The Category of Comparison in Latin

## The Language of Classical Literature

Series Editors

Irene J.F. de Jong Caroline H.M. Kroon

Editorial board

Rutger J. Allan Mark A.J. Heerink

VOLUME 36

The titles published in this series are listed at  $\it brill.com/tlcl$ 

# The Category of Comparison in Latin

Ву

Lucie Pultrová



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON



### **Contents**

1

 $\mathbf{2}$ 

Prefa	ace xi						
Abb	reviatio	ns XIV					
List	of Table	s XV					
Theo	oretical l	Background and Methodology 1					
1.1		nd Scope 1					
1.2		tegory of Comparison in Modern Latin Grammars 3					
1.3		tegory of Comparison according to Late Latin					
	Grammarians 7						
	1.3.1	Scope of the Category of Comparison and Basic Concepts 8					
	1.3.2	Morphological and Syntactic Rules of Comparison 14					
1.4	The Cat	The Category of Comparison from a General Linguistic					
	Perspective 20						
	1.4.1	Basic Concepts					
		(Comparison–Measure–Gradability–Scalarity) 20					
	1.4.2	Comparison—a Grammatical or Derivational Category? 23					
	1.4.3	Scale Types 24					
	1.4.4						
	1.4.5	Classification of Adjectives Used in This Work 30					
1.5	Langua	ge Material Used for Analysis 31					
	1.5.1	Method of Corpus Creation 31					
	1.5.2	Limitations of the Corpus and the Data Obtained from It 33					
The	Forms o	f Latin Comparison 39					
2.1	The Ori	rigin of the Latin Comparative and Superlative Suffixes 39					
2.2	Irregula	regular Comparison 41					
	2.2.1	bonus-melior-optimus 42					
	2.2.2	malus-peior-pessimus 45					
	2.2.3	magnus-maior-maximus 46					
	2.2.4	parvus-minor-minimus 46					
	2.2.5	multus–plūrēs–plūrimī 47					
2.3	Periphrastic Comparison 48						
	2.3.1	Periphrastic Comparison in Latin Grammars 49					
	2.3.2	Periphrastic Comparison with magis and maxime in the					
		Corpus 51					
		2.3.2.1 <i>Magis</i> 53					
		2.3.2.2 <i>Maximē</i> 57					

VI CONTENTS

			2.3.2.3	Summary	60				
			2.3.2.4	Diachron	ic Observatio	ns 61			
		2.3.3	Plūs 65						
	2.4	Adjecti	rative or Superlative)						
		2.4.1	Adjectives	and Adver	bs with Only (	Comparatives Attested 69			
		2.4.2	Adjectives	and Adver	bs with Only S	Superlatives Attested 71			
3	Gradable and Non-gradable Latin Adjectives 73								
3	3.1								
	-		Qualitative Abstract Nouns as an Indicator of Gradability 74						
	Ü	3.2.1	Suffix -itio			,			
		-	Suffix -tūc						
			Suffix -ia						
		0 0		-ntia 77					
			3.2.3.2						
		3.2.4							
		3.2.5							
	3.3								
	0 0	3.3.1	Introduct	-					
		3.3.2	Typologic	al Classific	ation of Adject	tival Compounds 83			
		3.3.3							
3.3.4 VP: Adverbial Modifier + Verb 92						2			
		3.3.5	NP and PP 95						
			3.3.5.1	Exogenou	ıs Adjectival (	Compounds 96			
			3.3.5.2	Endogeno	ous Adjectival	Compounds 103			
				3.3.5.2.1	Prototypical	bahuvrihi adjectives 103			
				3.3.5.2.2	Peripheral b	ahuvrihi compounds 104			
					3.3.5.2.2.1	Privatives 104			
					3.3.5.2.2.2	Adjectives with prefixes			
						other than privative 109			
				3.3.5.2.3	Summary: co	ompounds with second			
					element a su	bstantive, "endogenous"			
					type 111				
		3.3.6	AP: Adver	Adverbial Modifier + Adjective 111					
			3.3.6.1	Degree	112				
				3.3.6.1.1	Negation	112			
					3.3.6.1.1.1	Negatives with the prefix			
						in- 115			
					3.3.6.1.1.2	Negatives with other			
						prefixes 131			

CONTENTS VII

```
3.3.6.1.2 Completeness
                                               134
                       3.3.6.1.3 Defined degree (quantity)
                                                            137
                       3.3.6.1.4 Higher degree
                                                 137
                       3.3.6.1.5 Lower degree
                                                138
                       Place/Direction 139
             3.3.6.2
                       Summary: Compounds of the Type Adverbial
             3.3.6.3
                       Modifier + Adjective 141
             Conclusions 142
     3.3.7
3.4 Adjectives Formed By Derivation 144
            Introduction
     3.4.1
                          144
             Deverbal Adjectives 150
     3.4.2
                       Participles
             3.4.2.1
                                   150
                                 -tus/-sus (perfect passive participles,
                       3.4.2.1.1
                                 PPP) 152
                       3.4.2.1.2 -nt-(present active participles,
                                 PPA) 166
                                -tūrus/-sūrus (so-called future active
                       3.4.2.1.3
                                 participles, PPA) 167
                       3.4.2.1.4 -ndus 168
                                              -ndus—gerundive 168
                                 3.4.2.1.4.1
                                              The "non-gerundival"
                                 3.4.2.1.4.2
                                              -ndus 169
                                              -bundus
                                                        170
                                 3.4.2.1.4.3
                                              -cundus
                                 3.4.2.1.4.4
                                                        171
                       -idus 172
             3.4.2.2
                       -r, gen. -ris 175
             3.4.2.3
                      -uus and -vus 175
             3.4.2.4
             3.4.2.5
                      -bilis 178
                       -ilis 180
             3.4.2.6
                      -tilis/-silis 181
             3.4.2.7
                      -āneus 183
             3.4.2.8
                       -tīcius/-sīcius
             3.4.2.9
                                      185
             3.4.2.10 -īvus 187
                      -\bar{a}x 189
             3.4.2.11
             3.4.2.12 -ulus 189
                       -ius 191
             3.4.2.13
                       -(i)s 193
             3.4.2.14
             3.4.2.15
                       -us 195
             3.4.2.16
                       -nus
                              201
             3.4.2.17
                       -mus
                              203
```

VIII CONTENTS

```
3.4.2.18
                  -rus
                         203
                 -es, gen. -etis
        3.4.2.19
                                  205
                  -īcus
        3.4.2.20
                          205
                 -ūcus
                          206
        3.4.2.21
                 -ticus
                          206
        3.4.2.22
        3.4.2.23
                 -culus 207
        3.4.2.24 -cer, -cris, -cre
                                   207
                 -ulcus
                           208
        3.4.2.25
        3.4.2.26 -olus 208
                  -tillus
        3.4.2.27
                           200
        3.4.2.28
                  Summary—Deverbal Adjectives
        Desubstantival Adjectives
                                   210
3.4.3
                  Introduction
                                  210
        3.4.3.1
                  Classes of Desubstantival Adjectives (Defined By
        3.4.3.2
                  Suffix) 213
                   3.4.3.2.1 -ālis
                                    213
                   3.4.3.2.2 -āris
                                    216
                   3.4.3.2.3 -ārius
                                      218
                   3.4.3.2.4 -ānus
                                      218
                   3.4.3.2.5 -eus
                                    219
                   3.4.3.2.6 -(t/s)\bar{o}rius
                                          221
                   3.4.3.2.7 -tus
                                    221
                   3.4.3.2.8 -ōsus
                                     223
                   3.4.3.2.9 -ius
                                   224
                   3.4.3.2.10 -(i)nus
                                      225
                   3.4.3.2.11 -īnus
                                     226
                                     227
                   3.4.3.2.12 -neus
                   3.4.3.2.13 -āceus
                                      228
                   3.4.3.2.14 -ācius
                                      228
                   3.4.3.2.15 -icius/-īcius
                   3.4.3.2.16 -icus
                                     230
                   3.4.3.2.17 -(\bar{a})ticus
                                        232
                   3.4.3.2.18 -īlis
                                   234
                   3.4.3.2.19 -ilis
                                   235
                   3.4.3.2.20 -ātilis
                                      236
                   3.4.3.2.21 -ulentus
                                        236
                   3.4.3.2.22 -ēnsis
                                      237
                   3.4.3.2.23 -us 238
                   3.4.3.2.24 -īvus
                                     240
                   3.4.3.2.25 -idus
                                     241
```

CONTENTS

```
3.4.3.2.26 -ester/-estris
                   3.4.3.2.27 -ber/-bris 243
                   3.4.3.2.28 -culus
                   3.4.3.2.29 -imus/-īmus
                                             246
                   3.4.3.2.30 -timus
                   3.4.3.2.31 -ēlis
                   3.4.3.2.32 -(\bar{u})lis
                   3.4.3.2.33 -lus 248
                   3.4.3.2.34 -llus
                                     249
                   3.4.3.2.35 -entus 249
                   3.4.3.2.36 -es, gen. -itis
                                             250
                   3.4.3.2.37 - \bar{\iota}x
                   3.4.3.2.38 -rus
                                     251
                   3.4.3.2.39 -cus
                                     251
                   3.4.3.2.40 Compound suffixes
                              3.4.3.2.40.1 -(i)s, gen. -is
                                                           252
                              3.4.3.2.40.2 -us
                                                 252
                              3.4.3.2.40.3 -ius
                                                  253
                              3.4.3.2.40.4 -ālis 253
                              3.4.3.2.40.5 -ānus, -īnus, -ūnus
                                                                 253
                              3.4.3.2.40.6 -āneus
                                                     254
                              3.4.3.2.40.7 -eus
                   Summary—Desubstantival Adjectives
        3.4.3.3
                                                             255
        Adjectives with an Adjectival Base
3.4.4
                   Primary ("basic") Adjectives
        3.4.4.1
                                                  257
                   -idus 263
        3.4.4.2
                   Diminutives (Suffixes Containing -lo-)
        3.4.4.3
                   3.4.4.3.1 -ulus
                                      267
                   3.4.4.3.2 -olus
                                      268
                   3.4.4.3.3 -culus
                                       268
                   3.4.4.3.4 -llus
                                     269
                   3.4.4.3.5 -(i)lus
                                       272
                   -aster
        3.4.4.4
                           274
        3.4.4.5
                   -\bar{o}x 274
        3.4.4.6
                   -icus 275
                   -icius/-īcius
        3.4.4.7
                                 277
                   -ācus
                           278
        3.4.4.8
        3.4.4.9
                   -cus 279
                   -uscus/-iscus
        3.4.4.10
                                  279
                   -cris
        3.4.4.11
                          279
```

X CONTENTS

```
3.4.4.12 -āneus
                          280
                 -ēnus
                        281
       3.4.4.13
       3.4.4.14 -ius
                       281
       3.4.4.15 -ilis
                       283
       3.4.4.16 -i/ulentus
                            283
       3.4.4.17 -bus 284
       3.4.4.18 -ās, gen. -ātis
                               284
       3.4.4.19 -ōris
                       285
       3.4.4.20 -uleius
                          285
       3.4.4.21 -urnus
                          285
       3.4.4.22 -ōtus 285
                 Summary—Adjectives with an Adjectival
       3.4.4.23
                 Base
                        286
       Adjectives Derived From Adverbs
                                       287
3.4.5
                 The type in-inter-interior-intimus
       3.4.5.1
                                                    287
       3.4.5.2
                 -nus
                        289
                 -neus
                        289
       3.4.5.3
                 -rnus
                        290
       3.4.5.4
                 -tinus/-tīnus
       3.4.5.5
                               292
       3.4.5.6
                 -inus
                        293
       3.4.5.7
                 -inquus 293
       3.4.5.8
                 -īcus
                        293
       3.4.5.9
                 -cus
                       294
       3.4.5.10 -vus
                       294
       3.4.5.11 -bus
                       294
       3.4.5.12 -per-
                        295
       3.4.5.13 -ārius
                         296
       3.4.5.14 -īnus
                        297
                 nēquam 297
       3.4.5.15
                 Summary—Adjectives Derived From
       3.4.5.16
                 Adverbs
                           297
3.4.6
       Adverbs not Derived From Adjectives
                                           297
       Adjectival and Adverbial Pronouns and Numerals
3.4.7
                                                       299
       Loan Adjectives from Greek 300
3.4.8
```

#### 4 Conclusions 302

Bibliography 307 Index of Adjectives and Adjectival Affixes 314

#### **Preface**

This book, as its title indicates, focuses on one of the basic—yet in Latin lingustics still rather neglected—grammatical categories: comparison of adjectives (and adverbs). The basic question it poses is which Latin adjectives and adverbs allow for comparative and superlative forms, and which ones do not—a question that may seem trivial to those working with modern languages but is not at all trivial to answer in the case of a dead language such as Latin that has no native speakers.

The book came into being as part of the project "Comparison of adjectives in Latin" (GAČR 17–11247S) supported by the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic and undertaken between 2017 and 2019. The impetus for this project, however, was brought much earlier to me by one of my students, Petr Hrach, who himself came up with the idea of exploring the topic of gradability of Latin adjectives in his bachelor's thesis. He was inspired to do so upon reading a brief remark in a then newly edited corpus-based grammar of Czech, several times quoted in this book, reporting that in the Czech National Corpus only 6% of Czech adjectives have attested graded forms. Petr's bachelor's thesis was successfully completed and defended, but—logically, in view of the narrow scope of such work—it limited itself to just a basic introduction to the topic, the Latin examples being rather unsystematically used to fill in the frame elaborated previously by general linguistics. It soon became apparent that if we wanted to systematically answer the question of which Latin adjectives are gradable and which are not, it would be necessary to process an immense amount of material, a task considerably exceeding the scope of any student work. Petr, who did not wish to pursue the topic further, gave me permission to submit a grant project proposal of my own to build on his work.

Several studies were published within this project, material from which has been included in this monograph:

Pultrová, L. (2020). "Comparison and Negation in Latin", *Glotta* 96 (2020): 178–212.

Pultrová, L. (2019a). "Comparison of Compound Adjectives in Latin", *Eiréné* 55 (2019): 67–116.

Pultrová, L. (2019b). "Correlation between the gradability of Latin adjectives and the ability to form qualitative abstract nouns", in Žabokrtský, Ševčíková, Litta & Passarotti 2019: 25–34.

XII PREFACE

Pultrová, L. (2019c). "Kategorie stupňování u pozdnělatinských gramatiků". *Auriga–ZJKF* 61/2 (2019): 43–64.

Pultrová, L. (2018). "Periphrastic comparison in Latin", *Journal of Latin linguistics* 17/1 (2018): 93–110.

Pultrová, L. (2016). "The Latin bonus-melior-optimus", *AUC Philologica-Grae-colatina Pragensia* 26 (2016): 59–68.

While the relevant chapters of this book correspond to a great extent to these particular studies, the texts have been reorganized so as to create a consistent whole, and further work on the topic showed that several adjustments were needed. Where the texts differ from each other in substance, I consider the version published in this monograph to be the more authoritative. A substantial part of this monograph, the main and longest chapter on derivatives in particular (§ 3.4), has not been previously published in any form.

A brief summary of what the reader may find in the book runs as follows: Chapter 1 (pp. 1–38) explains the aim of the work behind this book; this part contains all the necessary preliminaries—theoretical background to the study, methodology, and how the corpus of Latin texts on which the research is based was created. A longer chapter is devoted to how the Late Latin grammarians viewed the category of comparison. Chapter 2 (pp. 39-72) covers the Latin comparative and superlative forms, and includes a description of the origin of the comparative and superlative suffixes and of the various irregular forms. A major chapter in this part deals with the issue of the periphrastic comparison, which from the time of the Late Latin grammarians up to the present day has been treated in grammar books incorrectly. Chapter 3 (pp. 73-301) represents the main part of the book. Here the Latin material is analysed with the aim of answering the question of which Latin adjectives are gradable and which are not, and with the aim of providing the user of Latin with some objective criteria (i.e. not depending on his or her own understanding of the semantics of the adjectives) for determining this answer. The short, concluding Chapter 4 summarizes the approach taken in this book and attempts to extract some general principles from the lengthy analysis of the various classes of Latin adjectives given in Chapter 3.

My intention in writing this book was that besides its primary audience of classical philologists it could also be useful to general linguists, who at the very least will be able to draw on its Latin material. This is the reason why all the Latin material is consistently translated into English (the translations of individual words have been taken from the basic source of Latin material, the *Oxford Latin* 

PREFACE XIII

*Dictionary*) and why the book here and there also contains information that could seem trivial to classical philologists (e.g. the dating of some texts). General linguists, on the other hand, may find trivial the theoretical descriptions given in Chapter 1. To enable the book to be used by both groups of potential readers I try to employ intuitively understandable terminology. My theoretical approach is rooted in the tradition of Czech studies: firstly, I find the tradition, especially in the field of word formation, extraordinary; and secondly, I believe that it could be refreshing to those who are grounded in a different intellectual tradition.

The majority of those who take this book in hand will surely not read it from A to Z but will rather search for some particular adjective or adjective class. For this purpose, an extensive index of adjectives can be found at the end of the book. Here, however, one thing should be noted: The index only includes adjectives that are expressedly quoted in the text, which is to say not all the adjectives that were subject to analysis (these numbered around 10,000; for how the corpus for analysis was created see § 1.5). Adjectives belonging to the most productive classes with hundreds or even thousands of representatives, or to the semantically simplest classes, do not all appear individually in the text, and are thus not in the index. A reader searching for and not finding a particular adjective in the index should therefore make use of the list of suffixes (or second elements of compounds)—these also appear in the index; a list of adjectival suffixes is also given at the beginning of § 3.4 (pp. 147–150).

I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers, not only of the book itself but also of the studies mentioned above, for all their comments and suggestions. My sincere thanks also go to all those who helped to translate the text into English: Kamila Panešová, Václav Koutný, Nicholas Ryan Daniels, and especially Andrew Goodall, who has done much more for the text than just adjusting language. I am very thankful to my colleagues from the Faculty of Arts (Charles University Prague), especially from the Institute of Greek and Latin Studies, for creating such a friendly and inspirative atmosphere where it is a joy to work. And finally, of course, my heartfelt thanks go to my dear family for their love and support.

#### **Abbreviations**

#### Dictionaries and databases

BTL Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina
CIL Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum

IEW Pokorny (1959) LIV Rix (2001)

OLD Oxford Latin Dictionary
ThLL Thesaurus linguae Latinae

Beekes Beekes (2016) Chantraine Chantraine (1968) de Vaan de Vaan (2008)

Ernout–Meillet Ernout & Meillet (1932)

Walde-Hofmann Walde & Hofmann (1938-1956)

### **Tables**

1	Lehečková's (2011) classification of adjectives based on scalarity 31
2	Number of adjectives with an attested periphrastic comparative 54
3	Attested comparatives of adjectives ending in -ius, -eus and -uus 57
4	Number of adjectives with an attested periphrastic superlative 58
5	Attested superlatives of adjectives ending in -ius, -eus and -uus 60
6	Attested graded forms of the adjective ūtilis 63
7	Attested graded forms of the adjective <i>nōtus</i> 64
8	Attested graded forms of the adjective familiāris 65
9	Correlation between attestation of abstract nouns and
	comparatives/superlatives 75
10	List of the word-formation sets of the type in-inter-interior-intimus 288