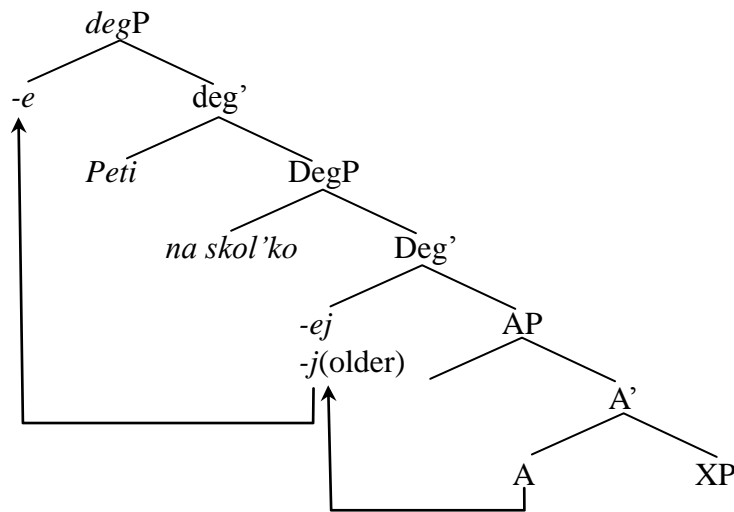


## A diachronic dimension into the Contemporary Russian comparative formation



### Main claim:

- A designated degree morpheme in DegP is not *-ee*, rather *-ej* (a full comparative morpheme is *-ej-e*, hence *Split Comparative Hypothesis*, cf. De Clercq and Wyngaerd 2017 for Czech).

### Evidence:

#### 1) Diachronic

- A Late Common Slavic Comparative morpheme is *-ěj-ъš-* > *-ěj-ъš-* > *-ěiš-*.
- This morpheme is composed of (1) an Indo-European stative *-ěj* (an inchoative in Slavic, cf. Jasanoff 1978), (2) a past active participle suffix *ъš*, and (3) an inflection.
- *juněi* ‘a younger one’ meant ‘the one having become young’, which is reanalyzed as a comparative. This semantic effect is due to the opposition “between the respective states before and after a temporal change of state (or after the transition into an inchoative state)” (Gerhke 2015: 910)
- Later in development, *-ej* is reanalyzed as a comparative morpheme.

#### 2) Dialectal

- Colloquial variants in *-ej* (*želtěj* for *želtée* ‘more yellow’, *pustěj* for *pustée* ‘emptier’)

### Minor Assumptions

#### DegP

- A differential (*na skol'ko*) is introduced in Spec,DegP.
- The Degree head is filled by the comparative (and superlative) morphology (Corver 1990, 1997; Grimshaw 1991; Kennedy 1999), which is argued here to be *-ej*.
- A shortened morpheme, confined to some words, is *-j*, which causes a phonological process, named deiotation.

Ex)	strog-j-e	→	strož-e
	tverd-j-e	→	tverž-e
	vys-(ok)-j-e	→	vyš-e

### *degP*

- The standard of comparison in the head of *degP* is case assigned/checked as (*Peti*) by the move-and-merged comparative form in the Spec,*degP* (Graščenkov and Ljutikova 2017).
- A second (augmentative) comparative morpheme *-e* is introduced in Spec,*degP*.
- In contrast, a clausal variant (*čem Petja*) is introduced down below in AP level.

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