

## Historical change in scalar meanings

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I show that the meanings of gradable adjectives and of the comparative morpheme have undergone change in the history of Slavic. I suggest that degree arguments were not originally part of the lexical semantics of gradable adjectives in Old Slavic, but were introduced by the comparative suffix. The historical change reflects types of meanings for scalar adjectives (degree-less and deree-based) that are attested typologically (Bochnak 2015, a.o.).

The empirical core of the talk is the analysis of the comparative suffix in Old Slavic, which can attach in two different positions within adjectival projections, to the root or to an augmented adjective (analogously to the *-ios* and *-ter* affixes of Greek). I show that the comparative suffix combines only with roots which denote property concepts, or with complex structures that also have property-concept meanings, built compositionally from adjectival meanings. The results for Old Slavic add to work by Francez and Koontz-Garboden (2015) and others, concerning variation in the lexicalization and grammar of property-concept based expressions cross-linguistically.

**References:** Bochnak, R. (2015). The degree semantics parameter and cross-linguistic variation. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 8: Article 6, 1–48. Francez, I. & A. Koontz-Garboden (2015). Semantic variation and the grammar of property concepts. *Language* 91, 533–563.