in fact exist in Latin. Namely, most scholars who are explicit on this point argue that in spite of the comparative morphology of the adjective the so-called *melle dulcior* construction (a type of generic comparison) has to be interpreted as an equative pattern: *melle dulcior* thus ‘as sweet as honey’ (cf. among many others Benveniste 1948: 135; Löfstedt 1956: 310; Rosén 1999: 193; Cuzzolin 2011: 604). Although I do not agree with this opinion (cf. 4.1.1; see also 6.4 on the relative reading), I nevertheless quote an example in this section as well. This type is particularly favoured by poets, primarily Ovid (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 108).

Some scholars assert that the ablative STAND in such constructions may have an instrumental origin, in contrast to “genuine” comparative constructions in which the ablative as STM originates from the PIE separative ablative (for an overview of the problem cf. Cuzzolin 2011: 609).

- (16) Cic. *Cato* 31
ex eius lingua melle dulcior fluebat
 from he.GEN tongue.ABL honey.ABL sweet.CPD.NOM flow.IPF.3SG
 STAND.STM PAR.PM
oratio
 speech.NOM
 CPREE
 ‘speech sweeter than (as sweet as) honey flowed from his tongue’

3.2 Type 2-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

3.2.1 Type 2-2-1: flag is case

This type is attested only a few times and almost exclusively in Plautus (Old Latin). Two later examples are found in the *Naturalis historia* of Pliny the Elder and a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (Late Latin; 5th c. AD).

This type always occurs in negative polarity contexts (i. e. there is always a negation or an equivalent interrogative element involved). As a consequence, it always invites an inference that the construction may be understood as a superlative from the pragmatic point of view: e. g. ‘there is no one as good as X’ / ‘who is as good as X?’ = ‘X is the best’ (cf. 5.10).

The STM is always the ablative case and the PM is the adverb *aeque* (or *adaeque*) ‘equally’ (for an alleged alternative pattern with *tam* as PM cf. below). According to most scholars, the use of the ablative case as STM with (*ad*)*aeque* is the result of contamination (i. e. *aeque* + PAR + ablative contaminated from *aeque* + PAR + *atque* [cf. 3.6] and *magis* + PAR + ablative [cf. 4.2.1] in negative polarity contexts; see, e. g. Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 110; Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 467; Löfstedt 1956: 241; cf. also Núñez Romero-Balmas 2002: 162–163; for a different approach to this pattern cf. Stefanelli 1984: 206–211).

There are altogether four instances of the pattern (*ad*)*aeque* with ablative attested in Plautus (ex. 17 and *Cas.* 685, *Most.* 30–31, *Curc.* 141; cf. Stefanelli 1984: 206–207; Núñez Romero-Balmas 2002: 162–163). It is remarkable (and perhaps not mere chance) that in all four cases the STAND is a pronominal ablative and never a lexical noun phrase and that the STAND and the negative polarity item always precede the PAR. (For the much more frequent regular pattern, i. e. (*ad*)*aeque*... *atque/ac*, in which the STAND can also be a lexical noun phrase, cf. 3.6.)

(17) Plaut. *Amph.* 293

<i>nullu=st</i>	<i>hoc</i>	<i>metuculosus</i>	<i>aeque</i>
nobody.NOM=be.PRS.3SG	this.ABL	fearful.NOM	equally
CPREE	STAND.STM	PAR	PM

‘no one’s as timid as him’

The only non-Plautine example in Old and Classical Latin I am aware of is Plin. *nat.* 35.17 (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 467; Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 110). In the 5th c. AD we find a similar passage (mentioned by Löfstedt 1911: 190) by Sidonius Apollinaris (*epist.* 7.14.3), with the same peculiarities as the Plautine constructions (i. e. pronominal STAND preceding the PAR).

There are two examples in Plautus (ex. 18 and *Capt.* 828; in *Mil.* 551, the STAND is not mentioned explicitly) in which *aeque* as PM is accompanied by the comparative morpheme *-ior-* attached to the PAR. This combination may support the hypothesis that the latter morpheme originally had an intensifying function and was not a dedicated comparative morpheme. As far as I can see, the available translations interpret these constructions either as a comparative or as an equative depending on which of the two PMS (i. e. (*ad*)*aeque* or *-ior-*) occurs first in the clause.

(18) Plaut. *Merc.* 335

<i>homo</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>miserior</i>	<i>nullu=st</i>	<i>aeque</i>
man.NOM	1SG.ABL	wretched.CPD.NOM	nobody.NOM=be.PRS.3SG	equally
CPREE	STAND.STM	PAR.PM		PM

‘there is not any person more wretched than myself’

Similarly to the *melle dulcior* type (cf. 3.1.1), the pattern containing the PM *magis* ‘more’ and the ablative (STM) of a “quality-typifying substantive” (as Rosén 1999: 193 puts it) encoding the STAND (ex. 19) is often regarded in the literature as an equative construction restricted to formulaic usage. I do not agree with this interpretation, since in my opinion the pattern *magis* + ablative is a case of the comparative of superiority (cf. 4.2.1; see also 5.10).

(19) Ov. *ars* 1.475

<i>quid</i>	<i>magis est</i>	<i>saxo</i>	<i>durum,</i>	<i>quid</i>
what.NOM	more	be.PRS.3SG	stone.ABL	hard.NOM
CPREE	PM		STAND.STM	PAR

mollius unda?
soft.CPD.NOM water.ABL

‘what is harder than (as hard as?) stone, what softer than (as soft as?) water?’

The frequently cited inscription from Pompei (ex. 20) contains yet another grading construction: *tam* as PM (assimilated as *tan* before *d* in the inscription) and the ablative case as STM (cf. also 5.10).

(20) *CIL* IV 1895

QVID	POTE	TAN·	DVRVM	SAXSO·	AVT	QVID
what.NOM	able.NOM	as	hard.NOM	rock.ABL	or	what.NOM
CPREE		PM	PAR	STAND.STM		
MOLLIVS	VNDA					
soft.CPD.NOM	water.ABL					

‘what can [be] as hard as (harder than) rock or what softer than water?’

However, as far as I know, this pattern is completely isolated within Latin and thus, to my mind, most probably idiosyncratic. At any rate, it cannot be taken as a regular construction and may simply owe its existence to an imperfect memory of Ov. *ars* 1.475 (ex. 19) yielding some kind of remodelling (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 110) or contamination (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 590). In any case, it can hardly be regarded as a proof for the equative character of the *melle dulcior* type (cf. 3.1.1, 4.1.1), for which purpose it is sometimes adduced. Namely, according to a particular line of sophisticated argumentation, the combined evidence of Ov. *ars* 1.475 and *CIL* IV 1895 would show that the following three patterns are parallel and therefore semantically-functionally equivalent: *quid mollius unda* (PM *-ior-* + STM ablative; i. e. *melle dulcior* type) ~ *quid magis durum saxo* (PM *magis* + STM ablative) ~ *quid tam durum saxo* (PM *tam* + STM ablative). Since *tam*, in general (cf. 3.6), is clearly an equative PM, the two other constructions would also have to be equatives. However, as I have just mentioned, the pattern *tam* + ablative has only a single attestation in Latin and thus cannot be used as the basis of the argumentation (see also Ittzés fthc. for more details).

3.3 Type 2-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

3.3.1 Type 2-3-1: flag is case

First of all, there are adjectives that can appear in such constructions, most notably *par* and *aequus* ‘equal’, which are construed with the dative case as STM. The PAR can be expressed with the adjective *par* by a noun phrase in the ablative (generally interpreted as an ablative of respect or “ablatus limitationis”) or, less frequently, by a prepositional phrase. For reasons unknown, the PAR is regularly lacking in constructions with *aequus*.

(21) Cic. *Planc.* 27

Torquatus, omni illi et uirtute et laude
 T.NOM every.ABL he.DAT and virtue.ABL and glory.ABL
 CPREE STAND.STM PAR PAR
par
 equal.NOM
 PM

‘Torquatus, equal to him in every [sort of] virtue and glory’

The adjective *aequalis*, too, can function as a PM ‘equal’. The PAR is generally unexpressed, but easily inferred from the context. It can be construed either with the dative or the genitive (e. g. Cic. *orat.* 215). In its most frequent use, however, *aequalis* specifically means ‘of the same age as...; as old as...’, i. e. the PAR can be regarded as being inherent to the adjective. In this meaning, it is usually construed with the genitive (e. g. Cic. *har. resp.* 37). Note that *aequalis* can also be substantivized with the meaning ‘a person of the same age, a contemporary’ (e. g. Cic. *Brut.* 233). In that case, the modifier of *aequalis* is a possessive genitive.

Further representatives of this pattern are verbs with the meaning ‘to be equal’: *aequo* (and its prefixed derivatives *adaequo*, *exaequo*) and more rarely *aequiparare*. All of them can have a transitive meaning ‘to make/regard equal’ as well, which means that they can be used with the reflexive pronoun or in the passive voice to mean ‘to be equal’. Note that Cicero and Caesar use (*ex-*, *ad-*) *aequo* only in the latter way (and never as an intransitive) and that *aequiparare* is unattested in their writings.

As for marking the STAND, active forms of all verbs regularly take the accusative as STM (ex. 22). On the other hand, passive and reflexive forms of the verbs are construed with the dative as STM (e. g. Cic. *p. red. ad Quir.* 22; cf. 3.3.2 for the construction with *cum*). The PAR is often omitted, but if explicitly expressed it generally takes the form of an ablative of respect.

(22) Liv. 31.35.2

ut numero quoque eques pedes=que hostem
 that number.ABL too cavalry.NOM infantry.NOM=and enemy.ACC
 PAR ————— CPREE ————— STAND.STM
aequant
 equal.IPF.SBJV.3PL
 PM

‘so that the infantry and cavalry might equal the enemy even in number’

Another verb with a potential E-type profile, which to my knowledge has gone unmentioned in the literature, is *accedo* ‘to approach; come near in quality, status, etc.’ (cf. *OLD*: 17–18). With this verb (often accompanied by the adverbs *prope* ‘near’, *proxime* ‘nearest’, or *maxime* ‘most’), the STAND is either in the dative or the accusative case (cf.

also *ad* as STM in 3.3.2). However, it is often difficult to judge whether these examples really have to be regarded as equatives rather than similatives.¹ In ex. (23), the PAR (*color* ‘colour’) is to be inferred from the main clause.

(23) Plin. nat. 16.204

et huic nigricans color magis=que etiam cytiso,
 and this.DAT blackish.NOM colour.NOM more=and also cytisus.DAT
quae proxime accedere hebenum videtur
 REL.NOM nearest approach.INF ebony.ACC seem.PRS.3SG
 CPREE PM STAND.STM
 ‘its colour is dark, and that of the cytisus still more so, approaching, in fact, the nearest of all to [the colour of] ebony’

3.3.2 Type 2-3-2: flag is adposition

Passive and reflexive forms of the verbs *aequo* etc. mentioned in 3.3.1 can be construed with the adposition *cum* (+ ablative) as STM. The PAR is often omitted, but can be expressed as an ablative of respect.

(24) Caes. civ. 1.4.4

Pompeius... neminem dignitate se=cum
 P.NOM nobody.ACC dignity.ABL himself.ABL=with
 CPREE PAR STAND=STM
exaequari uolebat
 make.equal.INF.PASS want.IPF.3SG
 PM
 ‘Pompeius did not want anyone to match him in status’

The verb *accedo* (cf. 3.3.1) is often construed with a prepositional phrase with *ad* ‘to’. If we regard *accedo* as a PM of an E-type construction, which is admittedly rather tentative, then *ad* has to be taken as the STM. However, as mentioned above, the question arises whether these examples in fact must be considered equatives rather than similatives (e. g. Sen. nat. 1.11.2).

¹ This might in fact be a case of another grading type, not taken into account in this chapter, namely the “proximative” (on this notion see the discussion by K. Ackermann in the Old Church Slavonic chapter of the present volume).

(25) Plin. *nat.* 16.145

<i>maior</i>	<i>traditur</i>	<i>mas...</i>	<i>flore</i>	<i>ad</i>
large.CPD.NOM	record.PRS.PASS.3SG	male.NOM	flower.ABL	to
			CPREE	STM
<i>purpuram</i>	<i>accedente</i>			
purple.ACC	approach.PTCP.PRS.ABL			
STAND	PM			

‘the male is said to be larger, with a flower approaching purple [in colour]’

3.4 Type 2-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

3.4.1 Type 2-4-1: flag is case

The single example known to me which might perhaps instantiate this pattern is ex. (26). It is completely isolated and, if genuine, may owe its existence to some kind of contamination (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 110; Löfstedt 1911: 190), similarly to the type *aeque* + ablative treated in 3.2.1. The phrase could equally be taken as a similitive construction of type 1-4-1 (‘bright like a mirror’; cf. 2.2.1; see also 6.4). It must be added, however, that there are alternative interpretations of the passage as well. (For a short summary with references see Slater 2016: 54–55 and Lindner 1996: 178.) Namely, some scholars explain *speculo* as a “*dativus iudicantis*” (i. e. even for a mirror the house seems splendid), while others take *speculoclaras* as a unique Plautine compound with equative or similitive meaning (thus *OLD*: 1802 s. v. *speculoclarus*, following the Oxford edition of Lindsay and adopting the conjecture of Spengel on this point [not accepted by *ThLL* 3, 1272, 59–60 s. v. *clarus*]). The most commonly accepted interpretation nowadays seems to be the compositional approach. (For other kinds of similitive compounds in Latin cf. 2.7.)

(26) Plaut. *Most.* (637–638) 642

(<i>aedis...</i>	<i>emit...</i>)	<i>speculo</i>	<i>claras</i>
house.ACC.PL	buy.PRF.3SG	mirror.ABL	bright.ACC.PL
CPREE		STAND.STM	PAR

‘(he bought a house, which is) as bright as (bright like) a mirror’

3.5 Type 2-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

The comparative pattern 3-5 with simple negation (i. e. *X non PAR-ior- quam Y*) has an equative reading (see 4.5 for details).

3.6 Type 2-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

This type is the most common expression of the equative degree in Latin. Several PMs and STMs are attested. The most frequent PM is *tam* ‘as’, which is regularly followed by the STM *quam* ‘as’ (on their iconic phonetic parallelism cf. Tarrío 2011: 388).

In most cases, this type occurs in negative polarity contexts. There are two main negated patterns. Firstly, the presence of a negated PM generally allows an inference that the sentence is understood as a comparative of inferiority (cf. 4.6): ‘not as... as’ = ‘less... than’. This semantic equivalence might have been one of the factors that led to the use of the particle *quam* as a STM (‘than’) in Latin comparative (!) constructions (cf. 4.5, 4.6). According to many scholars, ex. (27) is precisely an example of those contexts in which the two patterns of gradation might have contaminated: Namely, *quam* + STAND belongs to the comparatives *perior* and *peior* as well as the equatives *tam luteus* and *tam conlitus*. On the process of contamination cf. Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 460; Tarrío 2011: 384; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 109, 593; for objections cf. Cuzzolin 2011: 626–627.

(27) Plaut. *Poen.* 825–826

<i>neque</i>	<i>perior</i>		<i>neque</i>	<i>peior</i>		<i>alter</i>	<i>usquam</i>
NEG	perjured.CPD.NOM		NEG	bad.CPD.NOM		other.NOM	anywhere
						CPREE	
<i>est</i>	<i>gentium, /</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>erus</i>	<i>meus</i>			
be.PRS.3SG	nation.GEN.PL	than/as	master.NOM	1SG.POSS.NOM			
		STM	STAND				
<i>est,</i>	<i>neque tam luteus</i>		<i>neque tam caeno conlitus</i>				
be.PRS.3SG	NEG as muddy.NOM	NEG as dirt.ABL	defile.NOM				
	PM PAR	PM PAR					

‘there’s not another person anywhere in the world more perjured or more wicked than is my master, nor one so filthy or so defiled with dirt’

Secondly, if the negation is involved by the CPREE in the form of a negative quantifier such as *nihil* ‘nothing’ or *nemo, nullus* ‘nobody’ or in the form of an equivalent interrogative element, the inference is necessarily a superlative interpretation: e. g. ‘nobody is as strong as X’ / ‘who is as strong as’ = ‘X is the strongest’ (cf. 5.10). Note, incidentally, that similar considerations apply to comparative constructions (cf. 4.5): ‘nobody is stronger than X’ = ‘X is the strongest’ (Tarrío 2011: 386; cf. Ittzés fthc.).

(28) Cic. *Planc.* 57

<i>nihil</i>	<i>est...</i>	<i>tam uolucres</i>	<i>quam maledictum</i>
nothing.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	so fast.NOM	as slander.NOM
CPREE		PM PAR	STM STAND

‘nothing is as fast as slander’

The negated type *non tam... quam* is often used in so-called “pseudo-comparative” constructions (Tarrío 2011: 395; on “pseudo-comparative” constructions in general cf. 4.12) with the meaning ‘not so much... but rather...’. (Note that, for the sake of simplicity, I gloss such constructions as true grading constructions.)

(29) Cic. *Manil.* 3

<i>mihi</i>	<i>non</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>copia</i>		<i>quam</i>	<i>modus</i>
1SG.DAT	NEG	SO	abundance.NOM	as	moderation.NOM	
		PM	CPREE		STM	STAND
<i>in dicendo</i>			<i>quaerendus</i>		<i>est</i>	
in speaking.ABL			to.be.sought.NOM		be.PRS.3SG	
			PAR			

‘what I have to seek for while speaking is not so much a variety [of arguments], but rather moderation [in employing them]’

In Old and early Classical Latin, both *tam* and *quam* may be followed by superlative adjectives or adverbs (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 457–458). Such constructions may be taken as a subtype of the so-called “correlative diptych”, since they are equivalent to, and can be transformed into, the normal pattern *eo... quo* with comparatives (cf. 3.10).

There are other relative-correlative pairs beside *tam... quam*: *tantopere... quantopere* ‘to such a degree as’, *tantum... quantum* ‘so much as’, *tam diu... quam (diu)* ‘so long as’, *totiens... quotiens* ‘so often as’, etc. (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 457–458; Woodcock 1959: 207).

The adverbial PM *quam* is generally changed into an adjective by attraction, if there is a corresponding correlative, i. e. demonstrative adjective, in the first member of the comparison: *tantus... quantus* ‘so great as’ (e. g. Liv. 2.9.3; instead of *tantus... quam*), *tot... quot* ‘so many as’, etc. However, members of the relative-correlative pairs need not always correspond to each other exactly: e. g. *tantum... quam*, *totiens... quot*, etc. (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 458–459). The PM *tam* is sometimes replaced by *adeo* (e. g. Liv. 30.44.6; Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 459).

In a subtype of the *tam... quam* pattern, the STAND is expressed by a relative clause containing a superlative of type 9 (5.7) or 10 (5.8; the implicit STAND of the latter is usually a universal quantifier): *tam/tantum + positive... quam/quantum qui + superlative* ‘as... as the one who is the most...’. The superlative in the relative clause and the positive representing the PAR are different degree forms of the same lexeme or of synonymous lexemes. Although this construction is formally equative, yet in terms of pragmatic inference it obviously has a superlative reading (cf. 5.11).

(30) Cic. *fam.* 13.3

tam gratum mihi id erit, quam quod
 as agreeable.NOM 1SG.DAT that.NOM be.FUT.3SG as REL.NOM
 PM PAR CPREE STM STAND

gratissimum

agreeable.SPD.NOM

‘it will be as agreeable to me as that which is the most agreeable (= it will oblige me in the very highest degree possible)’

Another frequent PM beside *tam* is *aeque* ‘equally’. It is regularly followed by the STM *atque* or *ac*, less frequently *et* or *-que* (beside ex. 31 cf. also e.g. Cic. *S. Rosc.* 116; Cic. *fin.* 4.64), rarely (but not in classical prose; Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 459) *quam* (e.g. Ov. *met.* 10.185–186) or even *ut* (e.g. Plin. *epist.* 1.20.1). This pattern too (on which see e.g. Núñez Romero-Balmas 2002) occurs more often in negative polarity contexts, with the same implications (cf. 5.10) as laid out above concerning *tam... quam*.

(31) Acc. *praetext.* 32

quem tu esse hebetem deputes aequae ac
 REL.ACC 2SG.NOM be.INF dull.ACC consider.PRS.SBJV.2SG equally as
 CPREE PAR PM STM

pecus

cattle.ACC

STAND

‘whom you consider as dull as cattle’

Constructions of this type with “quality-typifying substantives” (cf. Rosén 1999: 193) as STAND are instances of generic comparison, which may have an elative interpretation (e.g. ‘as dull as cattle’ = ‘very dull’; cf. 6.4).

Equative constructions of this type can be used with hypothetical comparisons as well (cf. 2.3).

(32) Cic. *fin.* 4.65

catuli aequae caeci, prius quam dispexerunt,
 puppy.NOM.PL equally blind.NOM.PL before than open.eyes.PRF.3PL
 CPREE- PM PAR CPREE

ac si ita futuri semper essent

as if so about.to.be.NOM.PL always be.IPF.SBJV.3PL

STM STAND

‘the puppies are as blind before they have opened their eyes as if they were going to be blind always’

Note that the morphologically comparative negated patterns X *non minus* PAR *quam* Y and X *non magis/plus* PAR *quam* Y both have an equative reading with somewhat different implications (see 4.6 for details). The same is true for similarly built constructions of the types “two entities–two predicates” and “one entity–one predicate–two evaluation points in time” (cf. 4.12). See furthermore 5.7 on various constructions which express the highest possible degree by means of a formally equative pattern (i. e. *tam... quam, sic... ut*).

3.7 Type 2-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

There are some examples (mostly, but not exclusively, pre- and post-classical) in which the PM *tam* is omitted (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 457–459). Regularly, there is a negation in the first member of the comparison (i. e. *non... quam*). Examples without negation (i. e. simple *quam* instead of *tam... quam*) occur first in Late Latin. However, most of the negated examples (e. g. Liv. 25.15.9) are actually “pseudo-comparative” constructions (cf. 3.6).

(33) Plaut. *Rud.* 943

<i>non</i>	<i>edepol</i>	<i>piscis</i>	<i>expeto</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>tui</i>
NEG	by.Pollux	fish.ACC.PL	wish.PRS.1SG	as	2SG.POSS.GEN
		┌───CPREE───┐		STM	┌──────────┐
<i>sermonis</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>indigens</i>			
conversation.GEN	be.PRS.1SG	needing.NOM			
	┌──────────STAND──────────┐				

‘by Pollux, I’m not looking for fish as much as I am in need of a conversation with you’

Note that since the PM is omitted, it is only the lexical content which allows *non... quam* constructions to be taken either as comparisons of equality (in the sense of *non tam... quam*; cf. 3.6) or superiority (*non magis... quam*; cf. 4.6). However, the meaning and the presence of the STAND suffice for the construction itself to be recognized (Tarriño 2011: 387).

3.8 Type 2-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Apart from the omission of an explicit STAND, this pattern is the same as types 2-2 (3.2) and 2-6 (3.6). The PM is the adverb *aeque*. As in similar types (cf. 4.10, 5.8), the STAND can regularly be inferred from the context. The presence of negation invites an interpretation as a comparative of inferiority (cf. 4.10).

(34) Plaut. *Pseud.* 745

<i>turbo</i>		<i>non</i>	<i>aeque</i>	<i>citu=st</i>
spinning.top.NOM	NEG	equally	quick.NOM=be.PRS.3SG	
CPREE		PM	PAR	

‘a spinning top isn’t as fast (scil. as he)’

3.9 Type 2-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

Apart from omission of an explicit STAND, this rarely attested type is the same as type 2-3 (3.3). The STAND can be inferred from the context. In ex. (35), the STAND is *Haeduos*, to be supplied from the preceding context.

(35) Caes. *Gall.* 6.12.7

<i>quos</i>	<i>quod</i>	<i>adaequare</i>	<i>apud</i>	<i>Caesarem</i>	<i>gratia</i>
REL.ACC.PL	since	equal.INF	with	C.ACC	favor.ABL
CPREE		PM			PAR

intellegebatur
perceive.IPF.PASS.3SG
‘as it was perceived that they equalled (scil. the Aedui) in favor with Caesar’

3.10 Types not included in the questionnaire

Beside the normal “two entities–one predicate” pattern, there exist examples of the type “one entity–two predicates” as well; but an even more interesting case is when there is only one entity and one predicate, but the latter is evaluated at two different points in time (cf. ex. 36 and the remark of Tarrío 2011: 381–382, following Baños Baños 2002: 49, on the semantic connection of the verbs appearing in both parts of the comparison).

(36) Sen. *epist.* 22.16

<i>si quis</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>securus</i>	<i>moritur</i>	<i>quam</i>
if INDF.NOM	as	free.from.care.NOM	die.PRS.3SG	as
CPREE+STAND	PM	PAR	-CPREE	STM

nascitur
be.born.PRS.3SG
-STAND
‘if one dies as free from care as he was at birth’

A further, though comparatively rare, pattern is the type “two entities–two predicates” (ex. 37).

(37) Cic. *Brut.* 140

<i>non...</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>praeclarum</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>scire</i>	<i>Latine</i>	<i>quam</i>
NEG	as	excellent.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	know.INF	in.correct.Latin	as
	PM	PAR _{CPREE}		CPREE		STM

<i>turpe</i>	<i>nescire</i>
shameful.NOM	not.know.INF
PAR _{STAND}	STAND

‘it isn’t so admirable a thing to know good Latin as it is disgraceful not to know it’

It must be added that the pattern *non tam... quam* expressing the types “one entity–two predicates” or “one entity–one predicate–two evaluation points in time” is often used in “pseudo-comparative” constructions meaning “not (so much)..., but rather...” (e. g. Cic. *orat.* 90; cf. 3.6 and 4.12).

Another famous pattern expressing the type “one entity–two predicates” or “two entities–two predicates” is the so-called “correlative diptych” (called “proportional comparison” by Tarrío 2011: 389–390). Its normal form is *quo/quanto* + comparative ... *eo/hoc/tanto* + comparative (within their clause, the pronominal ablatives *eo*, *quo*, etc. are used as ablatives of measure). The comparatives may be either adjectives or adverbs.

(38) Cic. *off.* 1.90

<i>qui</i>	<i>monent,</i>	<i>ut,</i>	<i>quanto</i>	<i>superiores</i>
REL.NOM.PL	warn.PRS.3PL	that	REL.ABL	superior.CPD.NOM.PL

			PAR _{STAND}	
<i>simus,</i>	<i>tanto</i>	<i>nos</i>	<i>geramus</i>	<i>summissius</i>
be.PRS.SBJV.1PL	CORREL.ABL	1PL.ACC	conduct.PRS.SBJV.1PL	humbly.CPD
[STAND]			PAR _{CPREE} -[CPREE]	-PAR _{CPREE}

‘who warn that the higher we are placed, the more humbly should we walk’

The presence of the generalising indefinite pronoun *quisque* or *quis* in the relative clause expresses a more general statement (e. g. Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 31). The correlative element (*eo*, *hoc*, *tanto*) may also be omitted in the main clause (e. g. Liv. 2.51.5).

There are some minor formal variants of the basic pattern just mentioned (see the detailed account of Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 484–485), which appear first in Livius, but become particularly frequent in Tacitus. For instance, positive forms may appear in any one, occasionally even in both, of the clauses (e. g. Tac. *ann.* 4.67). A positive form in the relative clause may be accompanied by *quantum* instead of *quanto* (e. g. Tac. *hist.* 2.99). Positive and comparative forms may also appear side by side in the same clause (e. g. Tac. *ann.* 2.5).

In Old Latin and in Classical Latin poetry, the pair of ablatives *quo/quanto... eo/tanto* is sometimes substituted by *quam... tam* with comparative (!) forms (e. g. Verg. *Aen.* 7.787–788 containing analytic comparatives with *magis*), which must not be confused with the regular equative pattern *tam... quam* with positives (cf. 3.6). The two variants (i. e. ablatives and *tam/quam*) may occasionally be conflated (e. g. Plaut. *Men.* 95; Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 485). Similar semantics is expressed by the Old and Early Classical Latin construction *tam... quam* with superlative (!) forms of the adjectives or adverbs representing the PARS (e. g. Cato *agr.* 64.2; Sall. *Jug.* 31.14; cf. Cuzzolin 2011: 639).

3.11 Formal means of expressing equatives

As mentioned above (3.6), the most frequent PM and STM in Latin equative constructions are *tam* and *quam*. Both were originally pronominal acc. sing. fem. forms of the demonstrative **to-* and the relative-interrogative **k^o-*, respectively, which were later frozen in adverbial function (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 588–589). On the Sabellic cognates of *quam* cf. 4.13.

4 Comparative constructions

4.1 Type 3-1: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

4.1.1 Type 3-1-1: flag is case

This pattern is a well known representative of the separative comparative or source schema (Tarriño 2011: 384) and is one of the most frequent grading constructions in Latin. It is often used in negative polarity contexts (for the superlative interpretation in such cases cf. 5.10) and it always instantiates the comparative of superiority.

The PM is the inherited comparative suffix *-ior-*, and the STM is regularly the ablative case (ablative of comparison or “ablative comparisonis”).

(39) Sall. *Jug.* 14, 15

<i>pauci...</i>	<i>morte</i>	<i>graviorem</i>	<i>uitam</i>	<i>exigunt</i>
few.NOM.PL	death.ABL	burdensome.CPD.ACC	life.ACC	spend.PRS.3PL
	STAND.STM	PAR.PM	CPREE	

‘a few drag out an existence worse than death’

In contrast to type 3-5 (4.5), the difference of the grade cannot appear as an ablative of measure (“*ablatus mensurae*”) with this pattern, obviously in order to avoid the sequence of two ablatives. However, in connection with adjectives the difference is sometimes given in the form of a corresponding accusative (e.g. *multum* instead of *multo*), as seen in ex. (40).

(40) Plin. *nat.* 15.86

<i>nuces</i>	<i>iuglandes...</i>	<i>multum</i>	<i>pineis</i>	<i>minores</i>
nut.NOM.PL	of.walnut.NOM.PL	much	of.pine.ABL.PL	small.CPD.NOM.PL
CPREE			STAND.STM	PAR.PM
<i>uniuersitate</i>				
whole.ABL				
‘the whole walnuts are much smaller than pine-cones’				

Although the ablative comparative and the particle (*quam*) comparative (4.5) are sometimes regarded as basically equivalent, there are certain preferences and important differences in their usages both synchronically and diachronically (see e.g. Burkard & Schauer 2012: 477–480; Cuzzolin 2011: 608; Torrego 2002: 263; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 109–110 also provide some statistics).

Cuzzolin (2011: 626) claims that, in general, the more flexible particle comparative is the unmarked way of encoding the STAND of comparative constructions in Latin. However, the ancient Roman grammarians had a different opinion and recognized the ablative pattern as the regular and the particle comparative as the exception: e.g. *comparatiuus quidem gradus ablatiuo casui adiungitur utriusque numeri, interdum tamen etiam nominatiuo, quando ‘quam’ aduerbium sequitur* Prisc. *gramm.* 2: 94.10–12 ‘though the comparative degree is connected to the ablative case in both numbers, occasionally it is also to the nominative, in which case the adverb *quam* follows’ (cf. Tarrío 2011: 385 n. 17). According to the general observation of Bauer 2009: 261–262, the *quam* comparative is used in more complex syntactic contexts than the ablative comparative, the basic structure of which consists only of “the element that is being compared..., one nominal or pronominal referent..., one adjective..., and no underlying complex constructions”.

At any rate, the comparative ablative is the “older” pattern (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 465; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 109; Bauer 2009: 253–254) in the sense that statistically it clearly prevails in Old Latin (Tarrío 2011: 383) and is the regular construction in formulaic or stereotyped expressions (cf. below). Later on, however, the analytic *quam* comparative slowly crept into its domains and tended to replace it in many, ultimately most, contexts. Thus, in the course of time, the two patterns came to be used interchangeably (Cuzzolin 2011: 608–611; on the changes concerning the two patterns cf. also Bauer 2009: 261–263).

According to Benveniste (1948: 128), there is a difference in meaning between the ablative and the *quam* standards. As Tarrío summarizes, “the ablative standard

presents a prototypical entity in which the property concerned exists naturally. Hence, the ablative is the regular formulation in intensive or relative comparison, of the type *melle dulci dulcior*. On the other hand, the *quam* standard rather has an adversative and implicit negative value: whereas the ablative case presupposes the property in the standard, *quam* does not presuppose it: i. e. *filius altior est quam pater* implies *filius altus est, non pater*” (Tarrío 2011: 385, following Torrego 2002: 262–263; for a criticism of Benveniste’s theory see Stefanelli 1984).

We may start the presentation of the main facts and rules concerning the two types of standard by pointing out (with Löfstedt 1956: 307; Cuzzolin 2011: 610; Scherer 1975: 51; etc.) that in Old Latin the use of the ablative comparative was restricted to the following five domains, mostly formulaic or stereotyped proverbial expressions, and that even in Classical Latin and later the ablative remained the default choice in such cases (Cuzzolin 2011: 610–611).

1. Negative sentences (cf. 5.10):

(41) Plaut. *Asin.* 543

<i>te...</i>	<i>nihil</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>impudentius</i>
2SG.ABL	nothing.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	shameless.CPD.NOM
STAND.STM	CPREE		PAR.PM

‘nothing’s more shameless than you’

2. Rhetorical questions with negative presupposition or implication (cf. 5.10):

(42) Plaut. *Asin.* 557

<i>qui</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>uir</i>	<i>fortior</i>	<i>ad</i>
who.NOM	1SG.ABL	man.NOM	brave.CPD.NOM	for
	STAND.STM	CPREE	PAR.PM	

sufferundas plagas?
to.be.endured.ACC.PL blow.ACC.PL
‘who is a braver man than me [when it comes] to suffering blows?’

3. Formulaic expressions with proverbs or metaphorical sentences (cf. 3.1.1 and 4.1.1):

(43) Plaut. *Asin.* 614

<i>melle</i>	<i>dulci</i>	<i>dulcior</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>es</i>
honey.ABL	sweet.ABL	sweet.CPD.NOM	2SG.NOM	be.PRS.2SG
STAND.STM		PAR.PM	CPREE	

‘you’re sweeter than sweet honey’

As a closely related phenomenon, note that formulaic expressions involving a *figura etymologica* (built on the PAR and the STAND) are frequently attested in Old Latin. The PAR is always a comparative, but the STAND can appear in either the positive (ex. 44) or the superlative (e. g. Plaut. *Amph.* 907) degree.

(44) Plaut. *Most.* 279

<i>nihil</i>	<i>hac</i>	<i>docta</i>	<i>doctius</i>
nothing.NOM	this.ABL	clever.ABL	clever.CPD.NOM
CPREE		STAND.STM	PAR.PM

‘nothing’s more clever than this clever [woman]’

4. Formulaic expressions of the type *opinione melius*:

(45) Plaut. *Cas.* 338

<i>opinione</i>	<i>melius</i>	<i>res</i>	<i>tibi</i>	<i>habeat</i>
opinion.ABL	well.CPD	affair.NOM	2SG.DAT	have.PRS.SBJV.3SG
STAND.STM	PAR-.PM	CPREE		-PAR

tua
2SG.POSS.NOM

‘affairs would go with you better than you think’

The most frequent ablatives used in such expressions are the substantives *spe* ‘hope’, *opinione* ‘opinion’, *expectatione* ‘expectation’ and, more rarely and more recently (cf. Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 108), the substantivized adjectives and participles *aequo* ‘right’, *iusto* ‘just, right’, *solito* ‘usual, customary’, and *dicto* ‘what is said’. As for word order, these ablatives mostly precede the PAR. (On word order in comparative constructions in general cf. Bauer 2009: 254; Stefanelli 1984: 212–214.)

In such expressions the entity representing the CPREE is not compared to a corresponding entity as the STAND with respect to a parameter, but rather to an entire idea or state of affairs, which is summed up in a nominal expression: e. g. *opinione melius* ‘better than one would think’. (Note that, for instance, instead of *opinione* Fronto uses *quam opinabar* ‘than I thought’: *ualeo... multo quam opinabar commodius* ‘I feel much better than I thought’ Fronto p. 8, 25–26 N; cf. Tarrío 2011: 379.)

5. *plus, minus*, etc. in numerical expressions (cf. below at the end of this subsection)

As far as the syntactic conditions are concerned, there are contexts in which the ablative pattern is obligatory, others in which it clearly predominates over the *quam* comparative and still others in which it is mostly avoided. First of all, if the STAND is the relative pronoun, the ablative comparative is used exclusively and the *quam* comparative is prohibited.

(46) Cic. *Lael.* 5

<i>tum est</i>	<i>Cato locutus,</i>	<i>quo</i>	<i>erat</i>
then be.PRS.3SG	C.NOM speak.PTCP.PST.NOM	REL.ABL	be.IPF.3SG
		STAND.STM	
<i>nemo fere senior temporibus illis, nemo</i>			
nobody.NOM hardly old.CPD.NOM time.ABL.PL that.ABL.PL nobody.NOM			
CPREE	PAR.PM		CPREE
<i>prudencior</i>			
wise.CPD.NOM			
PAR.PM			

‘then the speaker was Cato, whom scarcely any in those days exceeded in age and none surpassed in wisdom’

Furthermore, if the use of the ablative pattern would render the sentence ambiguous or could potentially result in misunderstanding due to the presence of other ablative phrases, then the *quam* comparative is the preferred alternative. For instance, if the comparative is accompanied by an ablative of measure such as *multo*, *paulo*, *nihilo*, etc. (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 109), then the ablative of comparison is avoided (cf. ex. 40 with accusative *multum* instead of the ablative *multo* in the presence of an ablative STAND).

In general, the ablative construction is used (by classical prose authors such as Cicero and Caesar regularly, by other authors mostly) only in cases if the CPREE (and the comparative adjective expressing the PAR+PM) is in the nominative, being the subject of the clause, or the accusative (cf. Torrego 2002: 261). The accusative CPREE is usually the subject of an accusative with infinitive construction (e. g. Cic. *parad.* 3.21), but often also an object accusative (e. g. Cic. *Att.* 10.11.1). Otherwise, i. e. if the CPREE occurs in an oblique case form or is expressed by a prepositional phrase, the particle comparative is preferred. In other words (cf. Woodcock 1959: 62), the ablative comparative is used by these authors only if it represents what would be a nominative or an accusative in a *quam*-clause. However, other authors, especially poets, may use the ablative comparative also with CPREES in an oblique case form (e. g. Hor. *sat.* 2.1.29).

Occasionally, adjectives and adverbs which are not formally comparative, but inherently have a more or less transparent comparative semantics may be construed with an ablative, thus *alius* ‘other’, e. g. Varro *rust.* 3.16.23 (cf. Skt. *anyá-* + abl.).

On the use of the ablative of a neuter pronoun anticipating a comparative *quam*-clause (e. g. Cic. *Att.* 4.8a.2; Cic. *fin.* 1.19) see e. g. Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 114, who treat this pattern as the result of contamination.

In my view, the *melle dulcior* type, commonly regarded as an equative construction, properly belongs here (cf. also 6.4). For a detailed argumentation on the basis of textual evidence (e. g. coordination with an obviously comparative E-type construction involving *uinco* in Mart. 8.64.5–9; furthermore Zeno 1.46b.3; Catull. 23.12–14) see

Ittzés fthc. (cf. already Risch 1954: 215). In addition to ex. (16) mentioned above (3.1.1), see ex. (47), which also illustrates that the STAND of such constructions is often accompanied by the emphasizing pronoun *ipse* (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 108).

(47) Cic. *fin.* 1.71

<i>ea,</i>	<i>quae</i>	<i>dixi,</i>	<i>sole</i>	<i>ipso</i>
CORREL.NOM.PL	REL.ACC.PL	say.PRF.1SG	SUN.ABL	itself.ABL
CPREE			STAND.STM	
<i>illustriora</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>clariora</i>	<i>sunt</i>	
clear.CPD.NOM.PL	and	bright.CPD.NOM.PL	be.PRS.3PL	
PAR.PM		PAR.PM		

‘what I have set forth is clearer and more luminous than daylight itself’

Apart from the common use of the ablative of comparison, mention has to be made of two other cases as STMs with much more restricted application: the dative and the genitive.

The dative standard (i. e. the allative comparative), which occurs sometimes in Late Latin (e. g. *lux humanae luci clarior* ‘light which is brighter than human light’ Greg. Tur. *glor. conf.* 86; *melior tibi* ‘better than you’ Greg. Tur. *glor. conf.* 44), was already anticipated by Classical Latin constructions with the comparative *inferior* (e. g. ex. 48; cf. Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 469; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 113). Beside other spatial adjectives, *inferior* remained the main representative of the adjectives taking the dative standard throughout the entire history of Latin (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 114), although evaluative adjectives also appeared later on, but never productively (Cuzzolin 2011: 616).

The use of the dative case with *inferior* is generally accounted for by its semantic affinity to adjectives such as *impar* ‘unequal’ or the E-type verb *cedo* ‘to step aside, to grant superiority to, to be inferior’ (cf. 4.3.1), which regularly take the dative case (Wölfflin 1889: 466; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 113–114; cf. also *secundus* with dative, e. g. Verg. *Aen.* 11.441). In view of this, *inferior* is perhaps better regarded as an E-type adjective representing the PM of the comparative of inferiority (cf. 4.3.1), while the PAR is given in the form of an ablative phrase (*nulla arte* in ex. 48).

(48) Sall. *hist. frg.* 2.37

<i>uir</i>	<i>gravis</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>nulla</i>	<i>arte</i>	<i>cuiquam</i>
man.NOM	serious.NOM	and	not.any.ABL	skill.ABL	INDF.DAT
CPREE			PAR	STAND.STM	
<i>inferior</i>					
inferior.CPD.NOM					
PM					

‘a serious man and inferior to nobody in any skill’

Clear examples of the genitive case as STM appear mostly in post-classical (e. g. *Apul. met.* 8.27.3) and Christian Latin and in inscriptions exhibiting traces of Vulgar Latin (e. g. *CIL* VI 4912.1–2). The first uncontroversial example is ex. (49) (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 113).

(49) *Vitr.* 5.1.3

<i>recte</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>constitutum</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>altitudinibus</i>	<i>et</i>
rightly	be.PRS.3SG	established.NOM	and	height.ABL.PL	and
<i>crassitudinibus</i>		<i>superiora</i>		<i>inferiorum</i>	<i>feri</i>
thickness.ABL.PL		upper.CPD.NOM.PL		lower.CPD.GEN.PL	become.INF
		CPREE		STAND.STM	

contractiora

restricted.CPD.NOM.PL

PAR.PM

‘it is the right arrangement that what is above should be less in height and thickness than what is below’

It is often asserted that the use of the genitive as a STM is simply due to Greek influence, but Cuzzolin argues that the influence of Greek, most clearly observed in Biblical texts and works of Ecclesiastic authors directly translated from Greek, only favoured an intra-Latin process that had begun much earlier (Cuzzolin 2011: 611–615).

Comparative adverbs such as *amplius* ‘more’, *plus* ‘more’, *minus* ‘less’, *longius* ‘longer, farther’ (rarely *propius* ‘more closely’) are often accompanied by numerical expressions of measurements indicating time or space (“évaluation numérique”, Ernout & Thomas 1972: 170; cf. also Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 110). There are three constructions in which such adverbs may turn up. The least frequent type among them, which properly belongs in this section, is the ablative comparative pattern, in which the “numerical expression” constitutes the ablative STAND (ex. 50). For the other two types and their examples cf. 4.5.

(50) *Caes. Gall.* 4.37.3

<i>militēs...</i>	<i>amplius</i>	<i>horis</i>	<i>quattuor</i>	<i>fortissime</i>
soldier.NOM.PL	more	hour.ABL.PL	four	valiantly.SPD
	PAR.PM	STAND.STM		

pugnauerunt

fight.PRF.3PL

‘the soldiers fought most valiantly for more than four hours’

4.1.2 Type 3-1-2: flag is adposition

Attested STMs are the prepositions *a(b)* ‘(away) from’, *de* ‘from’, *e(x)* ‘out of’, *ante* ‘before’, *inter* ‘among, between’, *prae* ‘before, in front of’, *praeter* ‘beyond’ and *super* ‘above’ (cf. Torrego 2002). Originally, all of them denoted spatial relations. Most of them are found sporadically already in Classical Latin comparative constructions, but their number considerably increases in the course of time and they become particularly frequent in Late Latin (Cuzzolin 2011: 647). The only adpositional STM to survive in the Romance languages is the preposition *de* (Cuzzolin 2011: 617). On the replacement of the ablative pattern by prepositional STANDs cf. also Bauer 2009: 263.

A(b) as STM (e. g. ex. 51 and Lact. *inst.* 1.13.18) often occurs with adjectives expressing local relations, such as *citerior* ‘nearer’, *inferior* ‘lower’, or *superior* ‘upper’. From the time of Tertullianus (2nd–3rd c. AD) onward, its use begins to spread in Ecclesiastic as well as profane authors, a process the grammarian Servius (4th–5th c. AD) was well aware of, to judge from his own remark (Serv. *gramm.* 4: 433.18–19): *quando dico ‘doctior illo’ et ‘doctior ab illo’, re uera eadem inuenitur elocutio ‘when I say ‘doctior illo’ and ‘doctior ab illo’, these are in fact the same expression’* (cf. Cuzzolin 2011: 618). Wölfflin assumed that the use of *a(b)* as a STM was due to Semitic influence (Wölfflin 1892: 124–125; cf. Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 1, 496), but this view has now been mostly abandoned, since it probably originated in some earlier genuine Latin constructions (Cuzzolin 2011: 618). Others thought that it was originally characteristic of Latin authors of African origin such as Arnobius (Cuzzolin 2011: 619).

(51) Ov. *epist.* 16.97–98

<i>in</i>	<i>orbe</i> /	<i>nec</i>	<i>Priamo</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>te</i>
in	world.ABL	NEG	P.DAT	be.PRS.3SG	from	2SG.ABL
					STM	STAND
<i>dignior</i>	<i>ulla</i>	<i>nurus</i>				
worthy.CPD.NOM	INDF.NOM	daughter-in-law.NOM				
PAR.PM		CPREE				
‘and Priam has no daughter-in-law worthier than you in the world’						

E(x) as STM (e. g. Plin. *nat.* 2.34) was even less widespread than *a(b)*. In Classical Latin it is associated with contexts where the nuance “standing out from” is evident, thus it is used frequently with adjectives of length and measure (Cuzzolin 2011: 619). *De* as STM appears even later (4th–5th c. AD; Cuzzolin 2011: 620; Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 1, 501; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 112). Other prepositions, such as *ante* (e. g. Verg. *Aen.* 1.347), *inter* (e. g. Liv. 33.10.1), *prae* (e. g. Apul. *met.* 8.4.3), *praeter* (e. g. Suet. *Galba* 9.1) and *super* (also *supra quam*, cf. Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 468) are attested as STMs with the comparative in Late and Christian Latin, but in isolated examples also earlier, primarily in poetry. However, none of them became established as regular marker of the STAND, because their primary function was rather to add to the comparative

meaning further semantic nuances (Cuzzolin 2011: 625). Some of these prepositions also occur with positive adjectives (e. g. *praeter solitum... laeti* Verg. *georg.* 1.412 ‘glad beyond what is usual’), on which type cf. 4.4.1. The use of *super* as a STM (e. g. *Vitae patr.* 6.1.14) is restricted to Ecclesiastic authors and, according to Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 112, it is ultimately a Semitism.

Note also that if the STAND contains a universal quantifier (*omnes, ceteri*, etc.), the constructions treated in this subsection necessarily have a superlative reading (Cuzzolin 2011: 622; cf. 5.1.2).

4.2 Type 3-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

4.2.1 Type 3-2-1: flag is case

This pattern is used throughout the entire history of Latin, including Old and Classical Latin, but much less frequently than type 3-6, in which the STM is the particle *quam* (Ernout & Thomas 1972: 172–173). The PM is the adverb *magis* in the comparative of superiority and *minus* in the comparative of inferiority. *Plus* as a PM is apparently not attested in this type, which is remarkable, given the use of *plus* as a PM alongside *magis* in type 3-10 (4.10). The STM is again the ablative case. It goes without saying that if the STAND contains a universal quantifier, the inference is a superlative reading (cf. 5.2.1). This pattern, too, often contains a negation (inviting a superlative interpretation; cf. 5.10).

- (52) Cic. *off.* 1.47
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>nullum...</i> | <i>officium</i> | <i>referenda</i> | <i>gratia</i> | <i>magis</i> |
| not.any.NOM | duty.NOM | to.be.returned.ABL | gratitude.ABL | more |
| | CPREE | | STAND.STM | PM |
| <i>necessarium</i> | <i>est</i> | | | |
| necessary.NOM | be.PRS.3SG | | | |
| PAR | | | | |
- ‘no duty is more imperative than [that of] proving one’s gratitude’

With “quality-typifying” substantives as STAND, this pattern is often interpreted as an equative construction (cf. 3.2.1 on inscriptional *magis durum saxo*). As mentioned above, I do not agree with this interpretation. Thus examples such as ex. (53) contain, in my view, instances of the comparative of superiority (cf. e. g. Verg. *Aen.* 4.31; 5.724–725; Tib. 3.1.25; see also 6.4).

(53) Sen. *Phaedr.* 1147–1148

<i>ipso=que</i>	<i>magis</i>	<i>flebile</i>	<i>Averno /</i>	<i>sedis</i>
itself.ABL=and	more	lamentable.ACC	A.ABL	dwelling.GEN
	PM	PAR	STAND.STM	
<i>patriae</i>	<i>uidet</i>	<i>hospitium</i>		
paternal.GEN	see.PRS.3SG	reception.ACC		
		CPREE		

‘finds his welcome to his father’s dwelling more lamentable than Avernus itself’

In the case of the comparative of inferiority, the PM is the adverb *minus* and the STM is the ablative case. This pattern is much less frequent than the corresponding pattern with the particle *quam* as the STM (cf. 4.6).

(54) Cic. *Phil.* 12.24

<i>nemo</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>minus</i>	<i>timidus,</i>	<i>nemo</i>	<i>tamen</i>
nobody.NOM	1SG.ABL	less	timid.NOM	nobody.NOM	yet
CPREE	STAND.STM	PM	PAR		
<i>cautior</i>					
careful.CPD.NOM					

‘nobody is less timid than I am, yet nobody is more cautious’

4.2.2 Type 3-2-2: flag is adposition

This pattern occurs only in some isolated examples. The PM is *magis* in the comparative of superiority and *minus* in the comparative of inferiority.

The only attestation of this pattern expressing the comparative of superiority I am aware of is ex. (55), in which the STM is the preposition *ante*.

(55) Liv. 5.42.5

<i>tanto</i>	<i>ante</i>	<i>alios</i>	<i>miserandi</i>	<i>magis,</i>	<i>qui</i>
by.so.much	before	other.ACC.PL	pitiable.NOM.PL	more	REL.NOM.PL
	STM	STAND	PAR[-CPREE]	PM	
<i>unquam</i>	<i>obsessi</i>		<i>sunt...</i>		
ever	besiege.PTCP.PST.NOM.PL		be.PRS.3PL		

‘so much more pitiable than others who had ever been besieged...’

In the case of the comparative of inferiority, this pattern is attested only in Late Latin (e. g. Oribas. *eup.* 2.1; *syn.* 9.13 [4th c. AD]; cf. Cuzzolin 2011: 636).

4.3 Type 3-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

4.3.1 Type 3-3-1: flag is case

In Old and Classical Latin this pattern is a relatively frequent strategy of expressing the comparative of superiority. It occurs with various verbs as PMS (see below). For expressing the comparative of inferiority, Latin uses the verb *cedo* ‘to withdraw; be inferior’ with a dative STAND (cf. Asensio de la Cruz 2001; Pinkster 2015: 151). The PAR can be given explicitly in the form of an ablative of respect.

(56) Caes. civ. 2.6.3

<i>neque</i>	<i>multum</i>	<i>cedebant</i>	<i>uirtute</i>	<i>nostris</i>
NEG	much	be.inferior.IPF.3PL	strength.ABL	1PL.POSS.DAT.PL
		[CPREE-]PM	PAR	STAND.STM

‘nor were they much inferior to our [soldiers] in valour’

However, such lexical comparisons expressing inferiority are much less frequent than constructions of superiority (Tarrío 2011: 392), not least because the former can be replaced by the passive form of an E-type verb expressing superiority (ex. 57).

(57) Cic. *Planc.* 6

<i>dicendum</i>	<i>est...</i>	<i>Laterensem</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>Plancio</i>	<i>dignitate</i>	<i>esse</i>
to.be.said.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	L.ACC	by	P.ABL	dignity.ABL	be.INF
		CPREE	STM	STAND	PAR	

superatum
surpass.PTCP.PST.ACC
PM

‘I have to say that Laterensis was surpassed by Plancius in dignity’

The verbs that are employed to express the comparative of superiority are mostly prefixed verbs of rather general meaning, in which the comparative meaning resides in the preverb (*-cello* ‘to raise oneself’ [this verb is attested only with preverbs], *cedo* ‘to go, proceed’, *eo* ‘to go’, *sto* ‘to stand’, and a few more). Two exceptions are *supero* ‘to go over, surpass’ and *uinco* ‘to win, overcome’, in which the comparative semantics is encoded in the lexical morpheme itself (Cuzzolin 2011: 629). Further verbs attested in this function include *antecedo* ‘to precede’, *excedo* ‘to surpass’, *praecedo* ‘to precede’, *antecello* ‘to surpass, excel’, *praecello* ‘to excel’, *anteo* ‘to go before, precede’, *antisto* (*antesto*) ‘to stand before’, *praecurro* ‘to run before’, *praesto* ‘to stand before’, and *supergridior* ‘to pass over’. It may be added that the comparative adjective *superior* ‘superior’, and in some contexts even *potior* ‘having more power, of higher priority, preferable’, can function as an E-type PM as well.

The case used as STM depends on the subcategorization frame of the respective verb. With transitive verbs the STAND is generally introduced as an accusative object (i. e. the STM is the accusative case), while others take a dative STAND (cf. Asensio de la Cruz 2002: 17). There are verbs which can appear with two different cases as STMS (e. g. *praesto*, *antecedo*, *anteeo* and *praecurro* are attested with accusative as well as dative STANDS; cf. Pinkster 2015: 151).

The difference of the grade can be given in the form of an ablative of measure, which can be a lexical noun phrase (e. g. Cic. *Brut.* 161), but is most frequently an adjectival or pronominal ablative such as *multo* ‘by far, much’ (ex. 58), *paulo* ‘by a little, somewhat’ (e. g. Caes. *Gall.* 6.27.1), *tanto* ‘by so much’, *quanto* ‘by how much’, *aliquanto* ‘by a little, somewhat’, *nihilo* ‘by nothing’, etc. Further devices with the same function are the adverb *longe* (from *longus* ‘long’) or the accusatives *multum*, *paulum*, *tantum*, *quantum* (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 1, 401; Woodcock 1959: 63; Asensio de la Cruz 2002: 15).

(58) Cic. *Brut.* 256

<i>multo</i>	<i>magnus</i>	<i>orator</i>	<i>praestat</i>	<i>minutis</i>
by.far	great.NOM	orator.NOM	stand.before.PRS.3SG	insignificant.DAT.PL
		CPREE	PM	
<i>imperatoribus</i>				
general.DAT.PL				
STAND.STM				
‘a great orator by far surpasses the insignificant commanders’				

The PAR is frequently expressed in the form of an ablative of respect or by other devices such as adpositional phrases with various prepositions (mainly *in*) and even subordinate clauses (see Asensio de la Cruz 2002: 27–35, who also argues that the constituent expressing the PAR is often better interpreted in causal than in limitative sense). On the slightly different meaning of the simple ablative and the prepositional phrase with *in* cf. Pinkster 2015: 807.

If the STAND is, or contains, a universal quantifier such as *omnes* (e. g. Cic. *Cael.* 34), *cuncti*, *ceteri*, etc., the construction obviously has a reading of a superlative of superiority (or inferiority, in the case of *cedo*; cf. 5.3.1). Sometimes such a superlative reading is triggered by the very plural form of the STAND (e. g. Tac. *ann.* 13.45.2). If the STAND is in the plural and/or contains a universal quantifier (e. g. Liv. 38.17.2), it can also be expressed by a partitive genitive instead of the case normally required by the subcategorization of the respective E-type verb (i. e. accusative or dative). Such constructions, too, necessarily have a superlative reading.

In ex. (59) *ante... fuisse* is functionally equivalent to E-type verbs such as *antecedo* or *antecello*: i. e. *ante Romanos fuisse* = *Romanos antecessisse* (cf. Cuzzolin 2011: 622 on the affinity of the two patterns: “rather close to the surpass comparative”), therefore I tentatively gloss *ante* and *fuisse* as two parts of the PM and take the accusative

case of the STAND *Romanos* as the STM. Nevertheless, since *ante* acts as a preposition governing the accusative noun phrase *Romanos* (the STAND), it would also be possible to interpret *ante* as combining the functions of both the PM and the STM.

(59) Sall. *Catil.* 53.3

<i>cognoueram...</i>	<i>facundia</i>	<i>Graecos,</i>	<i>gloria</i>	<i>belli</i>
understand.PLUPF.1SG	eloquence.ABL	Greek.ACC.PL	fame.ABL	war.GEN
	PAR	CPREE	PAR	

<i>Gallos</i>	<i>ante</i>	<i>Romanos</i>	<i>fuisse</i>
Gaul.ACC.PL	before	Roman.ACC.PL	be.INF.PRF
CPREE	PM-	STAND.STM	-PM

‘I was aware that the Greeks were before the Romans in eloquence and the Gauls in military glory’

In a not uncommon variant of the basic pattern mentioned above, the constituent expressing the PAR occupies the position of the second argument of the verb and the STAND is introduced as its genitival (e. g. Plin. *nat.* 36.181) or adjectival (ex. 60) modifier (cf. Asensio de la Cruz 2002: 25–26 and 24 n. 20 on the affinity of this variant to the “*comparatio compendiaria*”).

(60) Liv. 30.26.8

<i>superavit</i>	<i>paternos</i>	<i>honores,</i>	<i>avitos</i>
surpass.PRF.3SG	paternal.ACC.PL	honour.ACC.PL	of.the.grandfather.ACC.PL
PM[-CPREE]	STAND	PAR	

<i>aequavit</i>
equal.PRF.3SG

‘he surpassed his father’s honours and equalled his grandfather’s’

4.3.2 Type 3-3-2: flag is adposition

Some of the verbs mentioned in the previous section may be construed with prepositional phrases as well. The prepositions attested as STMS are *inter* ‘among’, *ex* ‘of, out of’ and *de* ‘from’, all of which have a basically partitive meaning and are therefore not regarded as grammaticalized STMS of the comparative by Cuzzolin (2011: 631; cf. also Asensio de la Cruz 2002: 21). Moreover, since the STAND of such constructions is always in the plural and is often accompanied by a universal quantifier, they can be regarded as instances of the superlative rather than of the comparative (see 5.3.2).

4.4 Type 3-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

4.4.1 Type 3-4-2: flag is adposition

Cuzzolin (2011: 556, following Timpanaro 1978) claims that the occurrence of the PM in the comparative strategy was obligatory in Latin and could not be omitted under any circumstances (cf. 4.8). Although most of the apparent examples of this phenomenon (“positivus pro comparativo”) are indeed uncertain, there seem to be some occurrences that are, in my view, difficult to explain otherwise. This is in line with the opinion of Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 468, according to whom there are various prepositions attested in this function: *ante* ‘before’, *prae* ‘before, in front of’, *praeter* ‘beyond’, *super* ‘above’ (also *supra quam*), occasionally *ultra* ‘over’. It goes without saying that if the STAND is, or contains, a universal quantifier, the construction instantiates rather the superlative of superiority (cf. 5.4.2). See, however, the important arguments of Pinkster 2015: 928 (cf. Torrego 2002: 271–277; Tarrío 2011: 379 n. 8) against the interpretation of such constructions in terms of gradation.

- (61) Cic. *fam.* 4.4.2
tu... prae nobis beatus
 2SG.NOM before 1PL.ABL happy.NOM
 CPREE STM STAND PAR
 ‘you [seem] happier than ourselves’

4.5 Type 3-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Next to the separative (or ablative) comparative, the so-called “particle comparative” (or “*quam* comparative”) is the other most common type of grading construction in Latin. As already mentioned above, the particle comparative can be regarded as the unmarked choice for encoding the STAND of comparative constructions in Latin (Cuzzolin 2011: 626). The domains of its use are, or rather once were, more or less in complementary distribution with those of the ablative pattern (on which cf. 4.1.1).

The PM is the inherited comparative suffix *-ior-*. The regular STM is the particle *quam*, but in the oldest poetic texts (e. g. Liv. Andr. *carm.* frg. 20.1–2; Enn. *ann.* 97) and in the archaising style of Lucretius (e. g. Lucr. 1.639–640) *quamde* occasionally occurs as well (cf. Fest. p. 261; Cuzzolin 2011: 627).

(62) Cic. *div.* 2.23

<i>ignoratio</i>	<i>futurorum</i>	<i>malorum</i>	<i>utilior</i>
ignorance.NOM	future.GEN.PL	misfortune.GEN.PL	useful.CPD.NOM
CPREE			PAR.PM
<i>est</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>scientia</i>	
be.PRS.3SG	than	knowledge.NOM	
	STM	STAND	

‘ignorance of future ills is more profitable than the knowledge [of them]’

Here again, if the STAND involves a universal quantifier, the pattern has a superlative reading (ex. 63; cf. 5.5).

(63) Curt. 8.9.4

<i>Indus</i>	<i>gelidior</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>ceteri</i>
I.NOM	cold.CPD.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	than	rest.NOM.PL
CPREE	PAR.PM		STM	STAND

‘Indus is colder than the rest’

The canonical way of making the difference of the grade explicit is in the form of an ablatival phrase (ablative of measure). The most frequently attested ablatives of measure are the ablatives of neuter singular adjectives and pronouns such as *multo*, *paulo*, *nihilo*, *eo*, *hoc*, *quo*, *tanto*, *quanto*, *aliquanto* (Woodcock 1959: 64).

(64) Curt. 5.1.26

<i>turres</i>	<i>denis</i>	<i>pedibus</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>murus</i>
tower.NOM.PL	ten.each.ABL.PL	foot.ABL.PL	than	wall.NOM
CPREE			STM	STAND
<i>altiores</i>	<i>sunt</i>			
high.CPD.NOM.PL	be.PRS.3PL			
PAR.PM				

‘the towers are each ten feet higher than the wall’

Adverbs and homonymous prepositions lacking comparative morphology, but having inherent comparative semantics are also often accompanied by an ablative of measure: e. g. *multo post* (adv.) ‘much later’ (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 1, 402; Woodcock 1959: 64). In the case of prepositions (especially *ante* ‘before’ and *post* ‘after’) the STAND is given in the form of an accusative phrase governed by the preposition (e. g. Cic. *Lael.* 3). With adverbs the STAND, if explicit in the sentence, is introduced by the particle *quam* (e. g. Varro *rust.* 1.41.3).

A non-canonical, and apparently colloquial, way of making the difference of grade explicit can be observed in diminutives in *-culus* derived directly from the stem of com-

parative adjectives (called “restrictive comparatives” by Leumann 1977: 309; cf. also Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 168–169). In such diminutive adjectives, the difference of grade (‘somewhat, to some extent, a little’) is actually encoded by the diminutive suffix *-culus*, while the comparative stem itself expresses the PAR and the PM: In ex. (65), *maiuscula* is equivalent to *aliquanto/paulo maior* (cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 220–221; Cic. *Arch.* 25; on the other hand, *longiusculus* is probably an elative in Fronto p. 97, 4 N: ‘rather lengthy’).

(65) Ter. *Eun.* 527

<i>Thai'</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>ego</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>maiuscula=st</i>
T.NOM	than	1SG.NOM	be.PRS.1SG	somewhat.older.NOM=be.PRS.3SG
CPREE	STM	STAND		PAR.PM

‘This is a bit older than I am’

According to Rosén (1999: 193) comparative constructions with the STM *quam* that involve quality-typifying substantives as STAND (ex. 66; Plaut. *Men.* 487–489) convey an “unnatural comparison” in contrast to the *melle dulcior* type, which is regarded by her, too, as an equative. In my view, both types have to be interpreted as comparatives containing a hyperbole (cf. also 6.4).

(66) Plaut. *Epid.* 371

<i>uorsutior</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>rota</i>	<i>figularis</i>
versatile.CPD.NOM	be.PRS.2SG	than	wheel.NOM	of.a.potter.NOM
PAR.PM	[CPREE]	STM	STAND	

‘you are more versatile than a potter’s wheel’

The construction *quam pro* + ablative, frequent in and after Livius, is used to stress a disproportion: ‘in conformity with, in accordance with, in proportion to’, ‘more... than one would think regarding... / compared to...’ (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 474–475; Woodcock 1959: 208). According to Cuzzolin (2011: 627–628) its main function is to topicalize the element introduced by *pro*. Instead of this pattern (ex. 67) earlier authors resort to other solutions. For instance, Cicero generally uses a comparative clause introduced by *quam* with an explicit verb (cf. e.g. Cic. *Mur.* 60). Occasionally, *ad* + acc. may occur instead of *pro* + abl. (Torrego 2002: 260).

(67) Liv. 10.14.21

<i>minor</i>	<i>caedes</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>pro</i>	<i>tanta</i>
small.CPD.NOM	slaughter.NOM	than	in.proportion.to	so.great.ABL
PAR.PM	CPREE	STM		

uictoria fuit
victory.ABL be.PRF.3SG

‘the slaughter was less than in proportion to the greatness of the victory’

An important issue concerning the particle comparative is the set of rules and tendencies which regulate the use of phrasal or syntagmatic vs. clausal STANDS (i. e. whether there is an explicit verb in the second term of the comparison or not). Older handbooks tend to regard the syntagmatic standards as abbreviated comparative clauses, an approach now mostly abandoned. (However, for the sake of clarity, I will indicate “deleted” verb forms in the construed examples below.) As regards statistics, it appears that clausal standards, although far from uncommon, are less frequent than syntagmatic ones (Tarrío 2011: 380). An important property of the phrasal or syntagmatic STAND is its “isofunctionality” with the CPREE (Tarrío 2011: 379–380; Hernández Cabrera 2002).

Note also that, in terms of clause-linking strategies, comparative clauses of degree (but not those of manner) can be understood as examples of hypotaxis rather than embedding (Tarrío 2011: 395–396, dealing with the nature of clause-combining in comparative statements in general; cf. also Suárez Martínez 2002). It is also important that, in the extant corpus, comparative clauses of degree almost always appear in second place (Tarrío 2011: 397), i. e. after the clause containing the CPREE and the PAR.

The most important points are as follows (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 465; cf. Baños Baños 2002; Tarrío 2011: 380–382, all with examples). For the sake of simplicity and clarity, I will use some artificial examples; original examples can be found throughout this chapter. Note also that the same rules apply to equative constructions with *quam* as STM, too (cf. 3.6).

1. If the two members of the comparison share the *same verb* in the *same form* with respect to tense, mood, and voice (but not necessarily person and number), then the verb is regularly omitted in the *quam*-clause, i. e. *quam* is followed by a phrasal STAND in the same case as the CPREE. Otherwise, the STAND is clausal. (Note that examples a) to j) have been constructed for purposes of illustration.)

a) *ego carior sum quam Marcus est*
 1SG.NOM dear.CPD.NOM be.PRS.1SG than M.NOM be.PRS.3SG
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘I am dearer than Marcus’

b) *ego citius curro quam Marcus currit*
 1SG.NOM quickly.CPD run.PRS.1SG than M.NOM run.PRS.3SG
 CPREE PAR.PM -PAR STM STAND
 ‘I run faster than Marcus’

c) *ego carior sum tibi quam Marco sum*
 1SG.NOM dear.CPD.NOM be.PRS.1SG 2SG.DAT than M.DAT be.PRS.1SG
 PAR.PM CPREE STM STAND
 ‘I am dearer to you than to Marcus’

- n) *vidi hominem cariorem quam Marcus erat*
 see.PRF.1SG man.ACC dear.CPD.ACC than M.NOM be.IPF.3SG
 CPREE PAR.PM STM STAND
 ‘I saw a man who is dearer than Marcus was’
- o) *vidi hominem cariorem quam Marcus sperabat*
 see.PRF.1SG man.ACC dear.CPD.ACC than M.NOM hope.IPF.3SG
 CPREE PAR.PM STM —STAND—
 ‘I saw a man who is dearer than Marcus hoped’

Taken together, this means that the STAND must be clausal if its verb differs from the verb of the main clause either lexically or with respect to the grammatical categories tense, mood, or voice.

However, contrary to the rules described above, the verb is sometimes added just because of a desire for insistence (ex. 68, which is actually an equative construction of type 2-6 [cf. 3.6]).

- (68) Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.126
tam beati quam iste est non sumus
 so happy.NOM.PL as that.NOM be.PRS.3SG NEG be.PRS.1PL
 PM PAR STM STAND [CPREE]
 ‘we are not as happy as he is’

Tarriño, summarizing the facts, observes that “when the verb repeated is the same one that appeared in the first part of the comparison, the reasons that justify its presence are of a semantic nature, namely, the existence of variations in mood, voice, tense, and so on, or of a pragmatic nature, such as with a view to emphasis or intensification” (Tarriño 2011: 381).

A further noteworthy feature is that the STAND introduced by *quam* (in both comparative and equative constructions) can be a so-called “explicative” clause (i. e. a clause which elaborates a substantive or a neuter pronoun). This explicative clause may appear as a clause introduced by factual *quod* (ex. 69) or pseudo-consecutive or final *ut* (e. g. Cic. *de orat.* 2.178) or as an infinitive or an accusative with infinitive (Burkard & Schauer 2012: 804–805).

(69) Cic. *Att.* 10.8.9

nihil mihi umquam... gratius accidisse
 nothing.ACC 1SG.DAT ever welcome.CPD.ACC happen.INF.PRF
 CPREE PAR.PM
quam quod meam Tulliam suavissime... coluisti
 than that 1SG.POSS.ACC T.ACC sweetly.SPD take.care.PRF.2SG
 STM ————— STAND—————

‘that nothing ever was a greater favour to me than that you took care of Tullia most graciously’

Another noteworthy pattern, not to be confused with the previous one, is the combination of the STM particle *quam* with a (proper) consecutive clause introduced by *ut* (ex. 70) or, from the time of Augustus onward, the relative pronoun *qui* (= *ut is*; e. g. *Ov. met.* 6.195) and containing a subjunctive verb form. This construction expresses that an entity possesses a property in greater measure than anything else could approach (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 299, 475; Woodcock 1959: 123–124).

(70) Cic. *orat.* 41

maiore mihi ingenio uidetur esse, quam ut cum
 great.ABL 1SG.DAT talent.ABL seem.PRS.3SG be.INF than that with
 PAR.PM CPREE STM —————
orationibus Lysiae comparetur
 speech.ABL.PL L.GEN compare.PRS.SBJV.PASS.3SG
 ————— STAND—————

‘(Isocrates) seems to me to have a greater talent than so as to be compared with the speeches of Lysias’

The STAND can also be expressed in the form of a relative clause containing a superlative and an indicative verb (which is, however, often omitted). For the formally similar equative type *tam* + positive ... *quam qui* + superlative cf. 3.6 and 5.10.

(71) Plaut. *Trin.* 392–393

non optuma haec sunt... / uerum meliora
 NEG good.SPD.NOM.PL this.NOM.PL be.PRS.3PL but good.CPD.NOM.PL
 CPREE PAR.PM
sunt quam quae deterruma
 be.PRS.3PL than REL.NOM.PL bad.SPD.NOM.PL
 STM ————— STAND—————

‘these things are not the best, but they are better than what are the worst’

In Plautus, *quasi* (< **quam si*) occasionally (cf. Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 674) introduces a conditional comparative clause after a comparative adjective (ex. 72).

(72) Plaut. *Trin.* 265–266

qui in amorem praecipitavit / peius perit
 REL.NOM into love.ACC rush.headlong.PRF.3SG badly.CPD perish.PRS.3SG
 CPREE PAR-.PM -PAR
quasi saxo saliat
 as.if rock.ABL leap.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 STM —STAND—

‘[the man] who rushes headlong into love perishes worse than if he leapt from a rock’

We could see above (4.1.1) that the comparative adverbs *amplius*, *plus*, *minus*, *longius* are often accompanied by “numerical expressions” indicating time or space. Apart from the ablative comparative pattern described there, such phrases can appear in two further types of construction.

1. The most frequent pattern among the three different types (ex. 73) is the one in which the STM particle *quam* is omitted and the case of the “numerical expression” is determined by the syntactic role of the respective constituent without being influenced by the comparative construction itself (e. g. in *pugnaerunt amplius quattuor horas* [cf. ex. 50] ‘they fought for more than four hours’ the accusative expresses duration). The origin of this type (cf. Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 110) probably lies in negative paratactic contexts such as the following: *quattuor horas, non amplius* ‘for four hours, not more’ → *non amplius (,) quattuor horas* ‘for not more, for four hours’ > ‘for not more than four hours’. Later on, it could enter into non-negative contexts as well: *amplius quattuor horas* ‘for more than four hours’.
2. Much rarer is the second pattern (ex. 74), in which the particle *quam* is added but still does not affect the case of the “numerical expression” (e. g. *pugnaerunt amplius quam quattuor horas* [cf. ex. 50]).

(73) Cic. *Quinct.* 41

te=cum plus annum vixit
 2SG.ABL=with more year.ACC live.PRF.3SG
 PM STAND PAR

‘(Quinctius) lived with you more than a year’

(74) Cic. *Phil.* 2.31

si ab urbe plus quam decem dies
 if from city.ABL more than ten day.ACC.PL
 PM STM —STAND—

afuisset

be.absent.PLUPF.SBJV.3SG

PAR

‘if he should be absent from the city more than ten days’

As for negation, it is comparatively less frequent with this type than with others (such as the equative pattern *tam... quam* in 3.6). The presence of a simple negation invites an inference that the construction is understood as an equative (Bertocchi & Orlandini 1996: 203; cf. 3.5).

(75) Sall. *Catil.* 23.2

<i>huic</i>	<i>homini</i>	<i>non</i>	<i>minor</i>	<i>uauitas</i>	<i>inerat</i>
this.DAT	man.DAT	NEG	small.CPD.NOM	vainglory.NOM	be.in.IPF.3SG
			PAR.PM	CPREE	
<i>quam</i>	<i>audacia</i>				
than	audacity.NOM				
STM	STAND				

‘in this man there was not less vainglory than insolence’

On the other hand, if the CPREE is, or contains, a negative quantifier, then the construction has a superlative inference (cf. 5.10).

(76) Plaut. *Bacch.* 41

<i>miserius</i>	<i>nihil</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>mulier</i>
wretched.CPD.NOM	nothing.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	than	woman.NOM
PAR.PM	CPREE		STM	STAND

‘nothing’s more wretched than a woman’

There is a non-canonical pattern of this type in which the PM is *atque* or *ac* ‘as’ instead of *quam* ‘than’ (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 20; Cuzzolin 2011: 635; Ernout & Thomas 1972: 174). Since this pattern occurs usually (but not exclusively, cf. e. g. Suet. *Iul.* 14.2) in negative contexts, it is reasonable to think that it is the result of contamination and that its origin probably lies in the semantic equivalence of negation + comparative and *aeque* + positive.

(77) Plaut. *Merc.* 897

<i>amicior</i>	<i>mihi</i>	<i>nullus</i>	<i>uiuit</i>	<i>atque</i>	<i>is</i>
friendly.CPD.NOM	1SG.DAT	no.one.NOM	live.PRS.3SG	as	CORREL.NOM
PAR.PM		CPREE		STM	STAND
<i>est /</i>	<i>qui</i>	<i>illam</i>	<i>habet</i>		
be.PRS.3SG	REL.NOM	she.ACC	have.PRS.3SG		

‘I have no better friend living than the man who has her’

4.6 Type 3-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The STM is the particle *quam*. In the case of the comparative of superiority, the regular PMs are the adverbs *magis* (in Old Latin also *mage*) and *plus*. The PM need not be adjacent to the PAR. This type, too, frequently occurs in negative contexts (for details cf. below).

(78) Plaut. *Trin.* 199–202

<i>nihil</i>	<i>est... / ...</i>	<i>argutum</i>	<i>magis, / ... /</i>	<i>quam</i>
nothing.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	garrulous.NOM	more	than
CPREE		PAR	PM	STM
<i>urbani</i>	<i>assidui</i>	<i>cives,</i>	<i>quos</i>	
of.the.city.NOM.PL	unremitting.NOM.PL	citizen.NOM.PL	REL.ACC.PL	
			STAND	

scurras *vocant*

idler.ACC.PL call.PRS.3PL

‘there isn’t anything more garrulous than those unremitting men of the city whom they call “scurras” (idlers)’

It seems that *plus* is comparatively rarely used as a PM with adjectives in the written literary language such as the works of Cicero (but see e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 11.17). Normally it occurs as a verbal modifier, retaining its original nominal sense (Cuzzolin 2011: 599–600).

(79) Plaut. *Cas.* 676–677

<i>tibi</i>	<i>infesta</i>	<i>solist /</i>	<i>plus</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>cuiquam</i>
2SG.DAT	hostile.NOM	alone.DAT=be.PRS.3SG	more	than	anybody.DAT
CPREE	PAR		PM	STM	STAND

‘alone to you, she is more hostile than to anybody else’

As usual, if the STAND is, or contains, a universal quantifier, the reading of the construction is equivalent to that of a superlative of superiority (e.g. Plin. *nat.* 24.37; cf. 5.6). On the other hand, if the CPREE is a negative quantifier such as *nemo*, *nullus*, *nihil*, etc., the reading of the construction is again equivalent to that of a superlative of superiority, but with respect to the STAND of the original construction (cf. 5.10). The latter means that equatives and comparatives with negated CPREES have the same inference: *nihil est magis necessarium quam X* ‘nothing is more essential than X’ and *nihil est tam necessarium quam X* ‘nothing is as essential as’ are both equivalent to ‘X is the most essential’ (Tarrío 2011: 386). Consider ex. (80), in which the two patterns are coordinated.

(80) Cic. *Planc.* 57

<i>nihil</i>	<i>est...</i>	<i>tam uolucres</i>	<i>quam maledictum,</i>
nothing.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	as fast.NOM	as slander.NOM
CPREE		PM PAR	STM STAND
<i>nihil</i>	<i>facilius</i>	<i>emittitur...</i>	
nothing.NOM	easily.CPD	send.forth.PRS.PASS.3SG	
CPREE	PAR-.PM	-PAR	

‘nothing is as fast as slander, nothing is sent forth more easily’

The type under discussion is also the canonical way of expressing the comparative of inferiority throughout the history of Latin (itself much less frequent than the comparative of superiority; for some statistics cf. Tarriño 2011: 386). The STM is again the particle *quam*, while the PM is *minus* (on negation cf. below).

(81) Varro *rust.* 2.4.22

<i>minor</i>	<i>grex</i>	<i>quam maior</i>	<i>minus sumptuosus</i>
small.CPD.NOM	herd.NOM	than large.CPD.NOM	less expensive.NOM
	CPREE	STM STAND	PM PAR

‘the smaller herd is less expensive than the larger’

The formally comparative negated constructions *non minus quam* and *non magis/plus quam* both imply an equative reading due to the negation (cf. 3.6), but their precise interpretation is somewhat different. *Non minus quam* has a basically “affirmative” meaning (‘not less... than; (just) as much... as’; e.g. Sulp. Ruf. Cic. *Fam.* 4.5.2), while *non magis/plus quam* is generally used with a “negative” sense (‘not more... than; (just) as little... as’; e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.10). On this question see the detailed description in Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 481–483 (also on cases with differing interpretation such as Cic. *Att.* 2.1.8; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.5; Cic. *Cato* 11). It must be added that the second pattern (*non magis quam*) is often (e.g. Nep. *Dion* 3.2) used as a “pseudo-comparative” construction with the meaning ‘not so much..., but rather...’ (for more on this cf. 4.12).

There is a non-canonical pattern in which the PM is *atque* or *ac* (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 20; Cuzzolin 2011: 635). It usually involves negation, which turns the comparative of superiority into comparative of inferiority. The first attestations without a negation (i.e. *magis/minus atque* or *ac*) occur in Horace (e.g. Hor. *sat.* 2.7.96; cf. Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 20).

(82) Ter. Andr. 698

non Apollinis mage uerum atque hoc
 NEG A.GEN more true.NOM as this.NOM
 PM PAR STM STAND

responsum=st

response.NOM=be.PRS.3SG

CPREE

‘the response of Apollo isn’t more true than this one’

There are further patterns which have the reading of a comparative of inferiority. For details, see 3.6 (X *non tam* PAR *quam* Y) and 3.7 (X *non* PAR *quam* Y).

4.7 Type 3-7: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

This type is attested with the impersonal use of the verb *praesto* (i. e. *praestat* ‘is better/preferable’). The STM is again the particle *quam*.

(83) Cic. Att. 14.9.2

mori miliens praestitit quam haec pati
 die.INF thousand.times be.better.PRF.3SG than this.ACC.PL endure.INF
 CPREE PM STM STAND

‘it would have been better to die a thousand times than to endure these things’

4.8 Type 3-8: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

Cuzzolin 2011: 556 (following Timpanaro) argues that the alleged examples of this pattern (“positivus pro comparativo”) are mostly uncertain and have to be explained otherwise, which would mean that there is no clear evidence for its existence in Latin and, accordingly, that the PM is obligatory in Latin constructions of the comparative of superiority (cf. 4.4.1).

It is, of course, true that a large part of the alleged examples do not stand scrutiny and have to be textually emended (see already Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 463; cf. Cuzzolin 2011: 556 on Enn. *ann.* 134; Bertocchi & Orlandini 1996: 205 and Conte 2013: 103–104 on Plaut. *Rud.* 1114), but to completely deny the existence of this pattern is, in my view, unjustified (many potential or secure examples being cited by Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 593–594). As regards statistics, most examples are found in the works of Tacitus (Tarriño 2011: 387). Note that ex. (84) is actually a case of the type “one entity–two predicates” (cf. 4.12).

- (84) Tac. *ann.* 4.61
Asinius Agrippa, claris maioribus quam
 A.NOM A.NOM illustrious.ABL.PL ancestor.ABL.PL than
 PAR_{CPREE} CPREE+STAND STM
uetustis
 old.ABL.PL
 PAR_{STAND}
 ‘Asinius Agrippa, with ancestors more illustrious than old’

However, it is important to bear in mind that most of the attestations (e. g. Varro *rust.* 3.4.1; Liv. 3.68.11) are “pseudo-comparatives” (on this concept cf. 4.12 and 3.7), which have the same structure as “normal” comparatives.

4.9 Type 3-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Apart from the omission of the STAND, this pattern is the same as type 3-1 (4.1) and type 3-5 (4.5). In general, the STAND can easily be inferred from the context, in the same way as in type 3-10 (4.10) and 3-11 (4.11). On the other hand, it is often difficult to distinguish this type from the respective relative (6.1) and excessive (7.1) constructions (and therefore some of the passages below could also be translated along those patterns). Cuzzolin (2011: 594) points out that the presence of the intensifying adverb *longe* or an ablative of measure (*multo, tanto, quanto*) always indicates a comparative (but cf. Caes. *Gall.* 3.14.8 as a counterexample).

- (85) Cic. *S. Rosc.* 153
ne noua et multo crudelior per uos
 lest new.NOM and much cruel.CPD.NOM through 2PL.ACC
 PAR.PM
proscriptio instaurata esse uideatur
 proscription.NOM commence.PTCP.PST.NOM be.INF seem.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 CPREE
 ‘lest a new and much more cruel proscription seem to have been commenced by you’

Occasionally, the adverb *magis* is added redundantly to a morphologically comparative adjective (e. g. Plaut. *Men.* 54–55). This was probably a feature of colloquial registers, which abounds in late Vulgar Latin texts (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 166–167).

4.10 Type 3-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

Apart from the omission of the STAND, this type is the same as types 3-2 (4.2) and 3-6 (4.6). The STAND can be inferred from the context. The PM is *magis* (e. g. Plaut. *Pseud.* 136) or *plus* (ex. 86) in the case of superiority and *minus* (e. g. Tac. *ann.* 13.45.1) in the case of inferiority. This pattern is also recorded in the context of code-mixing (e. g. Suet. *Claud.* 4.5: *minus meteōrōs* [Gk.] ‘in a less rash way’; cf. Cuzzolin 2011: 636).

(86) Enn. *scaen.* 308

<i>plus</i>	<i>miser</i>	<i>sim,</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>scelestum</i>	<i>faxim,</i>
more	miserable.NOM	be.PRS.SBJV.1SG	if	wicked.ACC	commit.SBJV.1SG
PM	PAR	[CPREE]			
<i>quod</i>	<i>dicam</i>	<i>fore</i>			
REL.ACC	say.PRS.SBJV.1SG	happen.INF.FUT			

‘I would be more wretched were I to do what I may say will be criminal’

Similarly to *magis* (cf. 4.9), *minus* is sometimes added to comparative adjectives in late Classical Latin (e. g. Flor. *epit.* 2.13.47; Cuzzolin 2011: 636) and Late Latin texts (e. g. Oribas. *eup.* 2.1), clearly indicating that the original function of the comparative morpheme had already been substantially attenuated by that time (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 169).

Note furthermore that the negated equative pattern *non aequē* PAR without explicit STAND (see 3.8) has the reading of a comparative of inferiority.

4.11 Type 3-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

Apart from the omission of the STAND (cf. Asensio de la Cruz 2002: 19–20), which can be inferred from the context, this type (including the specific verbs) is the same as type 3-3 (ex. 87 and e. g. *Bell. Hisp.* 7.5).

(87) Caes. *Gall.* 3.14.8

<i>qua</i>	<i>nostrī</i>	<i>mīlites</i>	<i>facile</i>	<i>superabant</i>
REL.ABL	1PL.POSS.NOM.PL	soldier.NOM.PL	easily	surpass.IPF.3PL
PAR		CPREE		PM

‘in which (scil. courage) our soldiers easily had the upper hand’

In certain contexts, if the implicit STAND is supposed to be, or to contain, a universal quantifier, the construction has to be interpreted as a superlative (cf. 5.9) rather than a comparative (ex. 88).

(88) Cic. *Brut.* 28

quem constat cum prudentia tum etiam
 REL.ACC is.known.PRS.3SG while prudence.ABL then also
 CPREE PAR
eloquentia praestitisse
 eloquence.ABL stand.out.PRF.INF
 PAR PM

‘who (scil. Themistocles) is known to have been preeminent in prudence as well as eloquence’

4.12 Types not included in the questionnaire

Perhaps the most notable type of the comparative of superiority not covered by the above classification is the so-called “conjoined comparative”. Some scholars argue that it did exist in Latin, albeit as a marginal phenomenon. However, the most famous example, which is regularly cited in the literature (*ars longa, uita brevis* ‘art is longer than life’), is actually the translation of part of the first aphorism of Hippocrates (*aphor.* 1.1), which, in its original Greek version, consists of five (!) coordinated clauses and not two, as is the case in regular conjoined comparative constructions of other languages (for genuine examples cf. Cuzzolin 2011: 578–579): *ho bíos brakhús, hē dè tékhñē makrè, ho dè kairòs oxùs, hē dè peíra sphalerè, hē dè krísis khalepé* Hippocr. *aphor.* 1.1 ‘life is short, and art long, the crisis fleeting, experience perilous, and decision difficult’.

The earliest manuscripts that contain the complete translation of the *Aphorisms* date from the 8th–9th c. AD and the translation itself cannot be earlier than the late imperial period (cf. O’Boyle 1998: 86–87). Note also that the early Latin version has the reversed order of the first two clauses and a different adjective (*prolixa* ‘extended, long’ instead of *longa*) in the second clause (cf. O’Boyle 1998: 86 n. 12).

(89) *uita brevis, ars [autem] prolixa, tempus uero uelox, experimentum autem fallax, determinatio molesta*

To be sure, the first part of the aphorism is known already from an earlier Latin source, i. e. Seneca’s *De breuitate uitae* (Sen. *dial.* 10), but this does not alter the fact that it is a translation from Greek and cannot be regarded as a fully reliable source when talking about gradation in Latin. The only other example of the conjoined comparative in Latin cited by Cuzzolin (2006) is ex. (90).

(90) Plaut. *Most.* 48

<i>tu</i>	<i>fortunatu'</i> =s,	<i>ego</i>	<i>miser</i>
2SG.NOM	fortunate.NOM=be.PRS.2SG	1SG.NOM	miserable.NOM
CPREE	PAR+	STAND	PAR-

'you are fortunate, I am unlucky'

There are other cases too which might be regarded as conjoined comparatives, but they can also be interpreted differently (e. g. Sen. *contr.* 7.3.8; Verg. *ecl.* 2.16; Cato *or. frg.* 71.2–3; Cic. *fam.* 13.77.3; Cic. *rep.* 2.27). In any case, it should be emphasized that, in contrast to the opinion of Cuzzolin, the conjoined comparative was probably not a regular pattern of expressing the comparative of superiority in Old and Classical Latin (and Latin in general, at that) from a synchronic point of view.

In Plinius' *Naturalis historia* we can find some superficially similar constructions in which both of the antonymic adjectives are morphologically comparatives (e. g. Plin. *nat.* 16.47; 25.39). However, this usage differs from genuine examples of the conjoined comparative, in which both clauses contain positive adjectives and the comparative degree is expressed simply by their juxtaposition.

The type "one entity–two predicates" is frequently attested with comparatives in Latin. From the formal point of view, there are basically two variants of the construction with the same STM *quam*, but with partially different properties (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 473–474).

1. In the first pattern (type *longior quam latior*; ex. 91), which is rare in Old Latin, a little more frequent in Cicero, and common only from Livius onwards (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 162), both predicates are comparatives. The use of the comparative in the second member of the construction is due to formal levelling (which is "unlogisch" according to Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 474; cf. Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 162).
2. In the second pattern (type *magis strenuos quam felix*; ex. 92 and e. g. Cic. *Att.* 10.1a.1), both adjectives are positives, which are connected with *potius quam* or, less frequently, *magis quam*, *citius quam* and even *prius quam*.
3. There are some examples in Tacitus of a third type, comparative + STM *quam* + positive (type *uehementius quam caute*), which may be taken as the contamination of the two basic patterns.

The second difference concerns function and semantics. Namely, the second type is generally (and the first type sometimes) not a genuine instance of gradation (though note e. g. Liv. 33.8.14 and Nep. *Alc.* 11.3 as exceptional cases with genuine grading constructions; cf. Tarrío 2011: 376), since it does not involve the comparison of two different scores applying to an entity on two commensurable predicative scales; rather, it expresses two properties of which only the first one is characteristic of the entity and the second one is not, since it is in fact lacking (e. g. *magis strenuos quam felix* 'active

rather than fortunate'). The latter constructions are called “pseudo-comparatives”, in which the particle *quam* does not introduce a true STAND, but rather an alternative that is rejected (Tarrío 2011: 392) and in which, as pointed out by Bertocchi and Orlandini (1996: 223), *quam* virtually means ‘et non’: e. g. *magis strenuos quam felix* ‘active and not fortunate’ (cf. 4.1.1 on Benveniste’s opinion on the original implicit negative value of *quam* STANDS in genuine comparative constructions as well). However, one has to bear in mind (cf. Tarrío 2011: 378) that the boundary between the comparative interpretation and the “exclusion” (i. e. “pseudo-comparative”) interpretation is frequently diffuse in both patterns. The decision between the two interpretations can often be made only on the basis of the context. Note that, for the sake of simplicity, in the examples below I gloss “pseudo-comparative” constructions as if they were true grading patterns. On further questions concerning “pseudo-comparative” structures (e. g. mood of the verb in the *quam* clause; various functions of *prius quam* and *citius quam*; etc.) see e. g. Bertocchi & Orlandini 1996: 222–227; Tarrío 2011: 392–395 (cf. also Woodcock 1959: 208–209; Ernout & Thomas 1972: 358).

(91) Liv. 22.38.8

collegae eius Pauli una... contio fuit,
 colleague.GEN he.GEN P.GEN one.NOM speech.NOM be.PRF.3SG
 CPREE+STAND

uerior quam gratior populo
 truthful.CPD.NOM than pleasing.CPD.NOM people.DAT
 PAR_{CPREE}.PM STM PAR_{STAND}

‘his colleague, Paulus, had one speech, which was more truthful than pleasing to the people’

(92) Liv. 2.12.9

inter tantas fortunae minas metuendus
 during so.great.ACC.PL fortune.GEN threat.ACC.PL to.be.feared.NOM
 PAR_{CPREE}

magis quam metuens... inquit...
 more than fearing.NOM say.PRF.3SG
 PM STM PAR_{STAND} [CPREE+STAND]

‘amid the utmost threats of Fortune, yet as one more to be feared than fearing, he said...’

The following examples illustrate the type “one entity–one predicate–two evaluation points in time”. In ex. (93), the negation invites an equative interpretation (cf. 3.6): ‘not more than’ = ‘as little as’ (cf. Bertocchi & Orlandini 1996: 204; cf. also 4.6). Ex. (94) is noteworthy (cf. Tarrío 2011: 377), since the two evaluation points are expressed by means of predicative attributes (*nuda* and *purpurata*).

(93) Cic. *Cato* 27

<i>uires</i>	<i>desidero</i>	<i>adulescentis...</i>	<i>non plus quam</i>
strength.ACC.PL	miss.PRS.1SG	young.man.GEN	NEG more than
└──────────────────CPREE──────────────────┘			PM STM
<i>adulescens</i>	<i>tauri</i>	<i>et elephanti</i>	<i>desiderabam</i>
young.man.NOM	bull.GEN	and elephant.GEN	miss.IPF.3SG
└──────────────────STAND──────────────────┘			

‘I do not now feel the need of the strength of youth any more than when a young man I felt the need [of the strength] of the bull or of the elephant’

(94) Plaut. *Most.* 289

<i>pulchra</i>	<i>mulier</i>	<i>nuda</i>	<i>erit</i>	<i>quam</i>
beautiful.NOM	woman.NOM	naked.NOM	be.FUT.3SG	than
	CPREE+STAND	-CPREE		STM
<i>purpurata</i>	<i>pulchrior</i>			
clad.in.purple.NOM	beautiful.CPD.NOM			
-STAND	PAR.PM			

‘a beautiful woman will be more beautiful naked than dressed in purple’

The type “one entity–two predicates” also exists with comparatives of inferiority (ex. 95).

(95) Plin. *epist.* 4.3.2

<i>non minus difficile</i>	<i>quam magnum est</i>
NEG less difficult.NOM	than great.NOM be.PRS.3SG
PM PAR _{STAND}	STM PAR _{STAND} [CPREE+STAND]

‘is no less difficult than it is desirable’

As expected, the type “two entities–two predicates” is comparatively rare in Latin, but it is attested with both the comparative of superiority (ex. 96) and the comparative of inferiority (ex. 97). Here again the negation leads to an equative reading of the construction (cf. 3.6). Tarrío (2011: 381–382, following Baños Baños 2002: 49) adds the important point that “the verbs that appear in both parts of the comparison must belong to the same semantic field... or share semantic traits... for the comparison to be possible” (and therefore synonyms and antonyms can both be used in such constructions).

(96) Cic. *Phil.* 9.12

ut nemo umquam unici filii mortem magis
 that nobody.NOM ever only.GEN son.GEN death.ACC more
 CPREE PM

doluerit quam ille maeret patris
 sorrow.PRF.SBJV.3.SG than he.NOM grieve.PRS.3SG father.GEN
 PAR_{CPREE} STM STAND PAR_{STAND}

‘so that no [father] ever sorrowed more over the loss of an only son than he grieves for the death of his father’

(97) Cic. *Caecin.* 23

non minus nos stultitia illius subleuat, quam
 NEG less 1PL.ACC folly.NOM he.GEN support.PRS.3SG than
 PM CPREE PAR_{CPREE} STM

laedit improbitas
 hurt.PRS.3SG wickedness.NOM
 PAR_{STAND} STAND

‘his folly assists us no less than his wickedness injures us’

There is a further pattern which has the reading of a comparative of inferiority, i. e. X *non tam* PAR *quam* Y expressing the types “one entity–two predicates” or “one entity–one predicate–two evaluation points in time”. For details see 3.10.

4.13 Formal means of expressing comparatives

There is no space here to deal with all the formal aspects of Latin comparative constructions, thus I will confine myself to mentioning only the most important points of their formation. For detailed treatments of the morphology of Latin gradation (both comparative and superlative) from a diachronic point of view see, among others, Sommer 1914: 454–464; Leumann 1977: 495–499; Sihler 1995: 356–368; Meiser 2010: 152–155; Weiss 2009: 355–361. Note also that there are, of course, many adjectives in Latin that are not gradable at all for semantic or formal reasons, and many others that form only one of their degree forms (Kühner & Holzweissig 1994: 565–570; Pinkster 2015: 47).

The comparative suffix *-ior-* (neuter nom.-acc. sing. *-ius*) obviously continues the inherited PIE primary comparative morpheme **-ies-/-jos-* (e. g. *maior* [majjior] ‘greater’ < **mag-jos-*). Originally the suffix was directly attached to the root, but this pattern was no longer productive in Latin and most comparatives were regularly derived from the stem of the positive (Weiss 2009: 355 with n. 7; but see comparative *maior* < **mag-jos-* vs. positive *magnus* ‘great’ < **mag-no-* as a relic of the earlier state of affairs). For the basic derivational pattern see the overview of Kühner & Holzweissig 1994: 552–553.

The anomalous comparatives, including well known suppletive paradigms such as *bonus* ‘good’ – *melior* – *optimus* or *malus* ‘bad’ – *peior* [pej̄ior] – *pessimus* are listed by Kühner & Holzweissig 1994: 562 (cf. Weiss 2009: 359–361). Note that the adjective *malus* ‘bad’ has two suppletive comparative degree forms with markedly different meaning (Burkard & Schauer 2012: 66–67): *peior* ‘worse than something bad’ (e.g. Cic. *Phil.* 8.29) and *deterior* ‘less good than something good’ (e.g. Cic. *de orat.* 3.34).

Adjectives ending in *-dicus*, *-ficus*, *-uolus* nearly always form their comparative (and superlative; cf. 5.11) from a stem ending in *-ent-*: e.g. *maledicus* ‘slandorous’ → *maledicentior*; but see e.g. *munificus* ‘munificent’ → *munificior* Cato *or. frg.* 242 M apud Paul. *Fest.* p. 155 (Kühner & Holzweissig 1994: 558).

The inflection of comparative adjectives follows the consonant-stem scheme of the 3rd declension, the sole exception being the gen. plur. *plurium* of the comparative *plus* ‘more’ (more on which below).

There is clear evidence in the works of the ancient Roman grammarians of the earlier, pre-rhotacism form *-ios-* (e.g. *meliose* Varro *ling.* 7.27; *maiosibus*, *meliosibus* Paul. *Fest.* p. 264; Weiss 2009: 355).

As far as the other ablaut grades are concerned, the full (*e-*) grade form of the suffix (*-ies-*) is visible in derivatives such as *maies-tas* ‘majesty’ from *maior* etc., and perhaps also in *mulier* ‘woman’, if this indeed continues the feminine **m̄l̄-ies-ih₂* ‘the better’ (Leumann 1977: 58; Meiser 2010: 64; but note the doubts of de Vaan, *EDL*: 393). The zero-grade of the suffix (*-is-*) appears in various allomorphs of the superlative suffix (most notably *-issimo-*; cf. 5.11) and also in the adverb *magis* ‘more’ and perhaps in *nimis* ‘too (much)’, if the latter indeed ultimately continues **ne-mi-is* ‘not less’ (root **mej̄* ‘little’; Weiss 2009: 356).

The suffix *-ior-* < PIE **-ies-/ios-* is thought to have had originally an intensive value. As Tarrío puts it, “the expression presented an intensified quality with relation to the natural norm (intensive comparative) and then it came to be understood as a comparison with a norm “by position”, derived from the context” (Tarrío 2011: 383, following Benveniste 1948: 122; cf. also Bertocchi & Orlandini 1996: 209; Sihler 1995: 356, 358).

The PIE suffix **-tero-* is preserved in Latin mostly with its original oppositional function (e.g. *exter* ‘external’; *dexter* ‘right’; *sinister* ‘left’), but sometimes it has been recharacterized by *-ior* to produce comparatives such as *posterior* ‘later’ (Weiss 2009: 356). In *matertera* ‘maternal aunt’ it was added to a nominal base (*mater* ‘mother’), probably with the meaning ‘like but not identical to’ (Weiss 2009: 356 n. 8; Benveniste 1948: 118 explains it as differential from *amita* ‘the true, i.e. paternal, aunt’; at any rate, it is obviously not a comparative “more mother”, as maintained by Cuzzolin 2011: 563).

The two PMs of the analytic comparative of superiority (*magis* and *plus*) are both comparative adverbs (= neuter nom.-acc. sing.), which belong to the positive adjectives *magnus* ‘great’ and *multus* ‘much, many’, respectively. As mentioned above, *magis* contains the root *mag* (cf. *mag-nus*; **mag-ios-* > *maior*; etc.) and the zero-grade *-is* of

the comparative suffix **-ios-* (Weiss 2009: 356). The interpretation of *plus* (< Old Latin PLOVS *CIL* I² 581.19–20 [S. C. de Bacch.]) is more difficult. According to Weiss 2009: 360, PLOVS comes by syncope from **ploṽ-is*, a neuter comparative built to a stem **ploṽ-* < **pleṽ-* (cf. *mag-is*), **pleṽ-is* being the typical Latin *i*-extension (cf. *suavis* ‘sweet’ vs. Old Indo-Aryan *svādú-* < PIE **s₂eh₂d-u-*) of the *u*-stem adjective **pleh₁-u-* derived from the root **pleh₁* ‘to fill’ (for more or less different explanations cf. e.g. Leumann 1977: 496–497; Sihler 1995: 360–361; Meiser 2010: 153–154). It seems that Archaic Latin PLEORIS/-ES (cf. above in the Introduction of the chapter) needs yet another explanation (probably from **pleh₁-ios-*; Weiss 2009: 360).

The PM of the comparative of inferiority, *minus* ‘less’, is the adverbial form (= neuter nom.-acc. sing.) of the comparative adjective *minor*, *-us* ‘smaller’, which is related, among others, to the verb *minuo* ‘to lessen, diminish’ (ultimately from the root **mej*, cf. above). Remarkably enough, it lacks any overt comparative morphology and was possibly created by analogy of its antonym ‘more’ (according to Weiss 2009: 360–361; for other explanations see Sihler 1995: 360–361; Meiser 2010: 154). Sommer 1914: 454 points to the fact that the comparative meaning of inferiority is inherent in the root **mej* itself.

As for the distribution of the synthetic and analytic formations in Old and Classical Latin, the analytic comparative with *magis* is current with adjectives ending in *-V-us*, i. e. *-uus*, *-eus*, *-ius*: e.g. *idoneus* ‘suitable’ → *magis idoneum* Cic. *fam.* 1.2.3 (Pinkster 2015: 48; Kühner & Holzweissig 1994: 566–569; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 165), but it is not infrequently attested from adjectives and adverbs of other phonetic shape as well: e.g. *argutus* ‘artful’ → *magis argutum* Plaut. *Trin.* 200; *lubens* ‘willing, glad’ → *magis lubenter* Plaut. *Most.* 157. On the other hand, synthetic comparatives derived from adjectives ending in *-V-us* also occur occasionally: e.g. *strenuus* ‘strenuous’ → *strenuior* Plaut. *Epid.* 446; *idoneus* ‘suitable’ → *idoneior* Ulp. *dig.* 43.29.3.12 (Cuzzolin 2011: 596). The number of syllables is another important factor, since adjectives of more than three syllables also tend to form an analytic comparative irrespective of their phonetic shape (Cuzzolin 2011: 596; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 165), but cf. e.g. *formidosus* ‘fearful’ → *formidosiorem* (Tac. *ann.* 1.62); *familiaris* ‘friendly’ → *familiariores* (Greg. Tur. *Franc.* 5.18). On the gradual replacement of the suffix *-ior-* by the adverbs *magis* and *plus* in the function of STM cf. also Bauer 2009: 263.

Beside *magis*, already Old Latin makes occasional use of the comparative adverb *plus* as a PM (e.g. *plus lubens* ‘more willing’ Plaut. *Aul.* 420; *plus miser* ‘more wretched’ Enn. *scaen.* 308), a phenomenon which begins to spread in greater extent from the 2nd c. AD onwards and becomes particularly frequent in Late Latin: e.g. *plus miser* Tert. *spect.* 17; *plus felix* ‘more fortunate’ Sidon. *carm.* 5.78 (Scherer 1975: 56; Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 462; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 166).

There might have been some kind of geographical distribution among *magis* and *plus* as well, indicated by the fact that the descendants of *magis* are used in peripheral Romance languages such as Spanish (*más*), Portuguese (*mais*) and Rumanian (*mai*), while *plus* was preserved in the central area represented by Italian (*più*) and French

(*plus*) (Cuzzolin 2011: 598, 601; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 166; Bauer 2009: 263). For more on *magis* vs. *plus* cf. also Cuzzolin 2011: 597–601; Tarrío 2011: 383.

In Late Latin, but sometimes already in those varieties of Old and Classical Latin that are thought to be close to the spoken language, the suffix *-ior-* can appear reinforced by the comparative adverb *magis* (*plus* appears in this function even later and more rarely; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 167): e. g. *magis maiores nugas* ‘greater nonsense’ Plaut. *Men.* 55; *plus leuior* ‘lighter’ Comm. *apol.* 5; cf. Vitruvius 7.10.4; Columella 2.15.2; Plautus *Aul.* 422; Plautus *Capt.* 664; Apuleius *met.* 11.10.5 (Cuzzolin 2011: 598; Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 464; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 166–167; Scherer 1975: 56). This double marking indicates the semantic weakening of the comparative morpheme *-ior-*, which took place first in irregular comparative forms such as *maior*, a fact which is evidently related to their much higher frequency as compared to regular formations (cf. Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 168, who point out that Old Latin has almost three times (!) more occurrences of irregular comparatives than of regular ones). Even more remarkable is the combination of the adverb *minus* with comparative adjectives, which may again be interpreted as a sign of the complete semantic attenuation of *-ior-*.

A similar phenomenon is the redundant use of *potius* ‘rather’ in connection with the verb *malo* ‘to wish rather, prefer’ (< *magis uolo*), which is attested even in Classical Latin authors such as Cicero (e. g. Cic. *div. in Caec.* 21).

The comparative particle *quam* (Osc. *pam*; Umbr. *-pa*; also Old Latin *quamde* [Umbr. *pane*; Osc. *pan*] in Livy *Andr.*, Ennius and, as an archaism, Lucretius) is originally the acc. sing. fem. form of the relative-interrogative pronoun **k^ho-*, which was frozen in adverbial function (‘how?; as’) (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 588–589). According to the *communis opinio*, its function as a STM (‘than’) in comparative constructions is secondary to its use in equatives (cf. 3.6).

There are various formal means of reinforcing the comparative meaning (with adjectives and adverbs as well as with E-type verbs such as *praesto* ‘to surpass’) (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 463):

1. the ablative of measure *multo* ‘by far, much’ is the most frequent choice, but the accusative *multum* is not unknown in the same function either (cf., on the other hand, *paulo* and *aliquanto* with a “reducing” function: ‘somewhat, a little’);
2. the adverb *longe* ‘by far’ is used mostly in poetry and late Classical texts: e. g. *utiliorem longe* Quint. *inst.* 10.1.67 ‘far more useful’ (on its use with superlatives cf. 5.11);
3. *etiam* (later also *etiamnum* and *adhuc*) ‘even’: e. g. *etiam maiores uarietates* Cic. *off.* 1.107 ‘even greater differences’;
4. the numeral *unus* ‘one, single’ modifying the STAND (Burkard & Schauer 2012: 70; cf. 5.11 for the separate use of *unus* with superlatives).

The ablative case as STM in superlative constructions appears only in Late Latin (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 111).

It may be added that the morphologically comparative pattern X PAR-*ior*- Y_{ABL} has a superlative reading if Y (the STAND) is, or contains, a universal quantifier (see 4.1.1).

5.1.2 Type 4-1-2 flag is adposition

There are several prepositions that are attested in the function of STM in superlative constructions, the most frequent being *e(x)* ‘of, out of’ (ex. 101). Further representatives, with varying frequency, are *de* ‘from’ (e.g. Nep. *Them.* 4.3), *inter* ‘between, among’ (e.g. Cic. *S. Rosc.* 16), *in* ‘in’, *apud* ‘at’, *ab* ‘from’, *ante* ‘before’ (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 4.141), *praeter* ‘beyond’, *super* ‘above’ (e.g. Suet. *Vit.* 13.2) (Cuzzolin 2011: 650–651; cf. Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 478).

(101) Plaut. *Trin.* 94

<i>tu</i>	<i>ex</i>	<i>amicis</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>certis</i>
2SG.NOM	of	friend.ABL.PL	1SG.DAT	be.PRS.2SG	assured.ABL.PL
CPREE	STM	STAND			
<i>certissimus</i>					
assured.SPD.NOM					
PAR.PM					
‘of my assured friends, you are the most assured’					

Instead of, or sometimes in combination with, an explicit STAND, superlative constructions often introduce the scope of the comparison by means of a prepositional phrase.

(102) Cic. *Brut.* 186

<i>quis</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>in hac</i>	<i>ciuitate</i>	<i>eloquentissimus?</i>
who.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	in this.ABL	city.ABL	eloquent.SPD.NOM
CPREE				PAR.PM
‘who is the most eloquent in this city?’				

It may be added that the morphologically comparative pattern X PAR-*ior*- adposition Y has a superlative reading if Y (the STAND) is, or contains, a universal quantifier (see 4.1.2).

5.2 Type 4-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

5.2.1 Type 4-2-1: flag is case

In this frequent type of superlative, similarly to type 4-1-1 (5.1.1), the STM is again the (partitive) genitive case. The STAND very often (in fact, usually) is expressed by, or contains, a universal quantifier (*omnes, cuncti*, etc.). In the case of the superlative of superiority, the PM is the superlative adverb *maxime* ‘most’.

(103) Varro *rust.* 2.11.1

<i>lacte</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>omnium</i>	<i>rerum...</i>	<i>liquidantium</i>
milk.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	all.GEN.PL	substance.GEN.PL	liquid.GEN.PL
CPREE			STAND.STM	
<i>maxime</i>	<i>alibile</i>			
most	nourishing.NOM			
PM	PAR			

‘of all the liquids, milk is the most nourishing’

This pattern is also attested with the superlative of inferiority, the PM being the superlative adverb *minime* ‘least’ (note that Latin has no synthetic device to express either the superlative of inferiority or the comparative of inferiority). In ex. (104), this pattern is coordinated with an instance of a type 4-1-1 superlative of superiority (*loquacissimum*) treated above (cf. 5.1.1).

(104) Cic. *Att.* 8.4.1

<i>Aristoxenum</i>	<i>diceret</i>	<i>arcessi,</i>	<i>non</i>	<i>unum</i>	<i>hominem</i>
A.ACC	say.IPF.SBJV.2SG	invite.INF.PASS	NEG	one.ACC	man.ACC
					CPREE
<i>omnium</i>	<i>loquacissimum</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>minime</i>	<i>aptum</i>	<i>ad docendum</i>
all.GEN.PL	loquacious.SPD.ACC	and	least	able.ACC	for teaching.ACC
STAND.STM			PM	PAR	

‘you would have said that it was Aristoxenus who was invited, and not the man who is the most loquacious of all and the least able to teach’

Note that the morphologically comparative pattern $X \textit{magis/plus/minus} \textit{ PAR Y}_{\text{ABL}}$ has a superlative reading if Y (the STAND) is, or contains, a universal quantifier (see 4.2.1).

5.2.2 Type 4-2-2: flag is adposition

Thus far, I have found only a single example of the expected pattern *maxime/minime* + positive adjective followed by a prepositional phrase, but this scarcity is most likely due to chance, since there seems to be no reason why it should be systematically avoided. Ex. (105) involves an instance of the superlative of inferiority in which the PM is the superlative adverb *minime* and the STM is the preposition *ex* (on which cf. above 5.1.2). Note, incidentally, that this sentence is not considered genuine by F. Leo, the editor of the text included in the PHI database.

(105) Plaut. *Stich.* 120

<i>ex</i>	<i>malis</i>	<i>multis</i>	<i>malum</i>	<i>quod</i>	<i>minimum</i>
of	bad.ABL.PL	many.ABL.PL	bad.NOM	REL.NOM	small.SPD.NOM
STM	STAND				
<i>est,</i>	<i>id</i>	<i>minime=st</i>	<i>malum</i>		
be.PRS.3SG	CORREL.NOM	least=be.PRS.3SG	bad.NOM		
	CPREE	PM	PAR		

‘of the many evils, that evil which is the smallest is the least evil’

5.3 Type 4-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

5.3.1 Type 4-3-1: flag is case

As mentioned above, most constructions involving an E-type verb necessarily have a superlative reading if the STAND is represented by, or contains, a universal quantifier. The superlative reading may also be triggered by the plural number of the STAND alone.

However, *excello* ‘to excel, be eminent’ is an E-type verb which, owing to the preverb *ex-*, functions as a PM in superlative constructions also in absence of a universal quantifier of the STAND, as can be seen in ex. (106). The STM is the dative case.

(106) Cic. *Manil.* 41

<i>qui</i>	<i>dignitate</i>	<i>principibus</i>	<i>excellit</i>
REL.NOM	dignity.ABL	leader.DAT.PL	excel.PRS.3SG
CPREE	PAR	STAND.STM	PM

‘who surpasses the leading citizens in dignity’

The superlative degree may be reinforced by the use of the numeral *unus* agreeing with the CPREE (e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* 2.43; cf. Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 478). The PAR is often to be inferred from the context (cf. Asensio de la Cruz 2002: 22–24).

There are adjectives which are formally positive (i. e. do not contain a dedicated superlative morpheme) but have an inherent superlative meaning derived generally from one of their compositional members: e. g. *princeps* ‘first, leading, chief’ (including the ordinal number *primus* as its first member); *eximius* ‘exceptional, excellent’ (including the preverb *ex-*); *praecipuus* ‘outstanding’ (including the preverb *prae-*). These adjectives can be used as E-type PMS (ex. 107 and e. g. Cic. *opt. gen.* 13). The STM is the (partitive) genitive case and the PAR generally remains unexpressed.

(107) Curt. 8.9.5

<i>Ganges,</i>	<i>omnium</i>	<i>ab</i>	<i>oriente</i>	<i>fluvius</i>	<i>eximius...</i>
G.NOM	all.GEN.PL	from	east.ABL	river.NOM	outstanding.NOM
	STAND.STM			CPREE	PM

‘Ganges, the greatest of all the rivers of the Orient...’

5.3.2 Type 4-3-2: flag is adposition

Again, this type is closely connected with the comparative type treated above in 4.3.2. There are various verbs which appear as PM (cf. 4.3.2 and 4.3.1 for a list). The superlative reading is triggered by a universal quantifier or simply by the plural form of the STAND. The prepositions which can function as STMs are *ex* ‘of, out of’ (e. g. Sil. 13.194–195), *de* ‘from’ (e. g. Varro *rust.* 1.38.1), *inter* ‘between, among’ (ex. 108), and *praeter* ‘beyond’ (e. g. Cic. *de orat.* 2.217); the latter being a special case since, in contrast to the others, it does not have an inherent partitive semantics. The numeral *unus* can be used similarly to the previous type (cf. 5.3.1).

(108) Cic. *orat.* 104

<i>qui</i>	<i>quanquam</i>	<i>unus</i>	<i>eminet</i>	<i>inter</i>	<i>omnis</i>
REL.NOM	though	single.NOM	stand.out.PRS.3SG	among	all.ACC.PL
CPREE			PM	STM	STAND

<i>in omni genere dicendi...</i>
in all.ABL kind.ABL speaking.GEN
PAR

‘who, although he alone stands out among all [orators] in every kind of speaking...’

The phrase *plurimum valere* ‘to be the most powerful’ may also function similarly to an E-type PM in superlative constructions (owing to the presence of the superlative adverb *plurimum*). The STM is either *inter* (e. g. Caes. *Gall.* 2.4.5) or *praeter*.

5.4 Type 4-4: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

5.4.1 Type 4-4-1: flag is case

Thus far, I have come across only a single example that might be regarded as a case of this pattern. The STM is the (partitive) genitive case and the STAND contains a universal quantifier. However, this passage comes from a text of Iustinus that is perhaps beyond our time period (3rd c. AD?). The citation here reproduces the text of the 1972 Teubner edition of Iustinus by O. Seel (not included in the PHI corpus). Note that the genitival phrase *omnium philosophorum* is deleted by some older editors; if accepted, this would mean that ex. (109) is not a genuine example of this pattern.

(109) Iust. 12.16.8

<i>per</i>	<i>quinquennium</i>	<i>sub</i>	<i>Aristotele</i>	<i>doctore,</i>
for	period.of.five.years.ACC	under	A.ABL	instructor.ABL
				CPREE
<i>inclito</i>	<i>omnium</i>	<i>philosophorum</i>	<i>creuit</i>	
famous.ABL	all.GEN.PL	philosopher.GEN.PL	grow.PRF.3SG	
PAR		STAND.STM		

‘he (scil. Alexander the Great) improved himself for five years under his instructor Aristotle, the most famous of all philosophers’

5.4.2 Type 4-4-2: flag is adposition

This type is similar to the comparative type 3-4-2 (cf. 4.4.1). The only difference is that in the present pattern, the STAND is, or contains, a universal quantifier, which immediately yields a superlative reading. Consider, for instance, the difference between *super omnes beatus* ‘fortunate above all; the most fortunate of all’ in ex. (110) and *prae nobis beatus* ‘fortunate above us; more fortunate than we are’ in ex. (61) above (cf. also e. g. Gell. 18.4.1; Verg. *Aen.* 5.570).

(110) Plin. *epist.* 7.13.2

<i>aut</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>super</i>	<i>omnes</i>	<i>beatus</i>
or	be.PRS.2SG	2SG.NOM	above	all.ACC.PL	fortunate.NOM
		CPREE	STM	STAND	PAR

‘or you are fortunate above all’

5.5 Type 4-5: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Thus far, I have come across a single example of this type. The STM is *quam* (the comparative particle *par excellence*) and the STAND is expressed by a relative clause containing the generalising adverb *umquam* ‘ever’. This pattern is obviously exceptional (“auffallend” Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 479–480; cf. also Bertocchi & Orlandini 1996: 214) and in all probability it cannot be counted among the regular grading strategies of Latin.

(111) Liv. 34.32.3

<i>cum...</i>	<i>tyranno</i>	<i>quam</i>	<i>qui</i>	<i>umquam</i>	<i>fuit</i>	<i>saeuissimo</i>
with	tyrant.ABL	than	REL.NOM	ever	be.PRF.3SG	cruel.SPD.ABL
	CPREE	STM	STAND			PAR.PM
<i>et</i>	<i>uiolentissimo</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>suos</i>			
and	violent.SPD.ABL	against	his.ACC.PL			
	PAR.PM					

‘with a tyrant who has been the most cruel and violent ever against his own [subjects]’

See also the comparative pattern 3-5 (cf. 4.5), which immediately has a superlative reading if the STAND involves a universal quantifier.

5.6 Type 4-6: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The comparative pattern *X magis/minus PAR quam Y* has a superlative reading if *Y* (the STAND) is, or contains, a universal quantifier (see 4.6).

5.7 Type 4-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

Apart from the omission of the STAND, which can be inferred from the context, this type is the same as types 4-1 (cf. 5.1) and 4-5 (cf. 5.5). It is very frequent throughout the history of Latin. One has to bear in mind, however, that the superlative types 4-9, 4-10 and 4-11 cannot always be easily distinguished from the respective elative patterns (cf. 6.1, 6.2, 6.3). Concerning ex. (112), note also the related positive (*miser*) and comparative (*miserior*) adjectives in the previous lines 461 and 462, respectively.

(112) Plaut. *Capt.* 463

ille miserrimu=st, qui cum esse
 he.NOM wretched.SPD.NOM=be.PRS.3SG REL.NOM when eat.INF
 CPREE PAR.PM

cupit, <tum> quod edit non habet
 wish.PRS.3SG then REL.ACC eat.PRS.3SG NEG have.PRS.3SG
 ‘that one is most wretched who, when he wishes to eat, doesn’t have anything to eat’

To express the meaning ‘as... as possible’, i. e. the highest possible degree, four competing patterns are used in Latin. As explained below, such constructions may be regarded as having an underlying equative structure (i. e. *tam... quam, sic... ut*; cf. 3.6).

1. superlative adjective or adverb reinforced simply by the particle *quam* (occasionally *quamvis*; cf. Pinkster 2015: 1083):

(113) Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.153

prospicere debemus, ut illorum solitudo et
 provide.INF must.PRS.3PL that they.GEN.PL solitude.NOM and
pueritia quam firmissimo praesidio munita
 childhood.NOM PTCL firm.SPD.ABL protection.ABL secured.NOM
 PAR.PM CPREE

sit
 be.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 ‘we have to provide that their desolate condition and childhood may be secured by the strongest possible protection’

2. comparative clause introduced by *quam* and containing a superlative adjective or adverb + some form of the verb *possum*:

(114) Caes. *Gall.* 5.49.7

Caesar... quam aequissimo potest loco castra
 C.NOM PTCL favorable.SPD.ABL can.PRS.3SG place.ABL camp.ACC
 PAR.PM CPREE

communit
 fortify.PRS.3SG
 ‘Caesar fortifies a camp in the most favorable position he can’

(115) Plaut. *Capt.* 352

quam citissime potest, tam hoc cedere ad
 PTCL quickly.SPD can.PRS.3SG so this.ACC come.INF to
 PAR.PM
factum uolo
 accomplishment.ACC want.PRS.1SG
 ‘I want this to be an accomplished fact as quickly as possible’

Ex. (115) is noteworthy inasmuch as it contains an additional marker *tam* and thus reveals the origin of the (elliptical) patterns *quam citissime* and *quam citissime potest*. Namely, the original form was probably *tam* + positive ... *quam* + superlative + some form of *possum*: e. g. *tam cito quam citissime potest* ‘as quickly as he can (do it) most quickly / as quickly as (it is) possible (to do it) most quickly’.

The synonymous pattern *quam* + positive adjective (i. e. without superlative PM) with or without *possum* (e. g. Val. Max. 3.2.ext.1) is colloquial and occurs only in late Classical Latin and Late Latin (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 480). The pattern *quam* + comparative adjective is a very late and vulgar construction (Cuzzolin 2011: 646; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 590).

3. comparative clause (cf. 2.3 and 2.5) introduced by *ut* and containing a superlative adverb (this is not attested with adjectives) + some form of *possum*:

(116) Cic. *fam.* 5.17.2

ut potui accuratissime te tuam=que causam
 as can.PRF.1SG carefully.SPD 2SG.ACC 2SG.POSS.ACC=and cause.ACC
 PAR.PM
tutatus sum
 protect.PTCP.PST.NOM be.PRS.1SG
 ‘I protected you and your cause as carefully as possible’

(117) Cic. *fam.* 7.17.2

sic ei te commendaui et tradidi ut
 so he.DAT 2SG.ACC recommend.PRF.1SG and deliver.PRF.1SG as
grauissime diligentissime=que potui
 seriously.SPD carefully.SPD=and can.PRF.1SG
 PAR.PM PAR.PM
 ‘I recommended and entrusted you to him in the most serious and careful way I could’

As regards the addition of *sic*, which formally yields an equative or similitive construction, ex. (117) is similar to ex. (115). The complete structure would be *sic diligentiter ut diligentissime potui* ‘as carefully as I could (do it) most carefully’.

4. *quantus* ‘how great’ + some form of *possum*, but this is attested only in combination with the superlative adjective *maximus* ‘greatest’:

(118) Liv. 22.3.6

<i>quantam</i>	<i>maximam</i>	<i>uastitatem</i>	<i>potest...</i>	<i>consuli...</i>
how.great.ACC	great.SPD.ACC	devastation.ACC	can.PRS.3SG	consul.DAT
	PAR.PM	CPREE		

ostendit
show.PRS.3SG
‘he shows the consul as widespread a devastation as he can’

In this pattern, Cicero always (e. g. *Lael.* 74) puts *tantus* ‘so great’ in the main clause, which again reveals the underlying equative structure of the construction (cf. *tantus...* *quantus* above in 3.6).

The pronoun *quisque* ‘each, every’ has an emphasizing and generalising function with superlatives (cf. 5.11): e. g. *optimus quisque* ‘precisely the best; each and every good man’ (‘gerade, jewels’ Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 1, 646). It is always placed immediately after the superlative and, in Classical Latin, usually appears in the singular (ex. 119) or in the neuter plural, but rarely in the masculine or feminine plural.

(119) Caes. *Gall.* 1.45.3

<i>quodsi</i>	<i>antiquissimum</i>	<i>quodque</i>	<i>tempus</i>	<i>spectari</i>
and.if	ancient.SPD.ACC	each.ACC	time.ACC	regard.INF.PASS
	PAR.PM		CPREE	

oporteret
ought.to.IPF.SBJV.3SG
‘and if the most ancient period was to be regarded’

If there are two superlatives involved (e. g. Cic. *Phil.* 5.49), then this type of construction may be regarded in some sense as an equivalent to the so-called “correlative diptych” (cf. 3.10): e. g. *improbissimus quisque miserrimus est* ‘it is precisely the most wicked who is the most wretched’ = *quo quisque improbior est, eo miserior (is) est*. For some other, less frequent, patterns see Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 485–486; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 635.

5.8 Type 4-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

This pattern is a variant of types 4-2 (5.2) and 4-6 (5.6). The PM is either the superlative adverb *maxime* (superlative of superiority; ex. 120) or *minime* (superlative of inferior-

ity; ex. 121). The STAND can be inferred from the context. Sometimes it is hard to make a distinction between this and the respective relative pattern (cf. 6.2).

(120) Cic. *div. in Caec.* 65

iniquum est non eum legis iudici=que
 unjust.NOM be.PRS.3SG NEG CORREL.ACC law.GEN trial.GEN=and
actorem idoneum maxime putari, quem...
 conductor.ACC capable.ACC most reckon.INF.PASS REL.ACC
 CPREE PAR PM

‘it is unjust that he should not be thought the most capable [advocate] of the law and conductor of the trial, whom...’

(121) Caes. *Gall.* 1.52.2

quod eam partem minime firmam hostium esse
 since that.ACC part.ACC least steady.ACC enemy.GEN.PL be.INF
 CPREE PM PAR

animadverterat
 notice.PLUPF.3SG

‘since he noticed that that part of the enemy was the least steady’

5.9 Type 4-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

The verbs that are used in this pattern (*praesto, excello*, etc.) are the same as those that we have already met before in several sections of this chapter (cf. 4.3.1, 5.3.2, and in particular 4.11). It is the context which determines whether the construction should be interpreted as superlative or comparative (i. e. if the implicit STAND can be supposed to be a universal quantifier, the reading is obviously superlative).

(122) Cic. *off.* 1.61

maxime=que ipse populus Romanus animi
 most=and itself.NOM people.NOM Roman.NOM spirit.GEN
 CPREE

magnitudine excellit
 greatness.ABL excel.PRS.3SG
 PAR PM

‘and, above all, the Roman People itself is standing out for greatness of spirit’

Constructions of this type can introduce the scope of the comparison by means of a prepositional phrase (cf. Asensio de la Cruz 2002: 21).

(123) Cic. *div.* 1.91

<i>in Syria</i>	<i>Chaldaei</i>	<i>cognitione</i>	<i>astrorum</i>
in Syria.ABL	Chaldaean.NOM.PL	knowledge.ABL	star.GEN.PL
	CPREE	PAR	
<i>sollertia=que</i>	<i>ingeniorum</i>	<i>antecellunt</i>	
quickness.ABL=and	mind.GEN.PL	excel.PRS.3PL	
PAR		PM	

‘in Syria, the Chaldeans are preeminent for their knowledge of astronomy and for their quickness of mind’

5.10 Types not included in the questionnaire

There are various morphologically equative or comparative patterns which have a superlative reading due to the negative polarity context in which they often or exclusively occur. All the constructions listed here are equivalent to ‘X is the most PAR’: *nemo/nullus/nihil/quis est aequè* PAR X_{ABL} and its rare variant in which the PAR is marked with an additional comparative morpheme (3.2.1); *quid tam* PAR X_{ABL} (only in an isolated example; 3.2.1); *nemo/nullus/nihil/quis est tam* PAR *quam* X (3.6); *nemo/nullus/nihil/quis est aequè* PAR *ac/atque* X (3.6); *nemo/nullus/nihil/quis est* PAR-ior- X_{ABL} (4.1.1); *nemo/nullus/nihil/quis est magis/plus* PAR X_{ABL} (4.2.1); *nemo/nullus/nihil/quis est* PAR-ior- *quam* X (4.5); *nemo/nullus/nihil/quis est magis* PAR *quam* X (4.6). The STAND of these constructions is often a “quality-typifying substantive” (Rosén 1999: 193).

One may also mention the formally equative pattern *tam/tantum* + positive... *quam/quantum qui* + superlative (see 3.6), which has a superlative interpretation without a negative polarity context.

5.11 Formal means of expressing superlatives

Latin has various allomorphs of the superlative suffix (see the detailed synchronic overview in Kühner & Holzweissig 1994: 550–565). The regular and most wide-spread variant is *-issimo-* (e. g. positive *felix* ‘fortunate’, stem *felic-* → superlative *felicissimus*), which comes from **-isṃmo-* (or **-isṃh_χo-*? Meiser 2010: 152–153; but see Sihler 1995: 365 on the absence of independent evidence for the laryngeal), a distinctive Italo-Celtic isogloss, with affective or expressive gemination of **s*, which prevented rhotacism (Weiss 2009: 358; cf. Sihler 1995: 367 on the cognitive motivation of consonant lengthening in superlatives).

The ungeminated form **-isṃmo-* underlies a number of formations that are synchronically more or less irregular (Weiss 2009: 358–359). Thus, all adjectives in *-er* have a superlative in *-errimus* < **(e)r-isṃmo-* (e. g. *liber* ‘free’ → *liberrimus*); six adjectives

in *-ilis* form their superlative as *-illimus* < **-l(i)samo-* < **-l-isṃmo-* (e. g. *facilis* ‘easy’ → *facillimus*); further irregular superlatives such as *maximus* ‘greatest’, *pessimus* ‘worst’, *proximus* ‘nearest, next’, *extremus* ‘utmost, last’, *postremus* ‘last’, *supremus* ‘highest, uppermost’ also ultimately contain **-isṃmo-*.

This suffix **-isṃmo-* is undoubtedly the combination of the zero-grade **-is-* of the PIE comparative suffix **-ies-/ios-* and another suffix **-ṃmo-/mo-* (e. g. *maximus* < **mag-is-ṃmo-*). The latter in itself is preserved as a superlative suffix in isolated formations such as *summus* ‘highest’ < **sup-(ṃ)mo-* or *infimus* ‘lowest’ < **ṃd^h-ṃmo-*. Another variant, **-tṃmo-* > *-timo-* appears e. g. in *intimus* ‘inmost’ < **en-tṃmo-* or *postumus* ‘last-born’ (Meiser 2010: 152–153; Weiss 2009: 357).

Note that the suffix *-issimo-* as well as its allomorphs all have a variant with *u* vowel (i. e. *-issumo-*, *-tumo-*, etc.). The interpretation of this alternation is somewhat controversial (cf. Allen 1978: 56–59; Leumann 1977: 88–89; Weiss 2009: 118).

Note that the most wide-spread Indo-European superlative suffix **-isto-* (cf. OIA *-iṣṭha-*; Gk. *-isto-*) is not preserved in Latin, except arguably for two isolated traces. One of them is the adverb/preposition *iuxta* ‘near to, close to’, if from **iug-istā* ‘very closely yoked’ (e. g. Sommer 1914: 456; Leumann 1977: 498); the other one is *iouiste*, an epithet of Jupiter, which, although interpreted as *compositum a ioue et iuste* ‘compounded from *ioue* and *iuste*’ by Festus (Paul. Fest. p. 105), perhaps has to be compared to Ved. *yáviṣṭha-* ‘youngest’ (a possibility mentioned by Weiss 2009: 357 with n. 16, following Watkins).

Adjectives ending in *-dicus*, *-ficus*, *-uolus* nearly always form their superlative (and comparative; cf. 4.13) from a stem ending in *-ent-* (e. g. *beneuolus* ‘benevolent’ → *beneuolentissimi* Cic. *fam.* 5.16.6; but see, e. g. *mirificus* ‘marvellous’ → *mirificissimum* Ter. *Phorm.* 871) (Kühner & Holzweissig 1994: 558).

In Old and Classical Latin, the analytic superlative of superiority is generally formed with *maxime* as a PM, which is a regular superlative adverb from the synchronically irregular superlative adjective *maximus* (cf. positive *magnus*). The same applies to *minime*, the PM of the analytic superlative of inferiority (superlative adverb from *paruus* ‘small’). In addition to *maxime*, the superlative adverb *longissime* from *longus* ‘long’ is also attested as a PM (e. g. *longissime diuersa* ‘very much different’ Cic. *Phil.* 5.49; note that this particular example is in fact a case of the formally identical relative, cf. 6.2 and 6.5).

The reasons for using the analytic superlative instead of the synthetic one with *-issimo-* and its allomorphs are similar to those of the analytic comparative, i. e. the ending *-Vus* and the number of syllables being more than three (cf. 4.13): see the examples in the sentences and further e. g. *maxime miserabile* Sall. *Catil.* 36.4 ‘most miserable’. This does not mean, however, that “short” adjectives and adverbs never form an analytic superlative and vice versa: see e. g. *cupiens maxime* Plaut. *Amph.* 132 ‘most desirous’; *merito maxime* Plaut. *Capt.* 936 ‘most deservedly’ vs. *honorificentissimus* Hist. Aug. *Pert.* 13.2 ‘most honorific’; *miseriordissime* Greg. Tur. *Franc.* 5.18 ‘most merciful’; etc. (Cuzzolin 2011: 596–597).

Due to the gradual semantic devaluation of (mainly irregular) superlatives, doubly graded and hybrid formations appear in due course: e. g. *postremissimus* Gracch. or. frg. Gell. 15.12.3 (instead of superlative *postremus* ‘last’) or Late Latin *pessimior* (instead of comparative *peior* ‘worse’) (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 168). A similar devaluation process can be observed in comparatives (cf. 4.13).

Pronouns and pronominal adjectives regularly do not produce degree forms, but note the superlative *ipsissimus* derived from the intensive pronoun *ipse* ‘himself’ (Old Latin *ipsus*) as a playfully created exception (“scherzweise” Kühner & Holzweissig 1994: 566; Scherer 1975: 56) in Plaut. *Trin.* 988 (attested also in Afran. *com.* 432).

There are a great number of adverbs and particles that are used, with various frequency, to reinforce or intensify the superlative meaning. The most common are *multo* ‘by far, much’ (e. g. Plaut. *Amph.* 782, 994; *Aul.* 667; Cic. *div. in Caec.* 36; also used with the comparative, cf. 4.13), *longe* ‘(by) far’ (e. g. Caes. *Gall.* 1.2.1; 5.14.1; Plaut. *Most.* 911), and *uel* ‘the very, the utmost (orig. if you want)’ (e. g. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.113; *de orat.* 1.118; *Verr.* 2.4.3); see also *facile* ‘easily, unquestionably’ (e. g. Cic. *Rab. Post.* 23; *de orat.* 3.135), *ualde* ‘greatly, extremely’, *in primis/imprimis* ‘above all (among the first)’, *omnino* ‘entirely, absolutely’, *admodum* ‘very much, greatly’, *eximie* ‘especially, outstandingly’, *unice* ‘particularly, especially’, *perquam* ‘exceedingly, extremely’, etc. (Cuzzolin 2011: 642; Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 478; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 167; etc.). Some of them can accompany the morphological superlative in the function of the relative degree as well. Instead of *multo*, Cicero generally uses *longe* (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 136), but note e. g. *multo iucundissimus* Cic. *Manil.* 1 ‘most agreeable’. Another adverb with this function is *maxime* ‘most’ (e. g. Colum. 9.3.2; Gell. 13.17.2), itself a superlative form, which again indicates the semantic weakening of the superlative (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 478). This formation becomes more frequent in the Late Latin period.

The cardinal numeral *unus* is also often used as an intensifying element (‘one, single’), namely as a modifier of the CPREE, with or without the partitive genitive *omnium* (or *omnium rerum* in the case of objects).

(124) Cic. *Brut.* 25

<i>rem</i>	<i>unam</i>	<i>esse</i>	<i>omnium</i>	<i>difficillimam</i>
thing.ACC	one.ACC	be.INF	all.GEN.PL	difficult.SPD.ACC
CPREE			STAND.STM	PAR.PM
‘(eloquence) is the single most difficult thing of all’				

On *quisque* in superlative constructions cf. 5.7; on *tam/tantum* + positive... *quam/quantum qui* + superlative cf. 3.6.

It may further be added that superlative adjectives with temporal and spatial meaning (e. g. *infimus* ‘lowest’, *intimus* ‘inmost’, *summus* ‘highest’, *extremus* ‘utmost, last’, etc.) often appear in special attributive constructions in which the adjective has a partitive meaning (cf. Burkard & Schauer 2012: 341; Woodcock 1959: 60) and which

may be called “inverse attributive constructions” (Töttössy 1975–1976: 480; cf. Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 1, 233; Pinkster 2015: 1051): e. g. *summo... monte* Verg. *Aen.* 3.655 ‘on the top of the mountain; i. e. on the highest (point) of the mountain’; *extrema hieme* Cic. *Manil.* 35 ‘at the end of the winter’; *in eo sacrario intimo* Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.99 ‘in the innermost part of that shrine’; etc.

6 Elative

6.1 Type 5-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

In Latin the elative degree can be expressed by various bound morphemes. First of all, it can be expressed by suffixation, i. e. by the morphological comparative as well as the morphological superlative (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 475; Pinkster 2015: 47). Accordingly, it is often difficult to distinguish the elative from the formally identical comparative, superlative as well as excessive degrees (cf. Cuzzolin 2011: 594). Of course, this difficulty also applies to elatives of type 5-10 (6.2).

(125) Cic. *Cato* 55

<i>senectus</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>natura</i>	<i>loquacior</i>
old.age.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	nature.ABL	talkative.CPD.NOM
CPREE			PAR.PM

‘old age is naturally rather talkative’

(126) Cic. *off.* 3.121

<i>tibi...</i>	<i>persuade</i>	<i>esse</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>quidem</i>	<i>mihi</i>	<i>carissimum,</i>
2SG.DAT	persuade.IMP.2SG	be.INF	2SG.ACC	PTCL	1SG.DAT	dear.SPD.ACC
			CPREE			PAR.PM
<i>sed multo fore</i>	<i>cariorem,</i>	<i>si talibus</i>	<i>monumentis</i>			
but much be.INF.FUT	dear.CPD.ACC	if such.ABL.PL	writing.ABL.PL			
<i>praeceptis=que</i>	<i>laetabere</i>					
instruction.ABL.PL=and	be.glad.FUT.2SG					

‘be assured that, while you are the object of my deepest affection, you will be much dearer to me, if you find pleasure in such writings and instructions’

Particularly in Late Latin, but not infrequently also earlier, morphological comparatives with originally elative function are used apparently as equivalents of simple positive forms. This phenomenon points to the semantic attenuation of elatives. The first (morphologically comparative) elative to do so was in all probability the adverb *ocius* ‘(more) quickly’, which was lacking a corresponding positive. *Ocius* was then

followed by its synonyms *citius*, *celerius* and *uelocius*, furthermore *saepius* ‘(more) often’ and so on (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 169; cf. Ernout–Thomas 1972: 167; Cuzzolin 2011: 597 on Late Latin *Hist. Apoll.* 14.1). This (near) equivalence of (morphologically comparative) elative and positive forms is even more evident in those cases (e. g. Suet. *Nero* 51.1) in which such forms are coordinated with each other in one and the same phrase or clause (Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 475–476; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 168–169). However, it is difficult to exclude altogether the possibility that in the case of morphological superlatives there was some semantic difference (i. e. in terms of grades) between the coordinated adjectives, at least in earlier times (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 168).

Morphological superlatives with elative function can be combined with the numeral *unus* ‘one, single’ as an intensifier: ‘one in particular, one above all’ (e. g. Plaut. *Truc.* 250–252; cf. Pinkster 2015: 1115).

Beside suffixation, the elative degree can be expressed by prefixation as well. The most frequent PM prefixes are *per-* and *prae-*. The attestations show that *per-* in this function is older and perhaps more popular than *prae-* (Cuzzolin 2011: 644–645; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 165: “volkstümlich”); cf. e. g. *perlongus* Plaut. *Trin.* 775 ‘very long’ vs. *praelongus* Liv. 22.46.5 ‘very long’; *perlepide* Plaut. *Cas.* 927 ‘very pleasantly’ vs. *praelepide* Iul. Val. 1.4 (4th c. AD) ‘very pleasant’. It is remarkable (cf. ex. 127) that compounds with *per-* often occur in tmesis and do so even as late as the 6th c. AD: e. g. *per etenim absurdum est* Dig. 22.3.25pr.6 ‘for it is very absurd’ (Cuzzolin 2011: 645).

(127) Ter. *Andr.* 486

<i>per</i>	<i>ecastor</i>	<i>scitu'</i>	<i>puer</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>natu'</i>
very	by.Castor	nice.NOM	boy.NOM	be.PRS.3SG	born.PTCP.PST.NOM
PM		PAR	CPREE		
<i>Pamphilo</i>					
P.DAT					
‘by Castor, a very nice boy has been born to Pamphilus’					

Morphological degree forms of prefixed elative adjectives generally appear from the 1st c. AD onwards (e. g. *perpaucissimis agricolis* Colum. 3.20.6 ‘to very few farmers’; Scherer 1975: 57; Kühner & Stegmann 1992: 2, 478; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 167), which indicates that the intensifying function of the prefixes had been more or less lost by that time. However, comparative *praeclarior* and superlative *praeclarissimus* from *praeclarus* ‘splendid, excellent’ are attested as early as Cicero (e. g. *de orat.* 1.199 and *Catil.* 2.25, respectively), and the latter is used by Nepos (e. g. *Timol.* 1.5) and some other authors as well (Scherer 1975: 57). This proves that *praeclarus* became regarded virtually as a simplex relatively early (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 167).

On the prefix *sub-*, which can be considered as the negative (diminutive) counterpart of elative *per-* and *prae-*, and its various semantic nuances see Cuzzolin 2011: 637–638 (cf. Tarriño 2011: 385 n. 18).

There are a number of adverbs that may be used as intensifiers with elatives: *longe* (ex. 128), *ualde*, *facile*, *multo*, *admodum* (Cuzzolin 2011: 641; cf. 5.11). On elative *longi-uscus* cf. 4.5.

(128) Enn. *ann.* 91–92

et simul ex alto longe pulcherruma
and at.once from height.ABL by.far beautiful.SPD.NOM

PAR.PM

praeipes / laeua uolauit auis
flying.swiftly.NOM being.on.the.left.NOM fly.PRF.3SG bird.NOM

CPREE

‘and, at once, winging swiftly to the left, there flew from the height a very beautiful bird’

6.2 Type 5-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

The most frequent adverbs used as PM in this pattern are *maxime* and *minime* (for superiority, ex. 129, and inferiority, ex. 130, respectively). It goes without saying that it is often difficult to distinguish the construction with *maxime* from type 4-10 of the superlative of superiority (cf. 5.8). The pattern is attested also in the context of code-mixing (e. g. *gumnasiódē* [Gk.] *maxime* ‘very [or most?] fitting for a gymnasium’ Cic. *Att.* 1.9.2; cf. Cuzzolin 2011: 641).

(129) Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.192

loca inter se maxime diuersa
place.NOM.PL between itself.ACC.PL most distant.NOM.PL

CPREE

PM PAR

‘places very distant from each other’

(130) Cic. *off.* 3.49

dixit... perutile esse consilium, quod Themistocles
say.PRF.3SG very.useful.ACC be.INF plan.ACC REL.ACC T.NOM

CPREE

adferret, sed minime honestum
propose.IPF.SBJV.3SG but least honourable.ACC

PM PAR

‘said that the plan proposed by Themistocles was very useful, but anything but morally right’

Beside *maxime*, there are many more adverbs which may function as PM. Some of them are used in higher registers as well: e. g. *ualde* ‘strongly, intensively’, *uehementer* ‘vehemently, exceedingly’, *uere* ‘truly, really’, *nimis* ‘excessively, too’, *longe* ‘by far, greatly’, *longissime* ‘by far, very much’, occasionally also *multum* ‘much, very much’, which became the regular form for the analytic absolute superlative (i. e. elative) in Italian (*molto*) and Spanish (*mu*) (Cuzzolin 2011: 643; Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 163–164). In addition to these, colloquial speech makes use of even more adverbs, most of which have an obvious affective value: *plane* ‘plainly, completely’ (ex. 131), *probe* ‘well, thoroughly’, *bene* ‘well’, *egregie* ‘excellently’, *eximie* ‘exceedingly’, *pulchre* ‘beautifully, finely’, *belle* ‘neatly, well’, *praecipue* ‘chiefly, especially’, *insanum* ‘insanely’, *infinitum* ‘infinitely’, *desperatum* ‘desperately’, *exsecrabiliter* ‘execrably’, etc. On the other hand, “attenuating” adverbs (e. g. *admodum* ‘to a degree’, *sane* ‘reasonably, certainly’, *satis* ‘enough, sufficiently’) as PMs are more frequent in higher registers (“gewählte Sprache”; Scherer 1975: 57). The intensifying adverb *imprimis* was originally a prepositional phrase *in primis* ‘among the first’ and it is often written as such in the texts (cf. 5.11). The adverb *nimum* can also mark the elative degree (being synonymous to *ualde*; e. g. Val. Fl. 7.336) and not just the excessive degree (‘too’; cf. 7.2) (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 163).

(131) Plaut. *Most.* 194

<i>stulta</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>plane</i>
foolish.NOM	be.PRS.2SG	completely
PAR	[CPREE]	PM
‘you are completely fool’		

Similar intensifying (i. e. PM) function may be conveyed, in connection with positive (ex. 132) and, occasionally, morphologically superlative adjectives, by their etymologically related adverbs (Scherer 1975: 57). This pattern is particularly frequent in Plautus.

(132) Plaut. *Pseud.* 13

<i>misere</i>	<i>miser</i>	<i>sum</i>
miserably	miserable.NOM	be.PRS.1SG
PM	PAR	[CPREE]
‘I’m miserably miserable’		

Perquam as PM of the elative (e. g. Plaut. *Rud.* 671–672) is due to contamination: elative prefix *per-* × exclamatory *quam* ‘how (much)’ (Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 164).

6.3 Type 5-11: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

This type is perhaps absent from Latin. However, if we take into account that *excello* as an E-type verb can be used as a PM of the superlative (cf. 5.3.1, 5.3.2 and, first of all, 5.9), then one might consider the possibility of regarding its participle *excellens* ‘outstanding’ (more or less lexicalized as an adjective) as a PM of the elative degree, at least in some contexts. A potential example is (133) (cf. also Cic. *Balb.* 13; Caes. *civ.* 3.99.3). From the logical point of view *magnitudo* seems to be the PAR while its genitive modifier *pecuniae* may be regarded as the CPREE: “amount of money standing out with respect to its greatness” (i. e. on the scale of “greatness”, the amount of money in question occupies a very high position) = ‘an extraordinary (extraordinarily great) amount of money’.

(133) Cic. *inv.* 2.168

<i>quaedam</i>	<i>excellens</i>	<i>pecuniae</i>	<i>magnitudo</i>
certain.NOM	outstanding.NOM	money.GEN	greatness.NOM
	PM	CPREE	PAR
‘an extraordinary amount of money’			

6.4 Types not included in the questionnaire

Scherer points out that the elative degree (morphological superlative) of adjectives with appropriate semantics can also be used as the expression of tenderness (“Zärtlichkeit”): e. g. *dulcissimus* from *dulcis* ‘sweet’ (often in epitaphs); *suauius* from *suauius* ‘sweet’ (often in Cicero’s letters) (Scherer 1975: 57). On the expression of the highest possible degree cf. 5.7.

It should be added that the so-called *melle dulcior* type (cf. 3.1.1 and in particular 4.1.1) may in some sense be regarded as an elative pattern, considering that ‘sweeter than honey’ is pragmatically equivalent to ‘very/extraordinarily sweet’ (see e. g. Orlandini–Pocchetti 2010). Obviously, such an elative reading of the comparative type 3-1 (cf. 4.1.1) is restricted to particular lexemes, namely those which denote an entity that represents an object possessing “the optimum of a quality” (Rosén 1999: 193). See also the variants of the *melle dulcior* type: X *magis* PAR Y_{ABL} (4.2.1) and X PAR-ior- quam Y (4.5), both with quality-typifying substantive as Y (the STAND).

There are further patterns which may have an elative reading: see, for instance, the isolated example in 3.4.1, various negated constructions mentioned in 5.10 (and treated in the respective subsections where they morphologically belong) and other types of generic comparison with quality-typifying substantives as STAND (e. g. 3.6).

6.5 Formal means of expressing elatives

See the relevant sections on the formation of comparatives (4.13) and superlatives (5.11).

7 Excessive

7.1 Type 6-9: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is bound morpheme

In type 6-9, the excessive degree is marked by the morphological comparative. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish the excessive from other types, most notably the elative (cf. ex. 134 and e. g. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.47).

(134) Cic. *Cato* 55

<i>ea</i>	<i>ipsa,</i>	<i>quae</i>	<i>dixi,</i>	<i>sentio</i>
CORREL.ACC.PL	itself.ACC.PL	REL.ACC.PL	say.PRF.1SG	notice.PRS.1SG
CPREE				
<i>fuisse</i>	<i>longiora</i>			
be.INF.PRF	long.CPD.ACC.PL			
	PAR.PM			

‘I notice that what I have said was too long’

7.2 Type 6-10: standard marker (STM) and standard (STAND) are not expressed, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

This is another frequent pattern which encodes the excessive degree in Latin. The adverb (‘too’) that is used as a PM has various avatars: *nimis*, *nimum* as well as, later and more rarely, *nimie*, *nimio*, *praenimis* (Cuzzolin 2011: 553–554). Note that in the very adverb *praenimis*, the prefix *prae-* is used as an elative marker (cf. 6.1).

It is worth mentioning that the meaning ‘too’ (i. e. ‘plus quam oportet’) evolved secondarily due to litotes, since the original meaning of the adverb was ‘not too little’ (‘nicht zu wenig’, Hofmann & Szantyr 1972: 163; cf. the etymology of *nimis* above in 4.13).

(135) Cic. *div.* 2.133

<i>ille</i>	<i>uero</i>	<i>nimis</i>	<i>etiam</i>	<i>obscurus</i>	<i>Euphorion</i>
that.NOM	but	too	even	obscure.NOM	E.NOM
		PM		PAR	CPREE

‘but Euphorion is even too obscure’

An adverb which is used with the opposite meaning (‘hardly’, i. e. ‘minus quam oportet’) is *parum*. This is often used almost as a simple negation (cf. Burkard & Schauer 2012: 201).

(136) Quint. *inst.* 4.2.34

<i>sunt</i>	<i>enim</i>	<i>plurima</i>	<i>uera</i>	<i>quidem</i> ,	<i>sed</i>	<i>parum</i>
be.PRS.3PL	for	many.SPD.NOM.PL	true.NOM.PL	PTCL	but	hardly
		CPREE				PM

credibilia
credible.NOM.PL
PAR
‘there are many things which are true, but hardly credible’

7.3 Types not included in the questionnaire

Various adjectives with appropriate semantics may be used without any overt PM to express the excessive degree (Burkard & Schauer 2012: 67): e. g. *difficilis* ‘difficult’ (ex. 137), *angustus* ‘narrow’, *exiguus* ‘scanty, small’, *paruus* ‘small’, *infirmus* ‘weak’ (e. g. Caes. *civ.* 3.9.3), *longus* ‘long’ (e. g. Cic. *nat. deor.* 1.101), *magnus* ‘great’, etc. The excessive reading of such sentences is determined by the context.

(137) Cic. *orat.* 33

<i>nihil</i>	<i>difficile</i>	<i>amanti</i>	<i>puto</i>
nothing.ACC	difficult.ACC	loving.DAT	think.PRS.1SG
CPREE	PAR		

‘I think nothing is too difficult for the person who loves’

7.4 Formal means of expressing excessives

See 4.13 on the formation of comparatives. On the etymology and semantic development of *nimis* cf. 7.2 and 4.13.

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1 Introduction

The Sabellian languages form a subgroup of the Italic family within the Indo-European languages. They are mainly attested by epigraphic records. As in other languages of fragmentary attestation, the attested corpus is not sufficient to document all forms of grading.

According to the traditional view (since the 1980s), three main Sabellian languages are documented: Umbrian, Oscan, South Picene. Although it is now assumed that the Sabellian area is rather to be regarded as a language continuum where linguistic boundaries are difficult to establish (Clackson 2015), the following presentation will adhere to the traditional analysis. As a matter of fact, the usual tripartition between Umbrian, Oscan, and South Picene points to autonomous epigraphic corpora defined by their own chronological or spatial specificities, if not to linguistically distinct varieties in the true sense of the word. Furthermore, although it is by no means certain that Oscan and even South Picene are to be regarded as unitary linguistic varieties, Umbrian at least should be considered an internally consistent form of Sabellian.

Umbrian is mainly attested in the long texts engraved on seven bronze tables discovered in 1444 in Gubbio (Latin *Iguvium*, Umbria), the famous Iguvine Tables, dated between the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 1st century BCE. This fascinating corpus (about 4,400 word forms) contains eight detailed ritual descriptions and four general regulations for the Brotherhood *Atiedia* in charge of the city-state cult to which the rituals pertained. The Iguvine Tables document a variety of Sabellian which is chronologically and spatially uniform to a great extent. This variety may conveniently be called Umbrian; it is written in two different varieties of Etruscan alphabet and, for some of the latest texts, in the Latin alphabet.

South Picene is the language of about twenty-five short inscriptions discovered in Picenum (Adriatic Coast) and surrounding areas and written in an early period (perhaps the 6th century BCE). For the present inquiry, the South Picene corpus is almost irrelevant, since it contains very few gradation forms. Its graphic system is derived from an Etruscan alphabet.

Oscan on the other hand is as important as Umbrian for the analysis of gradation forms. Oscan is the language of several hundred inscriptions, mostly short, discovered in a wide area between Abruzzi and Calabria. These texts (mainly commemorations of religious dedications, commemorations of public works, laws, and treaties) date in general between the last decades of the 4th century BCE and the second half of the 1st century BCE. They are written in various graphic systems derived either from Etruscan or from Greek alphabets, or even in the Latin alphabet.

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The analysis of gradation forms seems to attest that the Gubbio variety of Umbrian and the Oscan corpus widely share the same patterns and forms; as to equatives, comparatives, and superlatives, the extant documentation does not reveal conspicuous differences between Sabellian languages. In this respect, the whole Sabellian area seems to have undergone similar processes of evolution. Of course, this conclusion should be regarded as provisional and subjected to revisions according to future epigraphic discoveries. The present paper does not aim at listing all the extant forms, but focuses on the constructions associated with the various subsystems of gradation forms.

The Umbrian Iguvine Tables are quoted with reference to the number of the table (I to VII), the relevant side (a or b) and the number of the line where the construction appears. Other inscriptions are cited after the edition of Crawford (ed.) 2011. According to the traditional practice in the field of Italic studies, all alphabets except the Latin and the Greek one are printed in bold; forms in the Latin alphabet are in italics.

2 Equative

No clear examples for similatives are attested in the corpus.

One specific equative construction is documented both in Umbrian and in Oscan. The parameter is a single, definite property: ‘wide, large, great’. Two autonomous adjectival grammemes are used in a correlative diptych to refer to the comparee and to the standard:

(1) Umbrian

panta:	muta:	fratru: /	⁴atieřiū:	mestru:
as.large.as.ACC	fine.ACC	brother.GEN.PL	<i>Atiedius</i> .GEN.PL	greater.NOM
STM.PAR	STAND			
karu:	pure:	ulu: /	⁵benurent:	
part.NOM	who.REL.NOM.PL	there.ADV	come.FUTII.3PL	
ařferture:	eru:	pepurkure/⁶nt:	herifi:	
priest.in.charge.DAT	be.INF.PRS	decide.FUTII.3PL	have.to.INF.PRS.PASS	
etantu:	mutu:	ařferture /	⁷si:	
as.large.NOM	fine.NOM	priest.in.charge.DAT	be.PRS.SBJV.3SG	
PM.PAR	CPREE			

‘as large a fine as the greater part of the Brothers *Atiedii* who will have come there will have decided that has to be to the priest in charge [that has to be exacted from the priest in charge], as large a fine should be to the priest in charge [should be exacted from the priest in charge]’ (V b 3–V b 7)

The same correlatives *etanto* ‘as large’ and *pantes* ‘[as large] as’ are to be found in the Oscan *Lex Bantina* = Crawford BANTIA 1 (*etanto*: l. 11–12 and 26; *pantes*: Adamesteanu fragment, l. 8). However, in the Oscan text, they are documented separately without forming a diptych. The grammeme **pantu** is also attested as an interrogative in Umbrian (V b 2 immediately before the quoted correlative pair).

The construction attested in (1) should not be considered the unmarked equative paradigm of Sabellian: As already observed, it is lexically restricted to a specific property, ‘width/greatness’, which probably has to be the same in both elements of the correlative structure. The pragmatic importance of this very abstract and general property explains why specific grammemes have been formed to build equative constructions for it, as in Latin *tantus... quantus...* (**etantu** and **panta** being the etymological equivalents of *tantus... quantus...* although **etantu** contains an unexplained recharacterization **e-** both in Umbrian and in Oscan).

On the whole, this construction should be regarded as akin to 3.1.1 type 6 (two entities and one predicate; marker is particle, degree is free morpheme). Again, however, two specific features must be emphasised: This construction concerns only one specific property (‘wide, large, great’); the correlative adjectives **etantu** and **panta** are derived from particles or free morphemes comparable to Latin *tam... quam...* (‘as X as’; see the chapter on Latin in the present volume), but they cannot be regarded as such themselves. Rather, these adjectives combine, on the one hand, parameter and marker (**panta**), and, on the other, parameter and degree (**etantu**).

3 Comparatives

Several forms traditionally registered as comparatives are documented in Umbrian and above all in Oscan.

3.1 Formal means of expressing comparatives

3.1.1 The forms in **-ero-/*-tero-* and their function

These forms do not function as *prima facie* comparatives, although they are traditionally analysed as such. See the following example:

- (2) Umbrian
- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| ¹² <i>pelmner.</i> | <i>sorser.</i> | <i>posti.</i> | <i>acnu.</i> | <i>uef.</i> |
| meat.GEN | of.pork.GEN | every.PREP | year.ACC.PL | pound.ACC.PL |
| <i>X. cabriner.</i> | <i>uef.</i> | <i>V. pret'a /</i> | ¹³ <i>toco.</i> | |
| ten of.goat.GEN | pound.ACC.PL | five | former.ACC.PL | behind.ham.GEN |

postra. *fahe.*

latter.ACC.PL shoulder.ham.GEN

‘of pork meat, every year [prepositional construction in Umbrian] ten pounds, of goat [meat], five pounds, the former of behind ham, the latter of shoulder ham’ (V b 12–V b 13)

The comparative forms *pret’a* ‘the former’ and *postra* ‘the latter’ refer to the opposite directions in a specific space dimension (‘before – behind’). In the Umbrian example, the forms seem to be used metaphorically: The dimension taken into account is the extension of the text itself, considered as a linear progression (‘the first mentioned – the second mentioned’). Furthermore, the pig is sacrificed before the goat (see the description of the ritual on Table II b), so that the opposition between *pret’a* and *postra* could also be interpreted according to another trivial metaphor as a chronological one (‘the first sacrificed – the second sacrificed’). Such examples occur in many Umbrian passages and Oscan inscriptions.

Strictly speaking, they should not be regarded as prototypical comparatives: The standard is never marked in the attested examples (except in secondary constructions, see below on the grammaticalised and metaphorical construction *pruter pan* ‘before’ [cf. Latin *antequam*]), and perhaps it cannot grammatically be marked at all (except in such cases). The lack of a standard in all documented examples can easily be explained by the semantics of such forms: They refer to a spatial dimension (or any kind of variable metaphorically assimilated to a spatial dimension) which is to be identified from the context. More precisely, the comparative forms point to the two opposite directions in this dimension. These directions are defined in reference to a deictic center which is also understandable from the context. There is no need for a standard. Therefore, such forms as ‘the former – the latter’ (Umbrian *pret’a* – *postra*) or ‘the upper – the lower’ (Oscan **supruis** – **hūnttram**), although usually regarded as comparatives, should in this respect be excluded from this category. In Umbrian as well as in Oscan, these adjectives contain the suffixes **-ero-* or **-tero-*.

Another point as to the status of the forms in **-ero-* or **-tero-* regards the derivational base of these so-called comparatives: As with *pret’a*, *postra*, **supruis** or **hūnttram**, the formation in **-ero-* or **-tero-* is not built from an adjectival stem as a rule, but from an adverb or an inflected form, viz. **pray*, **pos* (or possibly **posti*), **sup* and **hom* (or possibly **homi*). The status of the forms in **-ero-* and **-tero-* is discussed again below in 4.1.

3.1.2 The forms in **-is-* and their function

On the other hand, Umbrian and Oscan also provide examples of forms which can be classified as comparatives in the prototypical meaning of the word, because they refer

to a gradation related to a property attributed to one of the entities discussed in the context; this property itself is expressed through an adjective.

3.2 Type 3-6: marker is particle, degree is free morpheme

In one example (only), the corresponding standard is mentioned:

- (3) Oscan
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>mais</i> | <i>egm[as</i> | <i>touti]/⁶cas</i> | <i>amnud</i> | <i>pan</i> | <i>pieisum</i> |
| more | thing.GEN | of.the.people.GEN | for.the.sake.POSTP | than | any.GEN |
| DEGR | CPREE | | PAR | STM | STAND |
| <i>brateis</i> | <i>auti</i> | <i>cadeis</i> | <i>amnud</i> | | |
| favour.GEN | or | hatred.GEN | for.the.sake.POSTP | | |
| STAND | | STAND | PAR | | |
- ‘more for the sake of the *res publica* [‘thing of the people’] than for the sake of favour or hatred against anyone’ (Crawford BANTIA 1, l. 5 and 6)

In this example, the adverb *mais* ‘more’¹ modifies the infinitive *pertumum* ‘to prohibit [an assembly]’ (in the following context, not quoted). The property taken into account is expressed by the postposition *amnud* ‘for the sake of’; the subject (a magistrate) might have two different reasons to prohibit the assembly. This property is not expressed through an adjective and is in that respect non-canonical. The comparee is one of the reasons to prohibit the assembly, the standard is the other one: The magistrate should do it for public interest rather than for private reasons, which pragmatically implies that he should have no private reasons to prohibit the assembly in question. The postposition *amnud* (as the head of the postpositional phrase *egm[as touti]/cas amnud* which refers to the comparee) is modified by the adverb *mais* ‘more’. The same postposition is used to point to the standard (*pieisum brateis auti cadeis amnud*); this time, the postpositional phrase is introduced by a particle (*pan*).

The particle *pan* appears also in two other passages of the *Lex Bantina* (Crawford BANTIA 1, l. 4 and l. 16). In both passages it is part of what may be regarded as a compound subordinator *pruter pan* ‘before’ [cf. Latin *antequam*], the other part being the adverbial comparative in **-tero- *prō-ter-*; in this case the comparative in **-tero-* is used metaphorically with reference to time instead of space; the subordinator *pruter pan* is grammaticalised. In l. 16 the variant *pruter pam* appears instead of (*pruter*) *pan* in both the other examples. The final *-m* in l. 16 may be due to contextual assimilation to the following *m-* at the beginning of the next form *medicatinom*. The particle *pan/*

¹ The form *mais* represents etymologically the nominative-accusative neuter singular of the adjective ‘big, large’ in the comparative, characterised by the suffix **-is-*.

pam may be compared with Umbrian *pane*, used in the grammaticalised expression **pustertiu: pane** (I b 40)/*postertio. pane* (VII a 46) ‘after the third time that’. Taking into account the fact that Oscan often attests grammemes without a final vowel which on the contrary is documented in Umbrian (see e.g. Oscan **puf** and Umbrian **pufe/pufe** ‘where’, Oscan **pis/pis** and Umbrian **pisi/pisi** ‘who’ [cf. Latin *quis*], Oscan **píd/píd** and Umbrian **piři/pirse** ‘what’ [cf. Latin *quid*], whatever the etymology of the final vowel in each case), it is probable that the Oscan particle *pan/pam* is from **k^wām-de* (*uel sim.*) in exactly the same way as Umbrian **pane/pane**, i.e. the final nasal in the Oscan form *pan/pam* is originally a dental (< **-md-*) as in Umbrian;² for a different hypothesis, which implies separating *pan/pam* from **pane/pane**, see Untermann 2000: 510–511.

The Sabellian languages provide several examples of comparatives containing the suffix **-is-* documented in the form *mais* (for the complex and controversial etymology of *mais* see the recent discussions by Nishimura 2005: 163–166 and 2017: 96–99; the reconstruction of the suffix, however, is certain).

3.3 Types not included in the questionnaire: no standard, no marker, degree is bound morpheme

An excellent example of comparative built with the suffix **-is-* is that of **nuvis** ‘newer’ [cf. Latin *nouius*] (accusative singular neuter, used secondarily as an adverb), documented in Umbrian (II a 25), see Nishimura 2005: 166–169 and 2017: 94–96.

- (4) Umbrian
- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------|
| pustin: | aņċif: | vinu: | nuvis: | |
| for each.PREP | ? .ACC.PL | vine.ABL | newer.ADV | |
| | | | PAR.PM | |
| ahtrepuřatu: (...) | | berva: | frehtef: | |
| dance the sacred dance.IMPII.SG | | spit.ACC.PL | warm meat.ACC.PL | |
| fertu: | puře: | nuvime: | ferest: | krematruř: / |
| carry.IMPII.SG | REL.ACC | newest.ADV | carry.FUT.3SG | ? .ACC.PL |
| | | | | PAR.PM |
| ²⁷ sumel: | | fertu: | | |
| in the same time.ADV | | carry.IMPII.SG | | |

² The Umbrian subordinator *prepa* ‘before’ (VI b 52) is from **pray k^wām* and documents the use of **k^wām* directly after an adverb/preposition which is not a comparative; the enclitic status of *pa* explains why it does not contain the recharacterising particle **-de* (*uel sim.*), unlike **k^wāmde*. On the opposition between tonic grammemes (with final recharacterisation) and enclitic grammemes (without recharacterisation) in Umbrian see Untermann 2000: 559.

‘For each of the **ançif** [ritual instruments?], he shall dance the sacred dance anew [and] carry spits [and] warm meats. What he will carry for the last time [= the last set of spits and meats], he shall carry the **krematruſ** [offerings?] in the same time [as it] [= together with it].’ (II a 25–II a 27)

In this example, the adverbial comparative **nuvis** means ‘anew’. The action ‘to dance the sacred dance’ is to be performed ‘anew’ for each of the **ançif**. The distributive preposition **pustin** ‘for each, at each’ leads the reader to the correct interpretation of the adverb **nuvis** ‘newer [than the preceding in a series], [each time] anew’. Therefore, the adverb does not indicate a comparison with any (explicit or implicit) definite standard (‘newer [than X]’): it acquires a distributive meaning referring to a set of standards compared to each other (‘newer [than the preceding element of the set], [each time] anew’). This set is referred to by another element of the clause, the prepositional phrase **pustin: ançif**. This does not mean, however, that the comparative **nuvis** cannot be used in comparative structures with the meaning ‘newer [than another entity]’.³ For the analysis of the superlative **nuvime** ‘at the newest [= most recent] time’ [cf. Latin *nouissime*] see below.

3.4 A specific subset: the forms in **-is-tero-* and their function

As in Latin, both suffixes **-is-* and **-tero-* are combined in a few forms referring to the very general property ‘big’ or ‘small’ (Umbrian **mestru** ‘bigger’, Oscan *minstreis* ‘smaller’, for instance), on which see Untermann 2000: 475 and 478; cf. example (1) above.

Along with *minstreis*, Oscan documents the adverb *min[s]* ‘less’ (Crawford BANTIA 1, l. 10), which was probably only secondarily integrated into the subsystem of comparatives (Untermann 2000: 477–478: < **minu-s*, the former nominative singular masculine of a *u*-stem, as in Latin *minus*, with Oscan syncope in the final syllable). The existence of this anomalous form *min[s]* may have played a role in the development of the anomalous forms in **-is-tero-*.

The hypothesis has been recently proposed that the South Picene forms **mei/tistrúí** and **meitims** belong to the same subsystem, that is, these forms are to be regarded as a comparative **meyt-is-tero-* and a superlative **meyt-is-ηmo-* (for the latter suffix, see below). Both forms are supposed to be cognate with Latin *mītis* ‘soft, sweet, gentle’ (Prósper 2018: 117–120). This analysis raises a semantic difficulty: As the adjective does not belong to the same semantic group as **mestru** and *minstreis*, i. e. it

³ In Greek, the famous *sententia* by Heraclitus ὁ ἥλιος νέος ἐφ’ ἡμέρη ἐστίν (‘the sun is new every day’, DK 6) contains the positive form of the adjective νέος corresponding to Umbrian **nuvis**, used in a similar context.

does not refer to the abstract property ‘size [bigger or smaller]’, it is highly questionable that the form **mei/tistrúí** should be regarded as containing the suffixes **-is-tero-*. The reading of this form **mei/tistrúí** is uncertain, see Crawford (ed) 2011: 196–197; its meaning and relationship to the equally obscure **meitims** are uncertain as well.

4 Superlative

Again, several formations with different semantic and syntactic properties are documented.

4.1 Formal means of expressing superlatives

4.1.1 The forms in **-mo-/*-tḡmmo-* and their function

Several formations in **-mo-* or **-tḡmmo-* correspond to the so-called comparatives in **-ero-* and **-tero-*, and share the same semantic features: these forms refer to extreme points on a spatial dimension. Neither the forms in **-ero-* or **-tero-* nor those in **-mo-* or **-tḡmmo-* ever document the prototypical constructions of gradation forms with reference to a comparee and to a standard (except in secondary, grammaticalised cases, see above on *pruter pan*). However, it should be emphasised that the very opposition between **-ero-/*-tero-* and **-mo-/*-tḡmmo-* can be interpreted in terms of gradation: the forms in **-ero-/*-tero-* seem to refer to a binary contrast, for instance ‘upper – lower’; on the other hand, the forms in **-mo-/*-tḡmmo-* point, at least in the following example, to a contrast between at least three entities distinguished as to their position on a precise spatial dimension:

(5) Oscan

iúviass. **ne/ᵛssimass.** **ta<v>f/ᵛfúḍ.** **sakriss.**
iúviass.ACC.PL nearest.ACC.PL tufa.stele.ABL piglet.ABL.PL
sa/ᵛkrafjᵛr[.] **ḡvt /** **ᵛúltiumam.** **ker/ᵛssnaís**

consecrate.INF.PRS.PASS and farthest.ACC grain.offering.ABL.PL

‘that the **iúviass** [meaning unknown] nearest to the tufa stele should be consecrated with piglets, and the furthest one, with grain offerings’ (Crawford CAPVA 22, l. 7–12)

In this example, two groups of **iúviass** seem to be distinguished. If the present interpretation of the ablative **ta<v>f/ᵛfúḍ** ‘tufa stele’ as a complement to the superlative **ne/ᵛssimass** ‘nearest’ (on which see below) is correct, two stelai (or more; the forms **iúviass** and **ne/ᵛssimass** are in the plural) are categorised as ‘the nearest’ to it, while

the third one (if there are only three of them; in any case the last one) is ‘the furthest’ (**últiumam**, a clear-cut example of the suffix **-tḡmmo-*).

However, it is not always quite certain that the distinction between comparatives in **-ero-/*-tero-* and superlatives in **-mo-/*-tḡmmo-* corresponds to the opposition between binary and multiple contrasts. Consider the following example:

(6) Umbrian

anglu =to / ⁹hodomu. porsei. nesimeï.
 angle.ABL from.POSTP lowest.ABL REL at.the.nearest.ADV
asa. deueia. est. anglom =e. somo.
 altar.ABL divine(?).ABL be.PRS.3SG angle.ACC to.POSTP highest.ACC
porsei. nesimeï. uapersus. auiehcleir / ¹⁰est.
 REL at.the.nearest.ADV stone.ABL.PL augural.ABL.PL be.PRS.3SG
eine anglu =to somo. uapef =e
 and angle.ABL from.POSTP highest.ABL stone.ACC.PL to.POSTP
auiehclu. todcom =e tuder. anglu =to.
 augural.ACC.PL civic.ACC to.POSTP boundary.ACC angle.ABL from.POSTP
hodomu. asam =e. deueia. todcom =e /
 lowest.ABL altar.ACC to.POSTP divine(?).ACC civic.ACC to.POSTP
¹¹*tuder*
 boundary.ACC

‘from the lowest angle, which is nearest to the divine (?) altar, to the highest angle, which is nearest to the augural stones, and from the highest angle to the augural stones [and] to the civic boundary, from the lowest angle to the divine (?) altar [and] to the civic boundary’ (VI a 8–VI a 11)

It is not clear from this description of ritual boundaries how many angles are taken into account. However, it is probably the case that two angles are regarded as the highest and the lowest among a group of more than two (as opposed to two lateral angles for instance); after these two angles have been defined, several lines are drawn from each of them.

As is the case with the forms in **-ero-/*-tero-*, the so-called superlatives in **-mo-/*-tḡmmo-* are mainly derived not from adjectives, but from adverbs or inflected forms, some of which have probably disappeared from the Sabellian languages of the historical period. Some formations must accordingly be dated to a quite early period. This is probably the case of the adverb documented in (7):

(7) Umbrian

persclu. sehemu. atropusatu
 prayer.ABL finished.ABL dance.the.sacred dance.IMPII.3SG
 ‘the prayer [being] finished [= when the prayer is finished], he shall dance the sacred dance’ (VI b 36)

The forms *persclu. sehemu* (also documented in VI b 15–VI b 16) refer to the same state of affairs as the connective *enom* ‘then’ in VII a 23 and VII a 36: in all four contexts the injunction appears immediately after the text of a prayer, quoted exhaustively, and orders the priest to dance the sacred dance (in VI b 16, VII a 23 and VII a 36 he is also to use a *uestisia*-cake). Therefore *persclu. sehemu* must mean “when the prayer is over”. The superlative in **-mo- sehemu* (in which *-ehe-* notes a long [-ē-]) may be a derivative of the Italic particle **sēd* ‘away’, which is in Italic otherwise only attested synchronically as a prefix (see de Vaan 2008: 549–550); a proto-form **sēd-mo-* would yield the attested *sehemu*. (For the treatment of the group **-dm-* see Meiser 1986: 94: While primary **-dm-* is not represented elsewhere, primary **-dn-* yields **-n-**, i. e. [nn], in Umbrian; it is probable that primary **-dm-* yields [mm], written *-m-*). The superlative **sēd-mo-* seems to represent a very old formation. The translation ‘finished’ is approximate, since the form is not a participle: *sehemu* literally means ‘being furthest away’).

4.1.2 The forms in **-is-ṛmmo-* and their function

The Sabellian languages provide several examples of another superlative formation which is probably to be reconstructed in all cases as using a complex suffix **-is-ṛmmo-* (see Nishimura 2005 and 2017, Zair 2016: 309). This formation corresponds to the comparatives in **-is-*; it is derived from adjectives referring to gradable properties of all kinds, contrary to the previous formation which is restricted to the description of spatial dimensions (either directly or in a metaphoric meaning). With such prototypical superlatives, a standard can probably be expressed. The following example, however, is not quite a superlative construction in the narrow sense, and no exact example of the latter is attested.

- (8) Oscan
maimas carneis senateis
 largest.GEN part.GEN senate.GEN
 PAR.PM CPREE
 ‘of the largest part of the senate’ = ‘of the majority of the senate’ (Crawford BANTIA 1, l. 3)

This noun phrase does not compare the score of the property in question (‘large’) attributed to a comparee with that of the same property attributed to a standard (‘the largest of all parts’). It refers to a part within a wider set of entities; this part is defined through the superlative, and the relevant set, through the genitive phrase. In other words: Such an example is broadly comparable with type 1 (marker is flag, degree is bound morpheme); the degree is indicated by the suffix; the genitive case is a flag which is broadly equivalent to a standard. However, contrary to a standard in the

narrow sense of the word, *senateis* does not refer to each member of a class or group, but to the class or group itself, which is semantically not exactly the same (“of the largest part of the senate” instead of “of the largest of all parts of the senate”).

Furthermore, two problems are to be discussed about this passage. The *Lex Bantina* contains a second comparable expression in l. 6 and 7:

(9) Oscan

<i>dat</i>	<i>senateis</i> / <i>ʔtanginud</i>	<i>maimas</i>	<i>carneis</i>
according.to.PREP	senate.GEN	opinion.ABL	largest.GEN
		part.GEN	
		PAR.PM	CPREE

‘according to the opinion of the major part of the senate’ or ‘according to the opinion of the senate [as to its] major part’ (Crawford BANTIA 1, l. 6–7)

In this example, the genitive form *senateis* may be regarded as an apposition to the genitive phrase *maimas carneis*, as the word order suggests (both phrases are separated from each other). The passage is perhaps to be translated as “according to the opinion of the senate [as to its] major part”. This may in turn imply that in (8) the same appositional analysis is correct, which would preclude the interpretation of *senateis* in l. 3 as any sort of standard.

A further problem is raised by the Umbrian noun phrase **fratru:** / **ʔatiieřiu: mestru: karu** ‘the greater part of the Brothers *Atiedii*’ in (1). In (1) as well as in (8) and (9) the reference is to the ‘majority’ of a political assembly. However, in Umbrian, a comparative is used, whereas in Oscan, we find the superlative (built on the same root). As it seems that in both sets of examples only two groups of members of the assembly are referred to (‘majority’ – ‘minority’), the difference between the two corpora might indicate that bipartitions are syntactically not treated exactly in the same way in both languages. Semantically, however, the bipartition of a group of entities in two different parts can be expressed both through the means of comparatives (one subgroup is larger than the other) or of superlatives (one of the subgroups is the largest of all, that is, of the two subgroups). It may therefore be the case that both constructions coexisted in all Sabellian languages, in the specific case of bipartitions. If this is correct, the opposition between Oscan and Umbrian is but an appearance due to the scarcity of occurrences. The lack of data makes it impossible to ascertain and refine these hypotheses.

It should be emphasised, on the morphological level, that the comparative **mestru** with recharacterised suffix **-is-tero-* contains the same root as the superlative *maimas* with the usual complex suffix **-is-řimo-*; however, the superlative form does not show the same kind of late recharacterisation which appears in the comparative, but an earlier, generalised one, which usually corresponds to comparatives in **-is-*.

The very same passage of the Iguvine Tables that contains the comparative **nuvis** ‘newer’ [cf. Latin *nouius*] also provides the adverb derived secondarily from the superlative, **nuvime** ‘at the newest time [i. e. most recently]’ (II a 26); cf. (4) above. In this

form, as in *maimas*, the suffix **-is-ημο-* appears as [imo], see the recent discussions by Nishimura 2005 and 2017 as well as Zair 2016: 309. As the Latin superlative *nouissimus* ‘the newest > the last [of a chronologically organised series]’, this Umbrian adverb is to be understood, without the explicit presence of a standard and of a marker, as referring to the last of a set of entities mentioned in the surrounding context or otherwise accessible to the hearer. In the present case *nuvime* refers to the last action of ‘carrying spits and meats’, introduced in the preceding context. The documented form is an adverb, ‘last, most recently, at the end’.

Another important example of **-is-ημο-* is the superlative for ‘best’, [cf. Latin *optimus*] (e. g. Oscan *valaimas* in Crawford CAPVA 34, l. 4, Pre-Samnite *Φολαισυμος* in Crawford BLANDA 1, l. B 2; Pre-Samnite seems to be an archaic variety of Sabellian akin to Oscan, mainly documented in the official text Crawford BLANDA 1, which dates to ca. 500 BCE). Again, see the analyses by Nishimura 2005: 173–180 and 2017: 95–96 and 101, as well as Zair 2016: 309 on this formation, (The vocalic grade of the root is problematic; the archaic form *Φολαισυμος* presents the early shape of the suffix **-is-ημο-* before the phonetic evolutions leading to [imo].) Unfortunately, this superlative is only attested in constructions where no standard is expressed (type 9, no marker, degree is bound morpheme). The most interesting construction is the following:

(10) Oscan

<i>s<i>om</i>	<i>dat</i>	<i>eiza<i>sc</i>	<i>idic</i>	<i>tangineis /</i>	<i>¹⁰deicum</i>
REFL.ACC	about.PREP	this.ABL.PL	this.ACC	opinion.GEN	say.INF.PRS
<i>pod</i>	<i>ualaemom</i>	<i>touticom</i>	<i>tadait</i>	<i>ezum</i>	
REL.NOM	best.NOM	public.NOM	seem.PRS.SBJV.3SG	be.INF.PRS	

‘that they say about these things this opinion [lit. this of an opinion] which might seem to be the best public thing [i. e. the best thing for the city].’ (Crawford BANTIA 1, l. 9 and 10)

In this example, the neuter of the superlative adjective, *ualaemom* ‘the best thing’, is used substantively. It is followed and determined by the neuter of the relational adjective *touticom* ‘public, belonging to the city’. This relational adjective does not express the standard, which is to be inferred from the context: the concerned persons are asked to express an opinion, which has to be the best of all possible opinions; the standard is therefore to be understood in relationship with the substantive *tangineis* ‘opinion’. Rather, *touticom* refers to a criterion for ranking the various possible opinions: The interest to be taken into account is that of the city. The corresponding Latin syntagm *optimum publicum* ‘the best thing for the people’ is attested in a few scattered examples; one of them seems to be a quotation from Cato Censorius, dating to the 2nd century BCE (Gellius, VI, 3, 17, quoting the speech held in defense of the Rhodians in 167 BCE). This formula *optimum publicum/ualaemom touticom* may have originated in an Italic official koinè of the late republican period.

4.1.3 The superlative **ne/ssimass** and the comparative **nistrus**

The superlative **ne/ssimass** ‘nearest’ quoted above raises problems of its own. The corresponding comparative form is **nistrus** ‘nearer’ attested for instance in the Oscan inscription Crawford CAPVA 34, l. 2. While this form **nistrus** (whatever the correct etymological reconstruction of the root should be) undoubtedly documents the suffix **-tero-*, it seems to be the case that **ne/ssimass**, attested not only in (5) but also in several other Oscan and Umbrian examples, does not contain the suffix **-tḡmmo-*, but rather some combination of this suffix **-tḡmmo-* with the suffix **-is-ḡmmo-*, as a way to recharacterise the formation (see the discussions by Nishimura 2005: 171–173 and Zair 2016: 309; the latter, unfortunately, does not discuss **nistrus**). This may imply that the distinction between formations in **-tero-/*-tḡmmo-* referring to space dimensions and formations in **-is-/*-is-ḡmmo-* was not clear cut; important changes seem to have altered the inherited situation. (Furthermore, **-is-* and **-tero-* are combined in a small subset of comparatives referring to the property ‘big’ or ‘small’, see above.)

There are no examples of elatives or excessives in the corpus.

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18 Tocharian

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Tocharian is one of the main branches of the Indo-European language family.¹ Both Anatolian and Tocharian are the only main Indo-European branches that have no spoken descendants today. The Tocharian branch consists of two relative closely related languages, Tocharian A (or East Tocharian) and Tocharian B (or West Tocharian).² The Tocharian language material hails from the hubs of the northern route of the ancient Silk Road in the Tarim Basin in today's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in the northwest of the People's Republic of China.

The bulk of evidence of the Tocharian languages consists of around 10,000 manuscript fragments written in a Central Asian variant of the Indian Brahmi script. Based mainly on palaeographic, linguistic, and (to a lesser extent) historical evidence, the Tocharian manuscript fragments can roughly be dated to the period from the 4th to 10th century CE, with Tocharian B being attested throughout this time span and the attestation of Tocharian A starting in 7th century.

Almost two thirds of the Tocharian corpus are in Tocharian B which – unlike Tocharian A – displays considerable diachronic and/or dialectal variation in phonology and morphology.³ The majority of Tocharian texts belong to genres of early Buddhism and are adaptations of⁴ or autochthonous compositions based on Indian models.⁵ Almost all of the Tocharian corpus is available in the online database CEToM from which all of the examples used in this survey are taken. Since the Tocharian corpus is so fragmentary and – despite considerable progress in the field over the last two decades – the Tocharian languages are still understudied compared to the other main branches of Indo-European, this survey is necessarily preliminary.

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1 See Fortson 2009 for a concise introduction to the Indo-European language family.

2 See Pinault 2008 for a comprehensive introduction to Tocharian and its linguistic and philological background.

3 See Peyrot 2008.

4 Verbatim translations from Sanskrit into the Tocharian languages do occur, but are not the rule.

5 See Pinault 2016.

1.2 Tocharian Adjectives

Adjectives in both Tocharian languages can be classified according to the following parameters: primary (non-derived) vs. secondary (derived) adjectives, stem or inflectional class, inflected vs. non-inflected.

Primary (non-derived) adjectives mostly belong to the sphere of property concepts.⁶ Tocharian examples of primary adjectives from each subtype of property concept:

a.	dimension:	TB <i>pärkare</i>	TA <i>pärkär</i>	‘long’
b.	physical property:	TB <i>kärpiye</i>	TA <i>kärpi</i>	‘raw, rough’
c.	color:	TB <i>motartstse</i>	TA <i>motarts</i>	‘green’
d.	speed:	TB <i>slakkare</i>	TA <i>slākkär</i>	‘fast’
e.	age:	TB <i>moko</i>	TA <i>mok</i>	‘old’
f.	value:	TB <i>ainake</i>	TA <i>enāk</i>	‘bad’
g.	human propensity:	TB <i>erkatte</i>	TA <i>erkāt</i>	‘hostile’

Secondary (derived) adjectives are usually derived from substantives and in some cases from function words.

Tocharian examples of secondary adjectives:

a.	base is substantive	TB <i>oraşše</i> ‘woody’	← nom./acc.sg. ⁷ or ‘wood’
		TA <i>orşi</i> ‘woody’	← nom./acc.sg. or ‘wood’
b.	base is function word	TB <i>cişše</i> ‘your’	← acc.sg. <i>ci</i> : <i>t(u)we</i> ‘you’
		TA <i>cwaşi</i> ‘your’	← acc.sg. <i>cu</i> : <i>tu</i> ‘you’

Beyond the traditional distinction between thematic stems (continuing a suffix PIE **-e/o-*) and athematic stems (continuing PIE consonantal stems), adjectives and substantives in Tocharian are classified according to their inflectional patterns (and the presence or absence of palatalization of their stem-final consonants), a system established by *Tocharisches Elementarbuch* (TEB) and – for better or worse – still used in the literature. Primarily based on their formation in Tocharian B, TEB (144–157) roughly divides Tocharian adjectives into four classes distinguished by their nominative and accusative masculine plural endings:

⁶ See Dixon 1982 and 2004 for the term and concept. In the Indo-European context property concepts are at the core of the so-called Caland system (see main text below).

⁷ In Tocharian the accusative case – which only in a subset of nominals is not distinguished from the nominative case – is also the so-called oblique stem that serves as derivational basis and as the basis for secondary cases. (Unfortunately, the accusative itself is sometimes also termed ‘oblique’ case in Tocharian.) The secondary cases are: instrumental (Tocharian A only), perlocative, comitative, allative, ablative, locative, and causalis (Tocharian B only).

- class I TB nom.pl.m. *-i*, acc.pl.m. *-eṃ*
 e. g., TB nom.pl.m. *oraṣṣi*, acc.pl.m. *oraṣṣeṃ* : *oraṣṣe* ‘woody’
- class II TB nom.pl.m. *-ñ*; acc.pl.m. *-(nä)ṃ*
 e. g., nom.pl.m. *lareñ*, acc.pl.m. *larenäṃ* : *läre* ‘dear’
- class III TB nom.pl.m. *-ñc*, acc.pl.m. *-ntäṃ*
 e. g., nom.pl.m. *tallāñc*, acc.pl.m. *tallāntäṃ* : *tallāw* ‘miserable’
- class IV TB nom.pl.m. *-ṣ* acc.pl.m. *-ṣäṃ*
 e. g., nom.pl.m. *yamoṣ*, acc.pl.m. *yamoṣäṃ* : pret.ptcp. *yāmu* ‘done’

Class I continues various thematic formations, the rest of the classes various athematic (consonantal) formations.

Inflected adjectives show agreement with their head noun in case, number, and gender (masculine or feminine).⁸ Uninflected adjectives – that are usually not distinguished from inflected adjectives regarding stem formation – show no agreement with their head noun.⁹

1.3 Gradation

In the classical Indo-European languages like Vedic, Greek, and Latin and beyond (see in this volume) adjective gradation is expressed morphologically in the form of suffixes which belong to the Caland system, a network of morphemes that are derivationally interrelated and that can be reconstructed for the proto-language (see Rau 2009: 65–186). These synthetic forms of adjective gradation found in other Indo-European branches are absent from the Tocharian languages.¹⁰ Both Tocharian A and B use different analytic constructions in the gradation of adjectives. Most of the gradation constructions use adverbs (or particles).¹¹

The secondary cases perlocative (which has the range of meaning expressed by ‘across; via’) and ablative (which has the range of meaning expressed by ‘from’) are used to mark the standard of comparison in comparative constructions. Tocharian B

8 A third agreement class, neuter (traditionally called ‘alternans’), shows masculine inflection in the singular and feminine inflection in the plural; see Fellner 2014a.

9 It is an open question whether the lack of inflection of certain adjectives is related to so-called ‘Gruppenflexion’, the phenomenon of – especially – secondary cases only being marked on one constituent in conjunction phrases or appositions.

10 While there are traces of the Caland system in general, crucially there are no traces of the associated comparative and superlative morphology in Tocharian. Whether the respective suffixes were lost in Tocharian or are an innovation of the Inner-Indo-European languages that excluded Tocharian is an open question. Proto-Inner-Indo-European would be the common ancestor of all IE languages except Anatolian and Tocharian, i. e. “Brugmannian Proto-Indo-European”. See Jasanoff 2003: 204 for the term Inner-Indo-European.

11 See Thomas 1958 for the first (and so far only) treatment of gradation in Tocharian.

uses both perlative and (albeit to a lesser extent) ablative, whereas Tocharian A only uses the ablative in this function.

In superlative constructions the genitive plural and the locative plural are found to mark the standard. The locative plural is used in both languages, the genitive plural only in Tocharian B.

In what follows, we are using the structure of the questionnaire (cf. section 5 of the introduction to this volume), leaving out those (sub)sections for which no Tocharian examples are known (so far).

2 Equative

2.1 Type 1-4: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

- (1) Tocharian B

<i>ylai-ñäkte</i>	<i>ram</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>lare-yok</i>	<i>sasweṃ</i>
Indra.NOM	like	however	dear-looking	lord.NOM
STAND	STM		PAR	CPREE

“However, the lord [is] as dear-looking as Indra.” CEToM THT 93b5

- (2) Tocharian A

<i>pärwānaṃ</i>	<i>ywārckā</i>	<i>urṇ</i>	<i>lakṣaṃ</i>	<i>pärmāṃ</i>
eyebrows.LOC.DU	Between	tuft of hair.ACC	sign.ACC	bearing
		CPREE		

<i>maññ</i>	<i>oki</i>	<i>ārkyant...</i>
moon.ACC	like	white.ACC
STAND	STM	PAR

“Between the eyebrows bearing as a sign a tuft of hair white as the moon ...”
CEToM A 60b3

Tocharian B *ram(t)* and Tocharian A *oki* have the same function. These particles show identical syntax in both languages, appearing behind the standard of comparison.¹² It has long been noted that TB *ram(t)* and TA *oki* functionally are comparable to Sanskrit *iva* (see Kulikov, this volume) and there are indeed translations from Sanskrit

¹² Cf. Thomas 1968.

into the Tocharian languages where *iva* is rendered as *ram(t)* in Tocharian B¹³ and as *oki* Tocharian A.¹⁴ Etymologically, both particles lack good comparanda outside of Tocharian.¹⁵

3 Similitive constructions

3.1 Type 2-4: standard marker (STM) is particle, parameter marker (PM) is not expressed

(3) Tocharian B

walkwi ramt wīyāskeṃ
 wolf.NOM.PL like frighten.PRS.3PL
 STAND STM PAR [CPREE]

“They frighten like wolves.” CEToM PK NS 30 a2

(4) Tocharian A

śuddhodam nu karṇe oki mṣapantiṃ
 Ś.NOM however K.NOM like member of the reigning order
 CPREE STAND STM

ṣeṣ

be.PRS.3SG

PAR

“However, Śuddhodana was a member of the reigning order like Karṇa.” CEToM A 118 b3

¹³ E. g., CEToM THT 310 a2 (with context lost immediately before): *yākwe yātwe ramt* which corresponds to Udānavarga 19.5d *bhadraśvo hi kaśām iva* “...like a good horse (does) the whip”.

¹⁴ E. g. CEToM A 360 a5 (a bilingual fragment with the immediately preceding context lost): (*jirṇo*)*śva iva nirbhogo | mok yukk oki sne ek* “like a worn-out horse, unfed”.

¹⁵ It is possible that TB *ram(t)* goes back to a particle conglomerate of some sort and is related to TB *ra*, which shares some of its functions (and syntactic distribution) but also serves as a conjunction and indefinite marker in complex pronouns.

TA *oki* might be related to *okāk* (itself possibly composed of *ok* plus perlativ/adverbialising *-ā-* plus emphatic *-k*), a pre- and postposition governing different cases and meaning ‘up to’; this hypothesis is bolstered by other examples of grammaticalization ‘until, up to’ > equative/comparative (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 304–305).

4 Comparative

4.1 Type 3-2: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is free morpheme

4.1.1 Type 3-2-1: flag is Case

The ablative and the perlicative are both used as STMs. (5) is an example for the ablative:

- (5) Tocharian A
 ... *vipul šulāš lyutār tpār top naš* ...
 Vipul mountain.ABL more high heap.NOM be.PRS.3SG
 STAND.STM PM PAR CPREE
 “... there is a heap higher than mount Vipula ...” CEToM 30a1

In the use of the ablative case to mark the standard Tocharian A patterns with other Indo-European languages (see also ex. 7 for the use of the ablative in Tocharian B). This conforms to a typological trend observed in different language families (see e. g. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 30–31 as well as the introduction to this volume).

Tocharian A *lyutār* ‘more’ possibly is an adverb on the basis of a neuter amphikinetetic stem (cf. Gk. *núktōr* ‘by night’) either from **h₁leud^h-ōr* (: **h₁leud^h* ‘steigen, wachsen’, ²LIV 248–249), or from **leu(H)-tōr* (: **leuH* ‘abschneiden, lösen’, ²LIV 417, see Pinault 2011a: 163).

In ex. (6), the STM is the perlicative case.

- (6) Tocharian B
tusāk šamāni šañ śaultsa olypo lareno ...
 therefore monk.VOC.PL own life.PERL more dear
 STAND.STM PM PAR
 “Therefore, you monks, (...) is dearer than the own life.” CEToM 14b5

In Tocharian B, the use of the ablative case¹⁶ to mark the standard (see ex. 11) is infrequent. Instead, as in the example here, Tocharian B uses the perlicative in this function. This is an interesting difference between the two Tocharian languages. It is possible that the perlicative of comparison in Tocharian B originates as a specialization of its use

¹⁶ The ablative cases of the two languages differ morphologically and originate from different sources (see Pinault 2011b).

in locative function.¹⁷ That locative markers are grammaticalized to introduce the standard of comparison is a common process (see Heine & Kuteva 2002: 201).

The adverb TB *oly(a)po* ‘more’ is composed of *olya* ‘more’ and *po* (for which see point 5). The etymology of TB *olya* is uncertain.

This type (with ablative case) is also attested as a comparative of inferiority:

(7) Tocharian B

<i>štwāra</i>	<i>praroṃ</i>	<i>pañäktemeṃ</i>	<i>meṅki</i>	<i>šai</i>
four	finger.ACC.PL	Buddha.ABL	lacking.NOM	be.IPF.3SG
	PAR	STAND.STM	PM	[CPREE]

“He is four fingers shorter than Buddha.” IOL Toch 247b3

Tocharian B *meṅki* ‘lacking’ is a deverbal noun derived from TB *meṅk^ā* ‘to be inferior, deprived of, lack’ (Malzahn 2010: 751–753) with possible etymological connections to forms like NHG *Mangel*.

4.2 Type 3-3: standard marker (STM) is flag, parameter marker (PM) is E (verb/adjective)

4.2.1 Type 3-3-1: flag is Case

(8) Tocharian B

<i>šwātsine</i>	<i>enkäly</i>	<i>ñi</i>	<i>ci</i>	<i>yukši-ñ</i>	<i>päst</i>
food.LOC	desire.NOM	1SG.GEN	2SG.ACC	surpass.IPF.3SG-OBJ	away
CPREE			STAND.STM	PM	
<i>kā</i>					
PTCL					

“My desire for food is superior to [my desire] for you.” CEToM THT 78a5

Tocharian B *yuk^ā* ‘overcome, conquer, vanquish’ (Malzahn 2010: 807–809) goes back to PIE **ǵeug* ‘anschirren’ (LIV 316).

¹⁷ As mentioned above, the basic function of the perlocative is to denote the range of meaning expressed by ‘across; via’, e. g. Tocharian B CEToM 195a4 *keṅtsa* (earth.PERL.SG) *eprerne* (sky.LOC.SG) “across the earth (and) in the sky”. The locative function is also common, e. g. Tocharian B CEToM THT 107b5 *ckentse* (river.GEN.SG) *manarkaisa* (bank.PERL.SG) *nyagrot stām* (tree.ACC.SG) *ñor* (under) *atiyaisa* (grass.PERL.SG) *lyama* (sit.3.SG.PRT.ACT) “at the bank of the river he sat under the Nyagrodha-tree in the grass”.

(9) Tocharian A

pñintuyo mañkät śres grahäntu šärkäšträ
 merit.INS.PL moon.NOM star.ACC.PL planet.ACC.PL surpass.PRS.MID.3SG
 PAR STAND PM

“The moon is more meritorious than the stars and the plants.” CETO M A17b2

Tocharian A *šärk* ‘surpass’ (Malzahn 2010: 927–928) is related to Hittite *šarku-* ‘eminent, illustrious, powerful’ (Kloekhorst 2008: 734–735).

(10) Tocharian A

... *šull oki täproneyo wākāšträ*
 mountain.NOM like height.INS differ.PRS.MID.3SG
 STAND PM PAR PM

lit. “...the stupa differs by height like the mountain.”

“...(the stupa) is higher than mount (Sumeru).” CETO M A49b3

Tocharian A *wāk^a* antigrundverb¹⁸ mid. ‘differ’ (Malzahn 2010: 862–864) goes back to **ueh_g/ġ* ‘brechen, zu Bruch gehen’ (LIV 664).

4.3 Type 3-4: standard marker is flag, parameter marker is not expressed

4.3.1 Type 3-4-1: flag is Case

(11) Tocharian B

šerškana se¹⁹ ñisa špālmeṃ ršāke tākaṃ
 sister.VOC.PL this.NOM 1SG.PERL excellent sage.NOM be.SBJV.3SG
 STAND.STM PAR CPREE

“Little sisters, who may be a better sage than me?” CETO M TB 107b1

TB *špālmeṃ* ‘excellent’ is an indeclinable adjective/adverb that was grammaticalized from the ablative of TB *špāl* ‘head’, which is related to Gk. *kephalé* ‘head’.

¹⁸ Generally, antigrundverb formations function as derived oppositional transitive stems to intransitive unaccusative grundverbs, i. e. basic stems; see Malzahn 2010: 50–99 for valency stem alternation in Tocharian.

¹⁹ This is a variant of the interrogative/relative pronoun *k_use*.

5.2 Type 4-4: standard marker is flag, parameter marker is not expressed

5.2.1 Type 4-4-1: flag is Case

The standard, or rather the scope, can be marked by the locative (ex. 15) or the genitive (ex. 16).

(15) Tocharian B

pilycalñene *lalālu* *laukito* *rṣāke* *tākaṃ*
 ascesis.LOC exerted.NOM stranger.NOM sage.NOM be.SBJV.3SG
 [CPREE]

rṣākeṃne *śpālmeṃ*
 sage.LOC excellent
 STAND.STM PAR

“There is a stranger, a sage who exerted himself in ascesis [and] (is) the best among the sages.” CETOm THT 107a6

The use of the locative to mark the standard of comparison is a common pattern cross-linguistically (see Heine & Kuteva 2002: 201).

(16) Tocharian B

se *yakwe* *ste* *ājānai* *yākwemts*
 this.NOM horse.NOM be.PRS.3SG noble horse.GEN.PL
 CPREE PAR STAND.STM

“This horse is the most noble among horses.” CETOm PK AS 15Ab2

The use of the genitive plural as standard marker in superlative constructions is a pattern also seen in other Indo-European languages.

Superlatives of minority are so far not attested.

6 Elative

6.1 Type 5-10: standard marker and standard are not expressed, parameter marker is free morpheme

(17) Tocharian B

<i>poyšeñcai</i>	<i>laukar</i>	<i>olypotstse</i>	<i>kārpa</i>	<i>kentsa</i>
omniscient.VOC	long	Very	descend.PST.3SG	earth.PERL
	PAR	PM		

<i>poyśintse</i>	<i>wi(nā)šša-ne</i>	<i>pai(n)e</i>	<i>l(a)laṃṣ(k)i</i>
omniscient.GEN	venerate.PST.3SG	foot.ACC.DU	tender.ACC.DU

“O Omniscient, very long (time ago), he went down to the earth and honored the tender feet of the omniscient.” CEToM PK AS 6Aa6

TB *oly(a)potstse* ‘very’ is an adverb derived from TB *oly(a)po* ‘more’ (see point 3).²¹

(18) Tocharian B

<i>pärmāññana</i>	<i>wāntarwa</i>	<i>kuse</i>	<i>aiššām</i>	<i>āyor</i>
outside.ACC.DU	things.ACC.PL	who.NOM	give.PRS.3SG	gift.ACC
<i>mā tu</i>	<i>māka</i>	<i>ākteke</i>	<i>ste</i>	
NEG this.NOM	very	marvelous	be.PRS.3SG	
CPREE	PM	PAR		

“If someone gives external objects as gift, this is not very marvelous.” CEToM PK NS 32b5

TB *māka* is both an adjective meaning ‘many’ and an adverb meaning ‘very’. It is cognate with Skt. *māhi* and Gk. *méga* ‘great’ and comes from PIE **meǵh₂* ‘big, great’.

(19) Tocharian B

<i>ñake ci</i>	<i>tsamo</i>	<i>kartse</i>	<i>weskau...</i>
now you.ACC.PL	very	good	tell.PRS.1SG
	PM	PAR	

“Now I tell you the very good (thing).” CEToM PK NS 101a3

TB *tsamo* ‘very’ is an adverb based on the deverbal noun *tsamo* ‘growing’ derived from the verb TB *tsām^a* ‘grow, increase, come into being’ (Malzahn 2010: 984–987) from the root PIE **demh₂* ‘(zusammen)fügen, bauen’ (LIV 114–116).

²¹ See Fellner 2014b for formations in TB *-tse*, TA *-ts*.

(20) Tocharian A

<i>wkäm</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>māka</i>	<i>nākmats</i>	<i>saṃsār</i>	<i>sās</i>
in this way	however	very	reprehensible.NOM	S.NOM	this.NOM
		PM	PAR		CPREE

<i>ṣokyo</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>parno</i>
very	but	splendid.NOM
PM		PAR

“However, in this way this Samsara is very reprehensible, but (also) very splendid.” CEToM A 230a6

The adverb TA *ṣokyo* ‘very’ is of uncertain etymology.

(21) Tocharian A

<i>sukyo</i>	<i>skassu</i>	<i>nāṣ</i>
happiness.INS	happy	1SG.NOM
PM	PAR	CPREE

lit. “I am happy with happiness.”

“I am very happy.” CEToM YQ I.6a3

The relative construction with a *figura etymologica* is also common in other Indo-European languages (see the contributions by Kulikov and Ittzés to this volume).

7 Excessive

7.1 Type 6-10: Standard marker and standard are not expressed, parameter marker is free morpheme

(22) Tocharian B

<i>olyapotse</i>	<i>māka</i>	<i>śeśu</i>	<i>kor</i>	<i>āsāṣṣām</i>
very	very	having eaten.NOM	eaten.ACC	make dry.PRS.3SG
PM	PM	PAR		

“Having [it] eaten excessively it makes the throat dry.” CEToM IOL Toch 305a1

The excessive reading of the combination of the adverbs meaning ‘very’ can further be corroborated by the fact it renders Sanskrit *atyartham* ‘excessively’ (see Filiozat 1948: 56–57).

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