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THE FORMATION OF COMPARATIVES IN THE HISTORY OF GEORGIAN
PART II:
THE SYNTACTICAL DEVELOPMENT OF COMPARATIVE
CONSTRUCTIONS WITHIN THE HISTORY OF THE GEORGIAN LANGUAGE

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In the first part of the present investigation¹, I dealt with one of the most striking features of the Kartvelian languages, viz. the existence of synthetic comparational forms of adjectives that are characterized by a combination of prefixes and suffixes, and their presumable prehistory. While formations such as *u=did=ēs-i* 'the greater one' (from *did-i* 'great, big') can easily be shown to have been primarily used as comparatives in Old Georgian, they became later confined to a superlative or elative function ('the greatest / very great one'), comparatives being substituted by analytic combinations of the plain adjective with *upro* 'more' (cp. *upro did-i* 'the greater, "more great" one'). The same development is likely to have taken place in the sister languages of Georgian where only a few remnants of the synthetic formation can be found nowadays (cp. Svan *xo=lqmaš=a* 'strongest' from *ləqmäš* 'strong', Megrelian *u=magal=aš-i* 'highest' from *magal-i* 'high', or Laz *u=žgi=ši* 'best', an isolated form).

Unfortunately, only one Kartvelian language, viz. Georgian, is historically so well attested that the development in question can be investigated thoroughly. But nevertheless it seems worth while to find out whether the conditions of the transition from the synthetic to the analytic type of adjective comparison can be traced in the written documents of this language, all the more since the linguistic change involved deserves a wider interest especially with respect to language typology.

As with many kinds of systematical linguistic changes, the process dealt with here may have taken several centuries, starting as early as the *xanmeṭi* and *haemeṭi* periods of Old Georgian and still going on in today's Modern Georgian language. There is one period, however, that we can expect to be especially illustrative with respect to historical developments manifesting themselves in written Georgian for the first time. This is the period of the flourishing Medieval empire when secular topics began to play a leading rôle in Georgian literacy. There are good reasons why this "Classic" period is sometimes regarded as the beginning of the Modern Georgian era (if not a "Middle Georgian" period of its own), and so the present paper will focus on it.

¹ The formation of comparatives in the history of Georgian. Part I: The prehistory of the synthetic comparatives; appearing in *Gelati Akademii Moambe* 2, 1997.

Four outstanding texts of this period have been chosen as a basis of the present investigation, three poetic ones and one prose text: *Vepxistq̄aosani*, *Abdulmesiani*, *Tamariani*, and *Visramiani*. All these texts were completely analyzed with respect both to morphological and syntactical features of the comparational forms they contain². In the present paper, I shall concentrate upon statistical and morphological properties of the forms in question.

A first interesting result of the investigation is the clear difference between the poetic texts on the one hand and the prose *Visramiani* on the other with respect to the usage of synthetic vs. analytic formations. While in the latter text, synthetic forms are about four times more frequent than analytic ones (263 vs. 60 occurrences³), there is a much clearer preponderance of the synthetic type in the poetic *Vepxistq̄aosani* which has 100 synthetic vs. 14 analytic forms. The smaller poetic texts show the same tendency: the *Abdulmesiani* has 7 synthetic comparatives vs. 1 analytic formation, the *Tamariani* has 2 synthetic comparatives only. A complete index of the occurring formations is given in tables 1 to 5 below; note that additionally, the *isramiani* shows one abstract noun built from a synthetic comparative (*uprosoba* 'superiority', *Visr.* 100,19), but also one abstract built from an analytic comparative (*upro uc̄rpelob-ita* 'with greater insincerity', *Visr.* 188,20).

The difference of behaviour between poetic and prose texts that can be accounted for from the statistics as given above may well be due to a difference of style, the "older" synthetic formations being preferred in a stylistically "higher" environment provided by versified sentences. It would be necessary though to extend the analysis to other stylistical features before this assumption can be taken for granted. On the other hand, it can easily be shown right now that morphological reasons are not responsible for the divergence because both the poetic texts and the *Visramiani* reveal the same peculiarities as to the structural principles involved.

² The analysis was done electronically. For this purpose, the texts had to be entered using an optical scanner, then to be corrected manually (my thanks are due to V. Imnaišvili who cared for a diligent "proofreading" of *Vepxistq̄aosani*, *Tamariani*, and *Abdulmesiani* while working as a visiting professor in Frankfurt in 1995 and 1996, and to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft who financed his stay). The electronic texts are now available via the internet under <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/caucasica>. Reference is made to the editions by A. Šaniže (1957) and I. Lolašvili (1957, 1964, 1962). The following editions were additionally consulted: for the *Vepxistq̄aosani*, the edition by Baramiže/Keḗeliže/Šaniže (1957); for the *Tamariani* and *Abdulmesiani*, the edition by N. Marr (1902); for the *Visramiani*, the editions by Baramiže/Ingoroḗva/Keḗeliže (1938) and Gvaxaria/Todua (1962).

³ "Reduplicative" occurrences of the type *upro da upro* 'more and more' have been counted as one instance throughout.

<i>uadvile-a:</i>	236,24;	<i>umzime-a:</i>	203,35;
<i>uame:</i>	72,28;	<i>umzimesi:</i>	19,34;
<i>uame-a:</i>	82,31; 90,16; 134,28; 168,13; 180,21;	<i>unatlesi:</i>	248,34;
	208,24; 212,24; 214,22; 237,27;	<i>unatlesisa:</i>	95,37;
<i>uamesi:</i>	115,11; 118,20; 131,31; 134,32;	<i>unatleso:</i>	37,1;
<i>uamesi-a:</i>	81,10; 92,35;	<i>upicxesad:</i>	31,36; 110,36;
<i>uare:</i>	35,8; 110,8; 177,3; 265,10; 266,5;	<i>upicxesi:</i>	22,15;
<i>uare da uare:</i>	65,32; 112,16; 215,21;	<i>upro:</i>	35,35; 39,6; 51,19; 58,7; 67,6; 68,18;
<i>uare-a:</i>	73,23; 160,16; 196,14; 212,13; 234,13;		71,15; 71,16; 76,7; 77,14; 80,32; 82,26;
<i>uare-a-o:</i>	242,16;		82,5; 86,25; 89,21; 89,21; 91,5; 92,31;
<i>uares:</i>	196,13;		92,35; 104,15; 109,35; 109,37; 115,34;
<i>uaresi:</i>	36,27; 40,29; 47,15; 65,12; 99,7; 109,35;		121,24; 127,17; 128,24; 129,17; 131,8;
	170,1; 186,31; 196,4; 208,5; 239,2;		133,30; 144,10; 155,30; 160,19; 168,12;
	252,36; 254,11; 268,38; 273,26;		183,14; 190,7; 192,17; 192,17; 194,4;
<i>uaresi-ca:</i>	100,3;		197,17; 198,5; 201,3; 205,29; 210,2;
<i>uaressa:</i>	69,25; 170,1; 248,9;		212,23; 222,11; 223,12; 230,22; 233,33;
<i>ubnelesi:</i>	271,35;		246,34; 247,28; 249,19; 262,21; 266,4;
<i>uertgulesi:</i>	95,1;		268,29; 270,6; 270,8; 273,13; 277,34;
<i>ugoniereso:</i>	80,20;	<i>upro da upro:</i>	41,14; 146,4; 181,28; 250,24;
<i>uket:</i>	100,35; 116,19; 147,35; 194,3; 201,9;		262,25;
<i>ukete:</i>	63,31; 91,1;	<i>upro .. upro:</i>	246,13;
<i>ukete-ca:</i>	50,39;	<i>upro-a:</i>	68,11; 201,36; 257,6;
<i>uketesi:</i>	20,30; 37,33; 52,12; 66,24; 67,37; 89,6;	<i>uprosi:</i>	30,9; 35,19; 84,14; 86,9; 104,15; 122,26;
	100,33; 104,35; 108,18; 125,23; 158,31;		162,20; 184,15; 204,12; 205,16; 210,3;
	184,12; 212,4; 257,34; 260,14; 268,34;		257,9;
	274,27;	<i>uprosi da uprosi:</i>	180,26;
<i>uketessa:</i>	46,17; 79,21; 91,20; 189,10; 221,4;	<i>uprossa:</i>	91,20; 146,21;
	264,11;	<i>uprosad:</i>	89,19;
<i>uketesni:</i>	106,18; 170,22; 194,1;	<i>uproso:</i>	137,12;
<i>uketesta:</i>	206,1;	<i>uprosni:</i>	27,3; 170,22;
<i>ukekluce:</i>	20,7; 44,19; 58,9; 65,22; 95,1; 180,36;	<i>uprosobasa:</i>	100,19;
<i>ukekluce-a:</i>	86,12;	<i>uqelmçipeso:</i>	20,30;
<i>ukekluceni-ca:</i>	19,36;	<i>usabraloe:</i>	95,11; 208,12; 266,16;
<i>ukeklucesi:</i>	79,9;	<i>usabraloesi:</i>	268,18;
<i>ukeklucesi-ca:</i>	161,14;	<i>usanatlelesi-a:</i>	125,38;
<i>ukeklucesisa:</i>	87,31;	<i>usarçevesi-a:</i>	205,8;
<i>ukeklucessa:</i>	180,25;	<i>usarçeveso:</i>	279,17;
<i>umağlesi:</i>	136,11;	<i>usaqvarlesi:</i>	122,11;
<i>umağleso:</i>	124,37;	<i>usakvirvelesi:</i>	222,35; 259,11;
<i>umagresi:</i>	268,33;	<i>usubuke:</i>	19,34;
<i>umale:</i>	146,36; 178,24; 237,26; 264,21; 269,14;	<i>ušore:</i>	199,7;
<i>umaxvilesi:</i>	180,33; 268,38; 274,13;	<i>ušveniereso:</i>	74,7;
<i>umcro:</i>	54,11;	<i>utavadeso:</i>	223,29;
<i>umcrosi:</i>	197,30; 225,22;	<i>uqkbosa:</i>	134,20;
<i>umcrosiatvis:</i>	122,26;	<i>uqurpe:</i>	57,32; 91,1;
<i>umcrosni:</i>	23,21;	<i>uqurpesi:</i>	59,31; 248,30;
<i>umcrosta:</i>	48,1;	<i>uqurpesisa:</i>	219,32;
<i>umdidresi:</i>	270,8;	<i>uxucesi:</i>	30,9; 68,6; 72,20; 78,7; 91,36; 135,20;
<i>umkvete:</i>	177,11;		231,28; 280,24;
<i>umonesi-a:</i>	58,22;	<i>uxucesisa:</i>	18,32; 101,20;
<i>umravle:</i>	32,17; 247,22;	<i>uxucesad:</i>	170,12;
<i>umravlesi:</i>	63,3;	<i>uxucesta:</i>	88,12;
<i>umravlessa:</i>	144,32; 204,27;	<i>uzabunesi:</i>	125,2;
<i>umrçemesi:</i>	68,6; 271,24;	<i>uznele:</i>	46,7; 95,15; 125,34; 262,3;
<i>umivaresisa:</i>	147,5;	<i>uznelesi:</i>	121,19;
		<i>uznelessa:</i>	280,5

Table 1: Synthetic comparatives in Visramiani

<i>amod .. upro-ca:</i>	236,22;	<i>upro saqmara:</i>	58,21;
<i>upro .. araçmidao:</i>	88,6;	<i>upro .. sasaxelo:</i>	212,2;
<i>upro augiani:</i>	188,20;	<i>upro saxeli:</i>	75,23;
<i>uproš-žer .. avad:</i>	165,18;	<i>upro saxelia:</i>	232,17;
<i>upro bečara:</i>	123,37;	<i>upro saxelovani:</i>	184,15;
<i>upro bediți:</i>	254,3;	<i>upro sařațio:</i>	212,2;
<i>upro damaluli:</i>	274,13;	<i>upro sařațiod:</i>	113,36;
<i>upro gadidgemoebul:</i>	197,32;	<i>upro .. sařlavi:</i>	254,3;
<i>upro .. gauřvirvebeli:</i>	197,28;	<i>upro sařutari:</i>	61,21; 201,3;
<i>upro gvariani:</i>	21,2;	<i>upro sařvareli:</i>	24,3; 265,29;
<i>upro guli martali:</i>	71,29;	<i>upro sařvarelia:</i>	230,29;
<i>upro miucilvebelia:</i>	205,8;	<i>upro sařvarelo:</i>	74,7; 146,15;
<i>upro mořivnebul:</i>	88,6;	<i>upro sařvarlad:</i>	169,20;
<i>upro mičirvebuli:</i>	268,18;	<i>upro sařvirvelni:</i>	117,6;
<i>uproš-žer mtrvali:</i>	100,5;	<i>upro řebmul:</i>	160,13; 210,35;
<i>upro .. mxedveli:</i>	197,28;	<i>upro řeqril:</i>	168,22;
<i>upro mřerni:</i>	163,9;	<i>upro řors:</i>	273,2;
<i>upro mřiced:</i>	188,34;	<i>upro .. uřono-kmmili:</i>	123,37;
<i>upro natelisa:</i>	134,1;	<i>upro guli ulmobeli:</i>	250,2;
<i>upro .. pařiosnad:</i>	169,20;	<i>upro usamartlo:</i>	47,21;
<i>upro sabralo:</i>	36,15; 59,11;	<i>upro utminod:</i>	130,1;
	265,8;	<i>upro-re utminod:</i>	193,6;
<i>upro sakebarad:</i>	91,2;	<i>upro uxano:</i>	186,10;
<i>upro samtero:</i>	192,3;	<i>upro uzenaro:</i>	151,34;
<i>upro sanatrelad:</i>	131,3;	<i>upro .. uzenaaro:</i>	250,2;
<i>upro sanatrelı:</i>	20,26;	<i>upro žneli:</i>	216,20
<i>upro sandomi:</i>	146,19;		
<i>upro sandomia:</i>	215,17; 248,33;		

Table 2: Analytic comparatives in Visramiani

<i>upro cxelia:</i>	1623;	<i>upro mziari:</i>	1583;
<i>upro cřulad:</i>	41;	<i>upro mřeria:</i>	1211;
<i>upro damaçřlula:</i>	519;	<i>upro mřvdaria:</i>	1595;
<i>upro desi:</i>	252;	<i>upro sařvirvelia:</i>	1232;
<i>upro gulovania:</i>	1241;	<i>upro řmago:</i>	1604;
<i>upro mrtelad:</i>	1245;	<i>upro žnelia:</i>	36;
<i>upro mrtelia:</i>	356;	<i>upro žvirad:</i>	1064

Table 3: Analytic comparatives in Vepxistřaqsani

<i>uame-a:</i>	484;	<i>umoq̄vresni:</i>	155;
<i>uamesi:</i>	252; 342;	<i>umravlesi:</i>	1550;
<i>uare:</i>	1591;	<i>umxnesi:</i>	83;
<i>uare-a:</i>	412; 798; 799;	<i>umžavesi:</i>	896;
<i>uaresi:</i>	69; 1299;	<i>umžlesta:</i>	957;
<i>uaresisa:</i>	897;	<i>umžobesi:</i>	1141;
<i>uaresita:</i>	1301;	<i>umḱicesi:</i>	790;
<i>uaressa:</i>	1363;	<i>umḱicesni:</i>	1373;
<i>ucxelesita:</i>	927;	<i>unatlesi:</i>	1519;
<i>ucxenmales:</i>	173;	<i>upro:</i>	159; 159; 131; 180; 215; 271; 288;
<i>učinare:</i>	1382;		336; 366; 369; 389; 396; 417; 526;
<i>ugr̄zesi-a:</i>	1580;		545; 567; 587; 642; 734; 986; 1095;
<i>mḱlav-ugr̄zesita:</i>	195;		1083; 1313; 1315; 1566; 1574; 1600;
<i>ugr̄zesad-re:</i>	139;	<i>upro-re:</i>	226; 358; 361; 610; 953;
<i>uketesi:</i>	276; 252; 302; 1201; 1201; 1220;	<i>uprosi:</i>	81; 446; 1469;
	1440; 1650; 1654;	<i>uprossa:</i>	675;
<i>uḱetesi-a:</i>	1219;	<i>uprośni:</i>	83; 208; 1624;
<i>uḱetessa:</i>	810; 1492; 1526; 1646;	<i>uq̄vitlesad-re:</i>	139;
<i>uḱetesta:</i>	1407; 1600;	<i>uḱkbosni:</i>	597;
<i>uḱetesebsa:</i>	1377;	<i>uḱurpesi:</i>	342;
<i>ulur̄žesi:</i>	399;	<i>uḱurpesisa:</i>	1068;
<i>umagresi:</i>	563;	<i>uḱurpesta:</i>	1069;
<i>umagresita:</i>	1301;	<i>uxucesi:</i>	1030; 1656;
<i>umcrosman:</i>	1318;	<i>uxucesi-a:</i>	1171; 1580;
<i>umcrossa:</i>	208;	<i>uxucesisa:</i>	1068;
<i>umcrosta:</i>	206;	<i>uxucesman:</i>	206

Table 4: Synthetic comparatives in Vepxist̄q̄aosani

<i>uağres:</i>	Abd. X 77,1;	<i>sp̄et̄aki upros:</i>	Abd. IX 71,3
<i>ugmires:</i>	Abd. IV 28,1;		
<i>umağle:</i>	Abd. VI 45,3;		
<i>upros:</i>	Abd. I 13,2; XII 105,3; 106,4;	<i>umzesad:</i>	Tam.X 62: 1;
<i>uḱbesad:</i>	Abd. IV 28,3;	<i>upro:</i>	Tam.I 6: 9

Table 5: Synthetic and analytic comparatives in Abdulmesiani and Tamariani

If we compare the actual formations of both types, synthetic and analytic, we at once realize that we have to distinguish two kinds of adjectives, viz. **primary** (= non-derived) and **secondary** (= derived) ones, the former preferring synthetic and the latter, analytic comparatives. From a total of 54 synthetic formations, 31, i.e. nearly two thirds, are built from adjectives that cannot be analyzed as derivational from a synchronic point of view; they are listed in table 6.

To this group, 3 formations can be added where the adjective stem occurs in a reduced form within the comparative formation (cf. table 7). Although we may guess that such stems were derivational originally, they cannot be regarded as secondary within the framework of Old or Middle Georgian grammar⁴.

⁴ The feature in question has a striking resemblance with the formation of comparatives in ancient Indo-European languages where the comparative suffix (-yō/os- / -is-) replaces certain suffixes (e.g.,

<i>u=advil=e-(s)-</i>	'lighter'	<i>advil-i</i>	<i>u=mžav=e-s-</i>	'more sour'	<i>mžav=e-</i>
<i>u=am=e-(s)-</i>	'more pleasant'	<i>amo-</i>	<i>u=mžim=e-(s)-</i>	'heavier'	<i>mžim=e-</i>
<i>u=bnel=e-s-</i>	'darker'	<i>bnel-i</i>	<i>u=mžl=e-s-</i>	'more victorious'	<i>mžl=e-</i>
<i>u=cxel=e-s-</i>	'hotter'	<i>cxel-i</i>	<i>u=mžob=e-s-</i>	'more excellent'	<i>mžob-i</i>
<i>u=gonier=e-s-</i>	'more sensible'	<i>gonier-i</i>	<i>u=mķvet=e-</i>	'more cutting'	<i>mķvet-i</i>
<i>u=kekluc=e-(s)-</i>	'more pretty'	<i>kekluc-i</i>	<i>u=mķic=e-s-</i>	'firmer'	<i>mķic=e-</i>
<i>u=lurž=e-s-</i>	'more blue'	<i>lurž-i</i>	<i>u=picx=e-s-</i>	'quicker'	<i>picx(el)-i</i>
<i>u=mağl=e-(s)-</i>	'higher'	<i>mağal-i</i>	<i>u=qvitt=e-s-</i>	'yellower'	<i>qvittel-i</i>
<i>u=magr=e-s-</i>	'harder'	<i>magar-i</i>	<i>u=subuk=e-</i>	'light'	<i>subuk-i</i>
<i>u=mal=e-</i>	'faster'	<i>mal-i</i>	<i>u=šor=e-</i>	'farther'	<i>šor-i</i>
<i>u=maxvil=e-s-</i>	'sharper'	<i>maxvil-i</i>	<i>u=švenier=e-s-</i>	'more beautiful'	<i>švenier-i</i>
<i>u=mcro-(s)-</i>	'smaller'	<i>mcir=e-</i>	<i>u=turp=e-(s)-</i>	'more beautiful'	<i>turpa-</i>
<i>u=mdidr=e-s-</i>	'richer'	<i>mdidar-i</i>	<i>u=xuc=e-s-</i>	'elder'	<i>(xuces-i)</i>
<i>u=mravl=e-(s)-</i>	'more numerous'	<i>mraval-i</i>	<i>u=zabun=e-s-</i>	'more cowardly'	<i>zabun-i</i>
<i>u=mrčem=e-s-</i>	'younger'	<i>mrčem-i</i>	<i>u=znel=e-(s)-</i>	'more difficult'	<i>znel-i</i>
<i>u=mxn=e-s-</i>	'braver'	<i>mxn=e-</i>			

Table 6: Synthetic comparative forms from primary (?) adjectives

<i>u=grž=e-s-</i>	'longer'	<i>gržel-i</i>
<i>u=ket=(e)-(s)-</i>	'better'	<i>ketil-i</i>
<i>u=tkb=e-s-/ u=tkbo=s-</i>	'sweeter'	<i>tkbil-i</i>

Table 7: Synthetic comparatives from reduced stems of adjectives

Another type that has to be styled primary is met with in *u=ar=e-(s)-* 'worse' which seems to be built from the negative particle, *ar(a)*, and in *u=pr=o-(s)-* 'more', the element constituting analytic comparatives itself, which has to be connected with the adverb *pr-iad* 'very'.

As against these 36 formations, we find not more than 8 synthetic comparatives that are clearly built from derivational adjectives. Five of them are based on deverbal formations (sometimes called "gerundives") containing the prefix *sa=* (plus suffixes =*o-*, =*el-*, or \emptyset ; cf. table 8). The three other formations are from *bahuvrīhi*-type adjectives⁵ (cf. table 9); note the peculiar behaviour of *mķlav=gržel-i* which forms *mķlav=u=grž=es-i* 'who has a longer arm' (Vepx. 195): here the comparative prefix is inserted at the compound boundary (the adjective stem is reduced as usual).

the *-u-*stem suffix) instead of being added to them (cp., e.g., the comparative of Old Indic *vasu-* / Old Iranian **vahu-* which is not **vasu=yas-* but **vas=yas-*. This behaviour (named "*kr-*" in Old Indic grammar) must be inherited from the I.-E. protolanguage as a comparison with Greek, Latin, and other I.-E. branches shows. Although there is a superficial similarity of the suffix in question with the suffixal element of the Kartvelian synthetic comparative, *-ēs-* (< **-e-is-*), I do not see that they can be related etymologically.

⁵ The term *bahuvrīhi* is used here according to the function of the adjectives in question which denote an owner's possession or property in an "exocentric" way; as against the "classical" (I.-E.) type of *bahuvrīhis*, Georgian shows an inverted order of elements normally as in *mķlav-gržel-i* (noun + adjective) vs. German *Lang-arm* (adjective + noun) or Sanskrit *bahu-vrīhi-*, lit. 'much + rice'.

<i>u=sabralo=e-</i>	'more pitiable'	<i>sa=bral=o-</i>	'pitiable'	$\sqrt{bral-}$	'pity'
<i>u=sanatr=el=e-s-</i>	'more desirable'	<i>sa=naṭr=el-i</i>	'desirable'	$\sqrt{naṭr-}$	'wish'
<i>u=sarčev=e-s-</i>	'more chosen'	<i>sa=rčev-i</i>	'chosen'	$\sqrt{rč(ev)-}$	'choose'
<i>u=saqvar=e-s-</i>	'more beloved'	<i>sa=qvar=el-i</i>	'beloved'	$\sqrt{qvar-}$	'be loved'
<i>u=saqvirvel=e-s-</i>	'more miraculous'	<i>sa=qvirv=el-i</i>	'miraculous'	$\sqrt{qvir(v)-}$	'wonder'

Table 8: Synthetic comparatives from verbal adjectives (*sa=*)

<i>u=cxenmal=e-s-</i>	'with faster horses'	<i>cxen-mal-i</i>	'who has a fast (<i>mal-</i>) horse (<i>cxen-i</i>)'
<i>u=ertgul=e-s-</i>	'trustworthier'	<i>ert-gul-i</i>	'trustworthy', lit. 'one (<i>ert-i</i>)-hearted (<i>gul-i</i>)'
<i>mklav-u=grz=e-s-</i>	'with a longer arm'	<i>mklav-grzel-i</i>	'who has a long (<i>grzel-i</i>) arm (<i>mklav-i</i>)'

Table 9: Synthetic comparatives from *bahuvrīhi*-type adjectives

A derivational type may further be seen in the two formations *u=aḡ=r=e-s-* 'higher' and *u=čina=r=e-s-* 'more in front, before' which seem to be based on extended adverbial formations from (preverbal) *aḡ-* 'up' and *čina-* 'in front of, fore-'.

A special group consists of 8 formations the bases of which have to be classified as substantives from a synchronic point of view (cf. table 10). In most of these cases, it is well conceivable, however, that the underlying substantives were derivational (deverbal or denominal) adjectives originally; cp. *mo-qvar-e-* 'friend' (> *u=moqvr=e-s-* 'closer (as friends)') from $\sqrt{qvar-}$ 'to be loved' or *tav-ad-i* 'chief' (> *u=tavad=e-s-* 'more prevailing') from *tav-i* 'head'.

<i>u=gmir=e-s-</i>	'more heroic'	<i>gmir-i</i>	'hero'	
<i>u=mon=e-s-</i>	'more slavish'	<i>mona-</i>	'slave'	
<i>u=moqvr=e-s-</i>	'closer (as friends)'	<i>moqvar-</i>	'friend'	($\sqrt{qvar-}$ 'be loved')
<i>u=mtvar=e-s-</i>	'more moonlike'	<i>mtvar-</i>	'moon'	($\sqrt{tv-}$ 'count')
<i>u=mz=e-s-</i>	'more sunlike'	<i>mze-</i>	'sun'	
<i>u=natl=e-s-</i>	'brighter'	<i>natel-i</i>	'light'	
<i>u=qelmcip=e-s-</i>	'more ruling'	<i>qelmcip=e-</i>	'ruler'	(<i>qel-i</i> 'hand')
<i>u=tavad=e-s-</i>	'more prevailing'	<i>tavad-i</i>	'chief'	(<i>tav-i</i> 'head')

Table 10: Synthetic comparatives from substantive stems

Turning to analytic formations, we can immediately state that they are only exceptionally based on primary adjectives. From a total of 55 formations, we find a set of 9 only that can be grouped here (cf. table 11). The set would even have to be reduced if we consider *mrtel-i* 'complete, whole' as a deverbal formation from $\sqrt{rt-}$ 'to add, unite' (possibly, also *mṭer-i* 'enemy' and *mṭkice-* 'firm' were "particles" with a prefix *m-* originally).

<i>upro amo-</i>	'more pleasant'	<i>amo-</i>	<i>upro mter-</i>	'more hostile'	<i>mter-i</i>
<i>upro av-</i>	'more evil'	<i>av-i</i>	<i>upro mtkice-</i>	'more firm'	<i>mtkice-</i>
<i>upro cxel-</i>	'hotter'	<i>cxel-i</i>	<i>upro znel-</i>	'more difficult'	<i>znel-i</i>
<i>upro martal-</i>	'more righteous'	<i>martal-i</i>	<i>upro zvir-</i>	'more expensive'	<i>zvir-i</i>
<i>upro mrtel-</i>	'more complete'	<i>mrtel-i</i>			

Table 11: Analytic formations from primary (?) adjectives

Another special type of adjectives that might be classified as primary consists of loan words from Iranian⁶. These too form analytic comparatives; within the investigated texts, we note three of them (cf. table 12).

<i>upro bečara-</i>	'more helpless'	<i>bečara-</i>	New Persian	<i>bēčāra</i>	'helpless'
<i>upro spētaḱ-</i>	'whiter'	<i>spētaḱ-i</i>	Early Parthian	<i>spētaḱ</i>	'white'
<i>upro šmag-</i>	'more crazy'	<i>šmag-i</i>	Late Parthian	<i>ešmag</i>	'demon'

Table 12: Analytic comparatives from adjectival loan words

The vast majority of analytic formations, however, is clearly built from secondary, i.e. derived adjectives. This is true with:

- 9 comparatives based on passive participles with the suffix *-ul-* or *-il-* such as *damalul-i* 'hidden' (> *upro damalul-i* 'more hidden') from $\sqrt{mal-}$ 'to hide' (cf. table 13);
- 3 formations from participles with *m-* prefix such as (*upro*) *mḱvdar-i* '(more) dead' from $\sqrt{ḱvd-}$ 'to die' (cf. table 14);
- 11 formations from verbal adjectives with a *sa=* prefix (plus suffixes =*o-*, =*el-*, \emptyset) such as (*upro*) *sa=qmar=o* '(more) useful' from $\sqrt{qmar-}$ 'to use' (cf. table 15);

<i>upro çqul-</i>	'more wounded'	$\sqrt{çq-}$	'wound'
<i>upro damalul-</i>	'more hidden'	$\sqrt{mal-}$	'hide'
<i>upro damaçqul-</i>	'more hurtful'	$\sqrt{çqul-}$	'wound'
<i>upro miçirvebul-</i>	'more distressed'	$\sqrt{çir(v)-}$	'distress'
<i>upro moçivnebul-</i>	'more dishonoured'	$\sqrt{çivn-}$	'dishonour'
<i>upro šebmul-</i>	'more tied'	$\sqrt{b-am-}$	'bind'
<i>upro šeqril-</i>	'more united'	$\sqrt{q(a)r-}$	'throw'
<i>upro uçono-kmnil-</i>	'more debilitated'	$\sqrt{km(e)n-}$	'make'
<i>upro gaçidgemoebul-</i>	'more highminded'	(denominal of <i>did-i</i> 'great' + <i>gemo-</i> 'taste')	

Table 13: Analytic comparatives from passive participles in *-ul-*, *-il-*

⁶ For *bečara-* and *spētaḱ-i* cf. Gippert (1993:5 and 188), for *šmag-i* Deeters (1926:81). — Perhaps *martal-i* 'right(eous)' may be added here if it can be identified with Armenian *ardar* 'id.' (< Iranian); in this case, we would have to presuppose a secondary adaptation by means of prefixation and dissimilation.

<i>upro mkvdar-</i>	'more dead'	√ <i>kvd-</i>	'to die'
<i>upro mtrval-</i>	'more drunken'	√ <i>ivr-</i>	'to drink'
<i>upro mxedvel-</i>	'more looking'	√ <i>xed-</i>	'to look'

Table 14: Analytic comparatives from participles with *m*-prefix

<i>upro sabralo-</i>	'more pitiable'	√ <i>bral-</i>	'to pity'
<i>upro sakebar-</i>	'more praiseworthy'	√ <i>k(eb)-</i>	'to praise'
<i>upro saklav-</i>	'more apt for killing'	√ <i>k(a)l-</i>	'to kill'
<i>upro sakutar-</i>	'more adscript'	√ <i>kutv-</i>	'to belong'
<i>upro sakvirvel-</i>	'more miraculous'	√ <i>kvir(v)-</i>	'to wonder'
<i>upro samter-</i>	'more hostile'	√ <i>mter-</i>	'to be at enmity'
<i>upro sanatrel-</i>	'more desirable'	√ <i>natr(v)-</i>	'to wish'
<i>upro sandom-</i>	'more desirable'	√ <i>nd(om)-</i>	'to want'
<i>upro sapatio-</i>	'more venerable'	√ <i>pai(v)-</i>	'to revere'
<i>upro saqmaro-</i>	'more helpful'	√ <i>qmar-</i>	'to be useful'
<i>upro saqvarel-</i>	'more beloved'	√ <i>qvar-</i>	'to be loved'

Table 15: Analytic comparatives from verbal adjectives with *sa*-prefix

- d. 4 formations based on negated verbal adjectives showing the *u*-prefix (plus suffixes *-o-*, *-el-*, \emptyset) such as (*upro*) *u=tmin=o-* '(more) unbearable' from √*tm(e)n-* 'to bear' (cf. table 16);
- e. one formation from a denominal (possessive) adjective with *sa=* *=o-* circumfix, viz. *upro sa=saxel=o-* 'more glorious' (*sa=saxel=o-* 'glorious' from *saxel-i* 'name, reputation');
- f. 4 formations based on negative denominal (possessional) adjectives with *u=* *=o-* circumfix such as (*upro*) *u=xan=o-* 'more ephemeral' from *xan-i* 'time' (among these note the secondary nominalization *upro u=crpel=o=ba-* 'greater insincerity', lit. 'more-insincereness'; cf. table 17);
- g. one formation from a negative adjective built with *ara=* 'non-', viz. *upro ara=cmida-* 'more impure' (from *cmida-* 'pure, holy');
- h. 7 formations from denominal (possessional) adjectives containing the suffixes *=ovan-*, *=ian-*, *=it-* such as (*upro*) *gul=ovan-i* '(more) (brave)hearted' from *gul-i* 'heart' or (*upro*) *mz=ian-i* '(more) sunny' from *mze-* 'sun' (cf. table 18).

<i>upro gaukvirvebel-</i>	'more imperturbable'	√ <i>kvir(v)-</i>	'to wonder'
<i>upro miucilvebel-</i>	'more inevitable'	√ <i>cil(v)-</i>	'to avoid'
<i>upro ulmobel-</i>	'more inexorable'	√ <i>lm-</i>	'to hurt'
<i>upro utmino-</i>	'more unbearable'	√ <i>tm(e)n-</i>	'to endure'

Table 16: Analytic comparatives from negated verbal adjectives (with *u*-prefix)

<i>upro gulovan-</i>	'more bravehearted'	<i>gul-i</i>	'heart'
<i>upro paṭiosan-</i>	'more precious'	<i>paṭiv-i</i>	'respect'
<i>upro saxelovan-</i>	'more famous'	<i>saxel-i</i>	'name'
<i>upro augian-</i>	'more disgraceful'	<i>aug-i</i>	'shame'
<i>upro gvarian-</i>	'of nobler birth'	<i>gvar-i</i>	'descent'
<i>upro mżian-</i>	'more sunny'	<i>mze-</i>	'sun'
<i>upro bedit-</i>	'more unfavourable'	<i>bed-i</i>	'fate'

Table 17: Analytic comparatives from secondary adjectives with suffixes =*ovan-*, =*ian-*, =*it-*

<i>upro u=samartl=o-</i>	'more unjust'	<i>samartal-i</i>	'right'
<i>upro u=xan=o-</i>	'more ephemeral'	<i>xan-i</i>	'time'
<i>upro u=zenaar=o-</i>	'more inescapable'	<i>zenaar-i</i>	'shelter'
<i>upro u=crpel=o-ba-</i>	'greater insincerity'	<i>crpel-i</i>	'sincere'

Table 18: Analytic comparatives from negated adjectives with *u=* =*o-*

Analytical comparatives formed from substantives seem to be exceptional. Three examples only can be quoted from the analyzed texts; for two of these, viz. *upro natel-i* 'brighter' from *natel-i* 'light' and *upro saxel-i* 'more renowned' from *saxel-i* 'name', it is probable that they were modelled by analogy with (deverbal) adjectives containing the elements *na=* and *sa=* =*el-*, respectively (note that *sax=el-i* at least has a verbal origin in the verbal root $\sqrt{\text{zax-}}$ 'to call'; the actual formation [**s=zax=el-i* ?] remains debatable though⁷).

The third example is a special case: In Vepx. 252d, we read *upro desi*, apparently built as a comparative form from the substantive *da-* 'sister' with the synthetic suffix =*es-*, but with *upro* instead of the prefix *u=* which is normally connected with the suffix:

(*da*) *aç moq̄vare giṗovnivar, disaganca upro desi.*

'Now you have found a friend in me: (a sister) **more sisterly** than a sister.'

This formation contrasts with the more "regular" type of comparatives that are built from substantives in a synthetic way such as *u=mz=e=s-* 'more sun-like' occurring in Tam. X (62), 1a:

gqmob, tamar, mżesa / umżesad zesa

'I proclaim you, Tamar, as (being) **more sun-like** than the sun above.'

The same "regular" type can also be seen in *u=gmir=e=s-* 'more heroic' (< *gmir-i* 'hero'), used in a play of words together with its (verbal) homonym *ugmires* 'they pierced him' in Abd. IV (28), 1:

⁷ Cf. Penixi / Saržvelaṗe (1990:430) for a recent treatment of the Georgian root and its cognates.

*visca ugmires, mistvis **ugmires** // ars es qovelta tvit-mḡqrobeltasa*

'The one (whose heart) they pierced (Jesus) is **more heroic** because of that than all other rulers.'

Like this, it becomes conceivable that *upro desi* was formed as a nonce word (for metrical reasons?) by Rustaveli instead of **u=d=es-i*.

Summarizing the morphological features of the two types of comparatives as appearing in the investigated texts, we can state that synthetic formations are prevalent with primary adjectives and adverbials, viz.

- a. adjectives with reduceable stems (*-l*-suffixes being lost when comparatives are built: type *grʒ=el-i* > *u=grʒ=es-i*);
- b. other non-derived adjectives (type *bnel-i* > *u=bnel=es-i*);
- c. *bahuvrīhi*-type adjectives (type *cxen=mal-i* > *u=cxen=mal=es-i*);
- d. local adverbs / particles (type *ag-* > *u=ag=r=es-i*). —
- e. Formations from deverbal adjectives (type *sa=qvar=el-i* > *u=sa=qvar=l=es-i*) occur but rarely whereas
- f. formations from substantives are not unfrequent (type *gmir-i* > *u=gmir=es-i*).

Analytic formations, on the other hand, are prevalent with all kinds of secondary adjectives, viz.

- a. verbal adjectives and participles (types (*upro*) *damal=ul-i*, (*upro*) *sa=keb=ar-i*, perhaps also (*upro*) *m=rt=el-i*);
- b. adjectives derived by prefixation and / or suffixation from nouns (type (*upro*) *gul=ovan-i*).
- c. adjectives from non-Kartvelian show a varying behaviour: the type (*upro*) *spetak-i* seems to be preferred, but note that *u=subuk=e-* and *u=zabun=e-s-* are built from Persian loan words too (*subuk-i* < Pers. *subuk* 'light', *zabun-i* < Pers. *zabūn* 'coward'⁸). —
- d. Analytic comparatives built from substantives are exceptional (evoked *per analogiam tantum* [?]: *upro na=tel-i*, *upro sa=xel-i*).

As to syntactical features, only a small set of observations concerning the internal structure of the elements that constitute the analytic forms can be summarized here. They comprise the following properties:

- a. *upro* normally precedes the adjective it combines with; in the text corpus investigated, only two exceptions (caused by afterthought?) are met with:

*dia imedi daudva gul-debita, amod daižina tvit **uproca*** (Visr. 118,8)

'Great hope was implanted in his heart, and **pleasantly** he fell asleep, **even more**.'

*ničta mtxrobeli, čina-mscrobeli, madlit **spetaki upros** tovlisa* (Abd. 71,3)

'(the one) promising gifts (and) hurrying ahead, by (your) mercy (you are) **white, more than snow**.'

⁸ Cf. Gippert (1994:40).

- b. When the analytic comparative form is combined with (emphasizing) particles (-*ca*, -*re*, -*žer*), these are affixed to *upro(s)*, not to the adjective it combines with; cp.:

.. *moxval da mnaxav, amisatvis romel upro-re utminod momesurvov šentvis.*
(Visr. 193,6)

'.. you come to see me, so that I long for you **still more impatiently**.'

ese akauri haeri arad mašvndebis, uprosžer tvit avad var. (Visr. 165,18)

'The air in here does no suit me, I am **even** (getting) **worse**.'

- c. *upro* is not normally separated by the adjective it combines with except by another adjective and *da* 'and'; cp.:

'*he, bilco, sazagelo, .. zağlisaganca upro moqivnebulo da aracmidao!*'
(Visr. 88,6)

'Oh (you) evil, disgusting (person), .. more dishonourable and impure even than a dog!'

Exceptions are the two passages mentioned above under a) (Visr. 118,8 and 165,18) and, e.g.:

atasžer me upro šeni gaukvirvebeli da beditad mxedveli viqav. (Visr. 197,28)

'I was a thousand times **more unperturbed by you** and **giving squint-eyed looks** (at you).'

Two further interesting exceptions are met with where *guli* 'heart' enters between *upro* and the adjective:

amisan upro guli martali ar vici, romel čvenia. (Visr. 71,29)

'Therefore I do not know a **heart more righteous** than (the one) which is ours.'

vinaytgan mqecta da prinveltaganca upro guli ulmobeli gic da tvali uzenaaro.
(Visr. 250,2)

'.. as you have a **heart more inexorable** and an eye **more piercing** than prey beasts and birds.'

External syntactic features of the comparative sentences have still to be examined in detail. An investigation into this which I hope to publish soon will focus on the following topics:

- the syntactical function of the comparative adjective (predicate vs. attribute vs. embedded constructions);
- the marking of the object of comparison: dative vs. genitive vs. postpositions (-*gan*, *zed*);
- the word order of the constitutive elements (the comparative adjective, the subject of comparison, the object of comparison, the verbal predicate).

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