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Comparison

The comparative scheme consists of three obligatory components: Comparee, Standard of comparison, and the Parameter, which is the property in terms of which they are compared (Dixon 2012:344). The Standard is a non-nominative argument marked with the ablative preposition *az*. The Index of comparison, which is optional, is the comparative particle *dɛr* 'more' which follows the Parameter adjective.

Sarikoli has two ways of expressing comparison. The mono-clausal construction (§5.1) will be introduced first, followed by the bi-clausal construction (§5.2). The superlative (§5.3), which is an extension from the comparative construction, will be described next. The fourth section (§5.4) will present how a statement of equivalence is expressed when the Comparee and Standard have the same degree in regards to the Parameter. The correlative comparative will be presented in the final section (§5.5).

The superlative Index *ɛng*, which is one of the two markers of superlative, is borrowed from Uyghur; the optional comparative Index *dɛr* is cognate with Persian.

5.1 Mono-clausal construction

The mono-clausal comparative construction involves a copula clause construction (which is a verbless clause in the imperfective aspect), with the Parameter as the copula complement. In Sarikoli, a statement that something has a certain property involves an adjective in copula complement function, as in (5.1). The comparative construction is formed by adding a non-nominative NP as the Standard of comparison, marked by the ablative preposition *az*, as in (5.2) & (5.3). The comparative particle *dɛr* may optionally be added as a post-head modifier to the adjective within the copula complement. The Comparee and Standard are expressed as NPs headed by any of the elements that can serve as an NP head. The NP containing the Standard may be moved to sentence-final

or sentence-initial position, as shown in the pairs of sentences in (5.2) & (5.3), respectively.

(5.1) *varʂidɛ iʂ*
Varshide cold
'Varshide is cold.'

(5.2) a. *varʂidɛ az xwor iʂ (dɛr)*
Varshide ABL Kashgar cold CPRV
'Varshide is colder than Kashgar.'

b. *az xwor varʂidɛ iʂ (dɛr)*
ABL Kashgar Varshide cold CPRV
'Varshide is colder than Kashgar.'

(5.3) a. *az qatlamo arzɛq mu=ri χuʂ (dɛr)*
ABL Qatlamo Arzeq 1SG.NNOM=DAT happy CPRV
'I like Arzeq (fried wedding pastry) better than Qatlamo (savory folded pastry).' (lit. Arzeq is more pleasing to me than Qatlamo.)

b. *arzɛq mu=ri χuʂ (dɛr), az qatlamo*
Arzeq 1SG.NNOM=DAT happy CPRV ABL Qatlamo
'I like Arzeq (fried wedding pastry) better than Qatlamo (savory folded pastry).' (lit. Arzeq is more pleasing to me than Qatlamo.)

The Parameter of comparison may be a single adjective in copula complement function, as in (5.2) & (5.3) above, an adnominal adjective, as in (5.4) & (5.5), or an adjective, quantifier, or prepositional phrase functioning as an adverbial modifier, as in (5.6) - (5.9). Adnominal adjectives generally do not take the comparative marker *dɛr* when occurring in a comparative construction. Since adverbs are typically derived from adjectives, and some plain adjectives may also be used in adverbial function, an adverb can naturally function as the Parameter. However, unmodified nouns or verbs may not serve as the Parameter, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (5.10) & (5.11).

(5.4) *varʂidɛ az urumtʂi χuʂruj dʐuj*
Varshide ABL Urumqi beautiful place
'Varshide is a more beautiful place than Urumqi.'

(5.5) *mɯ patiɕ az ta mas asto χig=itɕuz*
1SG.NNOM cousin ABL 2SG.NNOM also slow eat.INF=REL
'My cousin is one who eats even slower than you.'

(5.6) *waz az raɕid dʑald (dɛr) ʑuz=am*
1SG.NOM ABL Rashid fast CPRV run.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I run faster than Rashid.'

(5.7) *ju az di χuɕruj (dɛr)*
3SG.NOM.DIST ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX beautiful CPRV

lɛvd
say.3SG.IPFV
'He speaks/sings more beautifully than this one.'

(5.8) *mɯ bob az mɯ pur (dɛr)*
1SG.NNOM grandfather ABL 1SG.NNOM much CPRV

wazond
know.3SG.IPFV
'My grandfather knows more than I do.'

(5.9) *ɕɛr az wɛf tar prud (dɛr) tizd*
donkey ABL 3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC front CPRV go.3SG.IPFV
'The donkey goes ahead of them.'

(5.10) **ejdboj az mɯ dejqun (dɛr)*
Eidboy ABL 1SG.NNOM farmer CPRV
'Eidboy is more farmer than I am.'

(5.11) **jad ʑəw az wi χird (dɛr)*
3SG.NOM.PROX cow ABL 3SG.NNOM.DIST eat CPRV
'This cow eats than that one.'

The Standard of comparison, along with the ablative marker *az*, may be omitted when it can be inferred from the physical or discourse context, with the help of the comparative marker *dɛr*:

(5.12) *mɯ=ri pur dɛr ðo*
1SG.NNOM=DAT much CPRV give.IPFV
'Give me more.'

(5.13) *χɯ* *bob=ir* *nizd* *dɛr* *niθ*
REFL.NNOM grandfather=DAT near CPRV sit.IPFV
'Sit closer to your grandfather.'

(5.14) *pɯgan* *waχti* *dɛr* *joð=it*
tomorrow early CPRV come.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Come(pl) earlier tomorrow.'

One of the NP quantifiers, *bax dɛr* 'most', is composed of the adjective *bax* 'much; extra' and the comparative marker *dɛr* (see §2.3.1.3).

To express that the Comparee is less X (where 'X' is the Parameter) than the Standard, the Parameter adjective phrase is modified by a preceding *kam* 'few', optionally followed by the comparative marker *dɛr*, as in (5.15). *kam* may also function as the Parameter itself, since it can serve an adverbial function, as in (5.16).

(5.15) *waz* *az* *mɯ* *jaχ* *kam* *(dɛr)* *χɯɕruj*
1SG.NOM ABL 1SG.NNOM sister few CPRV beautiful
'I am less beautiful than my sister.'

(5.16) *ɕanbɛ* *az* *mɯ* *kam* *(dɛr)* *xɯvdʑ*
Shanbe ABL 1SG.NNOM few CPRV sleep.PRF
'Shanbe slept less than I did. (Evidential/New information)'

In addition to comparing two participants, it is also possible to compare two activities with this construction. In such cases, the two activities are expressed as nominalizations (in the infinitive verb stem), and the subjects of those nominalizations are expressed as possessors (in the unmarked non-nominative form).

(5.17) *wi* *naviɕt* *az* *mɯ* *xojd* *dʑald*
3SG.NNOM.DIST write.INF ABL 1SG.NNOM read.INF fast

(dɛr)
CPRV
'His writing is faster than my reading.'

The examples presented so far have shown the Comparee as the copula subject with the Parameter as the copula complement. However, the Comparee may also function as the O argument, with a shared subject as the A argument and a shared predicate as the Parameter. The Index, *pur* 'much' or *kam* 'few',

serves an adverbial function and may be followed by the comparative marker *dɛr*. For example, in (5.18), the shared A argument is *waz* 'I', the Comparee is *hansu ziv* 'Mandarin language', the Standard is *tudʑik ziv* 'Tajik language', the Index is *pur* (*dɛr*) 'more', and the Parameter is the shared predicate *wazon* 'know'.

(5.18) *waz* *az* *tudʑik* *ziv* *a=hansu* *ziv* *kam* *(dɛr)*
1SG.NOM ABL Tajik tongue ACC=Han tongue few CPRV

wazon=am
know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I know less Mandarin than I know Tajik.'

(5.19) *mɛrdin* *az* *tɕɛr* *skit* *pur* *(dɛr)* *kaxt*
Merdin ABL work play much CPRV do.3SG.IPFV
'Merdin plays more than he works.'

As with all other copula clauses, the comparative construction is negated by adding the clause-final negator *nist*. The comparative marker *dɛr* is not used in a negative comparative construction.

(5.20) *m-ono* *az* *m-oto* *kam* *xojdʑ=ɛndʑ*
1SG.NNOM-mother ABL 1SG.NNOM-father few read.PRF=REL

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'My mother is not one who is less educated than my father.'

(5.21) *waz* *az* *ta* *aqlin* *mas* *nist*
1SG.NOM ABL 2SG.NNOM intelligent also NEG.be.IPFV

kutɕin *mas* *nist*
strong also NEG.be.IPFV
'I am neither more intelligent nor stronger than you.'

5.2 Bi-clausal construction

The bi-clausal comparative construction involves a subordinate clause and has the following structure:

'when looking to (i.e. compared with) [Standard], [Comparee] is [Parameter]'.

The verb *tɕixt* 'look' is followed by the temporal particle *alo*, forming a temporal adverbial clause. As with the mono-clausal construction, the main clause is a copula clause with the Comparee as the copula subject and the Parameter as the copula complement. However, the standard is marked as dative instead of ablative, and the Index *dɛr* is obligatory. The bi-clausal construction may be used with adjectives in copula complement function (5.22) & (5.23), adverbials (5.24) & (5.25), and adnominal adjectives (5.26).

(5.22)
ʑulfia	*dɛst=ir*	*tɕixt*	*alo*	*mu*	*dɛst*	*long*
Zeelfia	friend=DAT	look.INF	TEMP	1SG.NNOM	friend	limpy

dɛr
CPRV

'Compared to Zeelfia's friend, my friend is more limpy.'

(5.23)
ta	*ɕejdoi=ri*	*tɕixt*	*alo*	*mu-an*
2SG.NNOM	Sheydoi=DAT	look.INF	TEMP	1SG.NNOM-GEN

garun	*dɛr*
heavy	CPRV

'Compared to your Sheydoi (female cap), mine is heavier.'

(5.24)
χu	*χajun=ir*	*tɕixt*	*alo*	*waʑ*
REFL.NNOM	sister.in.law=DAT	look.INF	TEMP	1SG.NOM

χuɕruj	*dɛr*	*intsov=am*
beautiful	CPRV	sew.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

'Compared to my sister-in-law, I sew more beautifully.'

(5.25)
digar	*qanatin=ir*	*tɕixt*	*alo*	*xtsuvd*	*buland*	*dɛr*
other	bird=DAT	look.INF	TEMP	eagle	high	CPRV

rawozd
fly.3SG.IPFV

'Compared to other birds, the eagle flies higher.'

(5.26) *wi* *puts=ir* *tɕixt* *alo* *mu* *puts*
3SG.NNOM.DIST son=DAT look.INF TEMP 1SG.NNOM son

tɕardʑ *dɛr* *tɕur*
good CPRV husband
'Compared to her son, my son is a better husband.'

As with the mono-clausal construction, to express that the Comparee is of a greater or lesser degree than the Standard in terms of the Parameter, the Parameter adjective may be modified by a preceding *pur* 'much' or *kam* 'few' followed by the comparative marker *dɛr*, as in (5.27) & (5.28), or with *uburo* 'more' without the comparative marker *dɛr*, as in (5.29).

(5.27) *ojmira* *xad=ir* *tɕixt* *alo* *ɕanigul* *xad* *pur*
Oimira hair=DAT look.INF TEMP Shanigeel hair much

dɛr *ʑird*
CPRV yellow
'Compared to Oimira's hair, Shanigeel's hair is more yellow.'

(5.28) *mu* *tɕɛd-nɛndʑ-ɛf=ir* *tɕixt* *alo*
1SG.NNOM house-ADJ-PL.NNOM=DAT look.INF TEMP

mu *xojd* *kam* *dɛr* *mujim*
1SG.NNOM read.INF few CPRV important
'Compared to my family, my studies are less important.'

(5.29) *wi* *puts=ir* *tɕixt* *alo* *mu* *puts*
3SG.NNOM.DIST son=DAT look.INF TEMP 1SG.NNOM son

tɕur *sɛt=ir* *uburo* *dɛr* *lujɛq*
husband become.INF=DAT more CPRV worthy
'Compared to her son, my son is more worthy to become a husband.'

The bi-clausal construction may also be used for comparing two different activities. The two activities, which are the Comparee and Standard, are both expressed as nominalizations (in the infinitive verb stem), and the Parameter is followed by *dɛr*, as in (5.30).

(5.30) *pul* *vig=ir* *tɕixt* *alo* *pul* *rafond* *usun*
money find.INF=DAT look.INF TEMP money use.INF easy

dɛr
CPRV
'Compared to earning money, spending money is easier.'

Alternatively, a bi-clausal comparative strategy may be formed by conjoining two independent clauses with the conjunction *hammo* or *lɛkin* 'but'. The second clause is essentially the same as a mono-clausal construction, with the Standard omitted because it is mentioned in the first clause. The parameter is an adjective, and either the comparative marker *dɛr* or *uburo* 'more' may function as the Index of parameter. The first clause often includes an optional *mas* 'also'.

(5.31) *di* *qad* *(mas)* *buland,* *hammo*
3SG.NNOM.PROX height also high but

di *puts* *qad* *uburo* *buland*
3SG.NNOM.PROX son height more high
'This person is (also) tall, but his son is even taller.'

(5.32) *ɕindʑang* *tamoq* *(mas)* *tsɛx,* *lɛkin* *sutɕwan* *tamoq* *tsɛx* *dɛr*
Xinjiang food also spicy but Sichuan food spicy CPRV
'Xinjiang food is (also) spicy, but Sichuan food is even spicier.'

5.3 Superlative

The superlative construction is an extension from the comparative construction. Whereas a comparative adjective compares two participants of similar status (Comparee & Standard), the superlative adjective identifies a single individual as one that is of the greatest degree in regards to the Parameter. The superlative is expressed through a comparative construction, with the Standard being specified as *dʑam* 'all' and marked with the ablative preposition *az*. The Comparee is stated first, followed by the Standard *az dʑam*, followed by the Parameter. The Comparee may be an adjective in copula complement (5.33), adnominal (5.34) - (5.36), or adverbial (5.37) function.

(5.33) *jad* *ɕɛr* *az* *dʑam* *kutɕin*
3SG.NOM.PROX donkey ABL all strong
'This donkey is the strongest.'

(5.34) *jad* *az* *dʑam* *kutɕin* *cɛr*
3SG.NOM.PROX ABL all strong donkey
'This is the strongest donkey.'

(5.35) *mu* *az* *dʑam* *nizd* *hamru* *mu=ri*
1SG.NNOM ABL all near companion 1SG.NNOM=DAT

χiunat *tɕəwg*
betrayal do.PFV
'My closest friend betrayed me.'

(5.36) *aftovuz-an* *az* *dʑam* *prud-nɛndʑ* *a=dʑuj-ɛf*
bus-GEN ABL all front-ADJ ACC=place-PL.NNOM

pɛɕqadam *χalg-ɛf=ir* *ðod* *luzim*
elderly person-PL.NNOM=DAT give.INF necessary
'It is necessary to give the foremost seats of the bus to the elderly.'

(5.37) *wi* *dud* *bejtgar,* *ju* *az* *dʑam*
3SG.NNOM.DIST uncle singer 3SG.NOM.DIST ABL all

χuɕruj *lɛvd*
beautiful say.3SG.IPFV
'His uncle is a singer, he sings the most beautifully.'

Alternatively, the Uyghur loanword *ɛng* 'most' may be used as a distinct superlative Index, replacing the native *az dʑam* 'than all'. As in the native superlative construction introduced above, the Comparee is followed by the Index *ɛng* and then the Parameter. It is ungrammatical to use both *az dʑam* and *ɛng* for a single adjective, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (5.38b) & (5.39b).

(5.38) a. *jad* *ɕɛr* *ɛng* *kutɕin*
3SG.NOM.PROX donkey SUPL strong
'This donkey is the strongest.'

b. **jad* *ɕɛr* *az* *dʑam* *ɛng* *kutɕin*
3SG.NOM.PROX donkey ABL all SUPL strong
'This donkey is the strongest.'

(5.39) a. *mɯ* *ɛng* *nizd* *hamru* *mɯ=ri*
1SG.NNOM SUPL near companion 1SG.NNOM=DAT

χiunat *tɕəwg*
betrayal do.PFV
'My closest friend betrayed me.'

b. **mɯ* *az* *dʑam* *ɛng* *nizd* *hamru*
1SG.NNOM ABL all SUPL near companion

mɯ=ri *χiunat* *tɕəwg*
1SG.NNOM=DAT betrayal do.PFV
'My closest friend betrayed me.'

5.4 Statement of equivalence

Sometimes the Comparee and Standard may be of equal degree in regards to the Parameter. In such cases, a statement of equivalence is made by stating the Comparee, followed by the Standard marked with the semblative postposition *rang*, followed by the Parameter. As with the regular mono-clausal construction, the statement of equivalence may be formed from adjectives in copula complement (5.40), adnominal (5.41), and adverbial function (5.42).

(5.40) *waz* *dowɯd* *rang* *aqlin*
1SG.NOM Doweed SEMB intelligent
'I am as intelligent as Doweed.'

(5.41) *maɕ* *tamaɕ* *rang* *pur* *dʑuj* *tɯjdʑ=ɛndʑ*
1PL.NOM 2PL.NNOM SEMB much place go.PRF=REL

nist
NEG.be.IPFV
'We are not those who have been to as many places as you(pl) have.'

(5.42) *batɕo-χejl* *maɕ* *rang* *dʑald* *lɛvd* *na* *tɕi*
child-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM SEMB fast say.INF NEG CAP

ka=in
do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Children cannot speak as fast as we do.'

5.5 Correlative comparative

In a correlative comparative construction, two comparative clauses are juxtaposed (Dixon 2012:389). The correlative comparative construction consists of a main clause and a subordinate clause. The subordinate clause contains a verb in infinitive stem followed by a special correlative comparative particle, *araɕi*. The subordinate clause generally occurs sentence-initially, or after the subject if the two clauses share the same subject, as in (5.43) & (5.48).

(5.43) *manos χig araɕi farbɛ səwd*
Manos eat.INF CORR fat become.3SG.IPFV
'The more Manos eats, the fatter he gets.'

(5.44) *əwqut bawu tɛr sɛt araɕi zoxt=itɕuz χalg*
thing price high become.INF CORR buy.INF=REL person

kam səwd
few become.3SG.IPFV
'The higher the price of things, the fewer the people who by them.'

(5.45) *təw tɕarmi pur tɕejg araɕi ta zarat*
2SG.NOM sow much do.INF CORR 2SG.NNOM harvest

k=dund pur səwd
ANA=AMT much become.3SG.IPFV
'The more you sow, the more you reap.'

(5.46) *χalg=ir vusond araɕi ta gamaɣak ləwr*
person=DAT show.INF CORR 2SG.NNOM stye big

səwd
become.3SG.IPFV
'The more you show your stye to other people, the bigger it will get.'

(5.47) *hawu buland sɛt araɕi mɛwo k=dund kam*
atmosphere high become.INF CORR fruit ANA=AMT few

sovdz səwd
green become.3SG.IPFV
'The higher the altitude, the less fruit will grow.'

(5.48) *wi* *awudʑ* *ʁəwl* *wɛðd* *araɕi*
3SG.NNOM.DIST sound ear put.INF CORR

mu = ri = ik *χuɕruj* *numujd*
1SG.NNOM = DAT = DUR beautiful seem.3SG.IPFV
'The more I listen to her voice, the more beautiful it seems to me.'

(5.49) *ta* *mul* *mulk* *pur* *sɛt* *araɕi* *alukat*
2SG.NNOM livestock land much become.INF CORR trouble

mas *pur* *səwd*
also much become.3SG.IPFV
'The more possessions you have, the more troublesome it gets.'