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5 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 dər ‘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 ɛnɡ, which is one of the two markers of superlative, is borrowed from Uyghur; the optional comparative Index dər 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 dər 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) \textit{varɕidɛ} \textit{ıç}
     \hfill \textit{Varshide cold}
     \hfill ‘Varshide is cold.’

(5.2) a. \textit{varɕidɛ} \textit{az} \textit{xwor} \textit{ıç} \textit{(der)}
     \hfill \textit{Varshide ABL Kashgar cold CPRV}
     \hfill ‘Varshide is colder than Kashgar.’

b. \textit{az} \textit{xwor} \textit{varɕidɛ} \textit{ıç} \textit{(der)}
     \hfill \textit{ABL Kashgar Varshide cold CPRV}
     \hfill ‘Varshide is colder than Kashgar.’

(5.3) a. \textit{az qatlamo arzɛq mu=ri} \textit{χɯɕ} \textit{(der)}
     \hfill \textit{ABL Qatlamo Arzeq 1SG.NNOM=DAT happy CPRV}
     \hfill ‘I like Arzeq (fried wedding pastry) better than Qatlamo (savory folded pastry).’ (lit. Arzeq is more pleasing to me than Qatlamo.)

b. \textit{arzɛq mu=ri} \textit{χɯɕ} \textit{(der)}, \textit{az qatlamo}
     \hfill \textit{Arzeq 1SG.NNOM=DAT happy CPRV ABL Qatlamo}
     \hfill ‘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 \textit{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) \textit{varɕidɛ} \textit{az wurumtsi} \textit{χɯɕrɯj dʑuij}
     \hfill \textit{Varshide ABL Urumqi beautiful place}
     \hfill ‘Varshide is a more beautiful place than Urumqi.’
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(5.5) \textit{mu} \textit{patinc} \textit{az} ta \textit{mas} asto \textit{chig = ituz}
1SG.N NOM cousin ABL 2SG.N NOM also slow eat.INF = REL
‘My cousin is one who eats even slower than you.’

(5.6) \textit{waz} \textit{az} racid dzald (\textit{der}) \textit{uzu = am}
1SG.NOM ABL Rashid fast CPRV run.IP = 1SG.IP
‘I run faster than Rashid.’

(5.7) \textit{ju} \textit{az} di \textit{chwruij} (\textit{der})
3SG.NOM.DIST ABL 3SG.N NOM.PROX beautiful CPRV
levd
say.3SG.IP
‘He speaks/sings more beautifully than this one.’

(5.8) \textit{mu} \textit{bob} \textit{az} \textit{mu} \textit{pur} (\textit{der})
1SG.N NOM grandfather ABL 1SG.N NOM much CPRV
\textit{wasond}
know.3SG.IP
‘My grandfather knows more than I do.’

(5.9) \textit{cer} \textit{az} \textit{wef} \textit{tar} prud (\textit{der}) \textit{tizd}
donkey ABL 3PL.N NOM.DIST LOC front CPRV go.3SG.IP
‘The donkey goes ahead of them.’

(5.10) ‘\textit{ejdboj} \textit{az} \textit{mu} \textit{dejqun} (\textit{der})
Eidboy ABL 1SG.N NOM farmer CPRV
‘Eidboy is more farmer than I am.’

(5.11) ‘\textit{jad} \textit{zow} \textit{az} \textit{wi} \textit{chird} (\textit{der})
3SG.NOM.PROX cow ABL 3SG.N NOM.DIST eat CPRV
‘This cow eats than that one.’

The Standard of comparison, along with the ablative marker \textit{az}, may be omitted when it can be inferred from the physical or discourse context, with the help of the comparative marker \textit{der}:

(5.12) \textit{mu} = ri \textit{pur} \textit{der} \textit{do}
1SG.N NOM = DAT much CPRV give.IP
‘Give me more.’
One of the NP quantifiers, *bax der* ‘most’, is composed of the adjective *bax* ‘much; extra’ and the comparative marker *der* (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 *der*, as in (5.15). *kam* may also function as the Parameter itself, since it can serve an adverbial function, as in (5.16).

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

(5.18) \[ waz \ az \ tudzik \ ziv \ a=hansu \ ziv \ kam \ (der) \]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
1SG.NOM & ABL & Tajik & tongue & ACC=Han & tongue \ few & CPRV
\end{array}
\]

\[
wazon = am \\
know.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv
\]

‘I know less Mandarin than I know Tajik.’

(5.19) \[ mɛrdin \ az \ tɕɛr \ skit \ puur \ (der) \ kaxt \]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
Merdin & ABL & work & play & much & CPRV & do.3SG.IPfv
\end{array}
\]

‘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 *der* is not used in a negative comparative construction.

(5.20) \[ m-ono \ az \ m-oto \ kam \ xojdʑ = endʑ \]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
1SG.NNOM-mother & ABL & 1SG.NNOM-father & few & read.PRf = REL
\end{array}
\]

\[
nist \\
NEG.be.IPfv
\]

‘My mother is not one who is less educated than my father.’

(5.21) \[ waz \ az \ ta \ aqlin \ mas \ nist \]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
1SG.NOM & ABL & 2SG.NNOM & intelligent & also & NEG.be.IPfv
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
kụtɕin & mas & nist \ \\
strong & also & NEG.be.IPfv
\end{array}
\]

‘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 *der* 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) *zuľfia* dest = *ir*  tɕixt  alo  *mu*  dest  long
Zeľfia  friend = DAT  look.INF  TEMP  1SG.Nnom  friend  limpy

*der*
CPRV

‘Compared to Zeľfia’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*  *der*
heavy CPRV

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

(5.24) *χɯ*  χajun = *ir*  tɕixt  alo  was
REFL.Nnom  sister.in.law = DAT  look.INF  TEMP  1SG.NOM

*χuɛɾuŋ*  *der*  intsov = *am*
beautiful CPRV  sew.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv

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

(5.25) *diɡar*  qanatin = *ir*  tɕixt  alo  xtsuwd  buland  *der*
other  bird = DAT  look.INF  TEMP  eagle  high  CPRV

*rawozd*
fly.3SG.IPfv

‘Compared to other birds, the eagle flies higher.’
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 *puur* ‘much’ or *kam* ‘few’ followed by the comparative marker *der*, as in (5.27) & (5.28), or with *uburo* ‘more’ without the comparative marker *der*, as in (5.29).

### (5.26)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wi} & \quad \text{puuts} = \text{ir} & \text{tsixt} & \quad \text{alo} & \quad \text{mu} & \quad \text{puuts} \\
\text{3SG.NOM.DIST} & \quad \text{son} = \text{DAT} & \text{look.INF} & \quad \text{TEMP} & \quad \text{1SG.NOM} & \quad \text{son}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\newcommand{tsardz}{\text{good}}
\newcommand{tsur}{\text{husband}}
\]

\[
\text{tsardz} \quad \text{der} \quad \text{tsur}
\]

‘Compared to her son, my son is a better 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 *der*, as in (5.30).
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 lekin '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 der or uburo 'more' may function as the Index of parameter. The first clause often includes an optional mas 'also'.

This person is (also) tall, but his son is even taller.

Xinjiang food is (also) spicy, but Sichuan food is even spicier.

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 dzam 'all' and marked with the ablative preposition az. The Comparee is stated first, followed by the Standard az dzam, 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.

This donkey is the strongest.
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(5.34)  *jad az dzam kutɕin cer*
3SG.NOM.PROX ABL all strong donkey
‘This is the strongest donkey.’

(5.35)  *muu az dzam nizd hamru muu ri*
1SG.NNOM ABL all near companion 1SG.NNOM = DAT
χiunat tɕωgw
betrayal do.PFV
‘My closest friend betrayed me.’

(5.36)  aftovuk-an az dzam prud-nendz a = dzuʧ-ɛf
bus-GEN ABL all front-ADV ACC = place-PL.NNOM
peqadam xalɡ-ɛf = ir  dɔd lʊzim
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 bejtɡar, jju az dzam
3SG.NNOM.DIST uncle singer 3SG.NNOM.DIST ABL all
χuɛrtuij levd
beautiful say.3SG.IPFV
‘His uncle is a singer, he sings the most beautifully.’

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

(5.38)  a.  *jad cer ɛnɡ kutɕin*
3SG.NOM.PROX donkey SUPL strong
‘This donkey is the strongest.’

b.  *"jad cer az dzam ɛnɡ kutɕin*
3SG.NOM.PROX donkey ABL all SUPL strong
‘This donkey is the strongest.’
a. $\text{mu}_1 \text{eng}_1 \text{nizd}_1 \text{hamru}_1 \text{mu} = \text{ri}_1$
   \[1\text{SG.N NOM SUPL near companion 1SG.N NOM = DAT}\]
   \[\chi\text{unat}_1 \text{t솥sg}_1\]
   betrayal do.PFV
   ‘My closest friend betrayed me.’

b. *$\text{mu}_1 \text{az}_1 \text{dзam}_1 \text{eng}_1 \text{nizd}_1 \text{hamru}_1$
   \[1\text{SG.N NOM ABL all SUPL near companion}\]
   \[\text{mu} = \text{ri}_1 \chi\text{unat}_1 \text{t솥sg}_1\]
   1SG.N NOM = 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 post-position $\text{rang}$, 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) $\text{waz}_1 \text{dowud}_1 \text{rang}_1 \text{aqlin}_1$
   \[1\text{SG.NOM Doweed SEMB intelligent}\]
   ‘I am as intelligent as Doweed.’

(5.41) $\text{mač}_1 \text{tamač}_1 \text{rang}_1 \text{pur}_1 \text{dзuj}_1 \text{tujdz} = \text{endz}_2$
   \[1\text{PL.NOM 2PL.N NOM SEMB much place go.PRF = REL}\]
   \[\text{nist}_1\]
   NEG.be.IPFW
   ‘We are not those who have been to as many places as you(pl) have.’

(5.42) $\text{batjo-채j}_1 \text{mač}_1 \text{rang}_1 \text{dzald}_1 \text{levd}_1 \text{na}_1 \text{tei}_1$
   \[\text{child-PL.NOM 1PL.N NOM SEMB fast say.INF NEG CAP}\]
   \[\text{ka} = \text{in}_1\]
   do.IPFW = 3PL.IPFW
   ‘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, *araći*. 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)  
\[
\text{manos } \chi g \quad \text{araći } \text{farbe } \text{səwd}
\]
\[
\text{Manos eat.INF CORR fat become.3SG.IPFW}
\]
‘The more Manos eats, the fatter he gets.’

(5.44)  
\[
\text{nwqt } \text{bawu } \text{tər } \text{set } \quad \text{araći } \text{zoxt}=\text{ituz } \chi alg
\]
\[
\text{thing price high become.INF CORR buy.INF=REL person}
\]
\[
\text{kan } \text{səwd}
\]
\[
\text{few become.3SG.IPFW}
\]
‘The higher the price of things, the fewer the people who by them.’

(5.45)  
\[
\text{təw } \text{tɕarmi } \text{pur } \text{teejg } \text{araći } \text{ta } \text{zarat}
\]
\[
\text{2SG.NOM sow much do.INF CORR 2SG.NNOM harvest}
\]
\[
\text{k = dund } \quad \text{pur } \text{səwd}
\]
\[
\text{ANA = AMT much become.3SG.IPFW}
\]
‘The more you sow, the more you reap.’

(5.46)  
\[
\chi alg=\text{ir } \text{vusond } \text{araći } \text{ta } \quad \text{gambarak } \text{lsər}
\]
\[
\text{person = DAT show.INF CORR 2SG.NNOM styə big}
\]
\[
\text{səwd}
\]
\[
\text{become.3SG.IPFW}
\]
‘The more you show your styə to other people, the bigger it will get.’

(5.47)  
\[
\text{hawu } \text{bulan d } \text{set } \quad \text{araći } \text{mcəwo } \text{k = dund } \quad \text{kam}
\]
\[
\text{atmosphere high become.INF CORR fruit ANA = AMT few}
\]
\[
\text{səvdz } \quad \text{səwd}
\]
\[
\text{green become.3SG.IPFW}
\]
‘The higher the altitude, the less fruit will grow.’
(5.48) \[ \text{wi awudz sawl wedd araci} \]
\[ \text{3SG.NOM.DIST sound ear put.INF CORR} \]
\[ \text{mu = ri = ik xucruj numujd} \]
\[ \text{1SG.NOM = DAT = DUR beautiful seem.3SG.IPFV} \]

‘The more I listen to her voice, the more beautiful it seems to me.’

(5.49) \[ \text{ta mul mulk pur set araci alukat} \]
\[ \text{2SG.NOM livestock land much become.INF CORR trouble} \]
\[ \text{mas pur sawd} \]
\[ \text{also much become.3SG.IPFV} \]

‘The more possessions you have, the more troublesome it gets.’