

# Expressing equality and similarity in English, Italian, and Ladin: Interlingual contrastive features and micro-variation

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## Abstract

Rather exceptionally among European languages, English has two standard markers, namely *as* and *like*, which make a formal distinction between equative and similative constructions. It is well known that clauses with *as* and phrasal adjuncts with *like* tend to be carefully distinguished in British formal usage. The present article uses English as a hallmark for the identification of relevant semantic distinctions within the field of equality and similarity comparison in the Ladin variety spoken in the South-Tyrolean valley of Badia, which forms part of the Rhaeto-Romance territory of Italy, and which is still under-researched in many domains. This article intends to contribute to the current discussion on quantitative and qualitative comparison by providing novel information on Ladin, which has not been an object of investigation with respect to comparative constructions. The comparative system of Ladin is illustrated from a cross-linguistic perspective, drawing comparisons with English and Italian, with which it has much in common, but from which it also differs in a number of respects. The article also shows how the Ladin system varies at a micro-level within one valley. While the vernacular in the lower part of the valley has markers that distinguish between clausal and phrasal complements, the linguistic variety in the upper part of the valley makes no such distinction. Despite highlighting cross-linguistic differences, this study serves as a further confirmation of typological tendencies.

**Keywords:** comparatives; equatives; similatives; Ladin; Italian; English *as* and *like*.

## 1. Introduction

Equative and similative constructions have been studied over a number of years from a range of perspectives and in large samples of languages. EQUATIVES express an

equivalent degree of a gradable property (*as* parameter *as* standard), while SIMILATIVES express similarity of quality or manner (parameter *like* standard). In addition to the more straightforward clauses of equality and similarity of the type of (i) *Mary is as pretty as Anne* and (ii) *Anne swims like a fish*, there are various constructions that have been viewed as somewhat related. Treis (2018) adds SIMULATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS (pretended similarity of the type of *as if*) to her analysis, while Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) add ACCORD CLAUSES (*as we all know*) and ROLE PHRASES (*as your mother* = role). Quirk et al. (1985) distinguish between: (i) COMPARATIVE CLAUSES OF EQUIVALENCE (... *as healthy as you*), (ii) ADJUNCT CLAUSES OF SIMILARITY (*it was as I imagined*), and (iii) ADJUNCT CLAUSES OF COMPARISON (verb followed by *as if*, *as though*, *like*). Because of their formal and semantic similarity, this article explores both the more straightforward clauses of equality and similarity and a number of related constructions that employ the same markers. The article generally uses the terminology adopted by Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) and Haspelmath (2017), naming the lexical and functional constituents of equative constructions as shown in Table 1.

Constituents	Terms
<i>My son is</i>	COMPAREE
<i>as</i>	DEGREE (OR PARAMETER) MARKER
<i>clever</i>	PARAMETER
<i>as</i>	STANDARD MARKER
<i>my husband</i>	STANDARD

**Table 1:** Terminology.

The present study is motivated by the wish to contribute to the current debate on marking patterns of equative and similative constructions in languages across Europe. Although most European languages have been described extensively, the South-Tyrolean Ladin language remains widely under-represented in language samples. The aim of this article is therefore to further investigate the equatives and similatives of Ladin and to place them in a broader context, providing novel information and increasing the sample size of languages analysed for constructions of this type. Ladin is investigated in comparison with English and with its genetically related Italian language. Mainly standard British English is considered, with occasional references

to American. Descriptions of constructions in standard Italian are supplemented with references to northern Italian dialects and to early Italian vernaculars.

Since Ladin shows pronounced areal differences, characteristic features as found in more than one part of Val Badia are included in the present report. The valley of Badia is one of the Ladin-speaking valleys that surround the Sella group of mountains in the Italian Dolomites, which are home to about 31,000 speakers of the language that is typically termed *Dolomitic* or *Sella Ladin* (*Sellaladinisch*). The latest population census in 2011 recorded that the five municipalities of Val Badia had a great majority of Ladin speakers, with percentages ranging from 90% to 98% (ASTAT 2019). The varieties spoken in Val Badia are commonly indicated as BADIOT (or LADIN DE ALTA VAL, in the upper part of the valley), LADIN DE MESA VAL (in this article *Lmv*, in the middle part of the valley and nowadays recognised as the standard form in Val Badia) and MAROU (in the municipality of Mareo-Marebbe-Enneberg, in the lower part of the valley). Because of the many features shared by *Badiot* (*Ladin de alta val*) and *Ladin de mesa val* concerning structures of comparison, this article will treat them together, unless stated otherwise. If the varieties in the upper and middle part of the valley are treated together, e.g. in the examples provided, they will be indicated as LADIN (a term that will therefore include the Ladin varieties of the upper and middle parts of the valley).<sup>1</sup>

The article therefore focuses on variation between a number of different languages and within one language as spoken in a restricted area, adopting perspectives from contrastive linguistics and dialectology or micro-variation. The contrastive analysis is linked to a number of typological findings in the field of examination. Equative and simulative constructions in the languages under consideration are investigated using corpora such as the *British National Corpus* (BNC), *the English Web* (enTenTen15) and *the Italian Web* (itTenTen16 and itTenTen10). Ladin examples are obtained from the corpora *Tratament Automatic dl Lingaz Ladin: corpus lad* (TALL), and *Corpus dl Ladin Leterar* (CLL). While the TALL corpus includes texts of various genres, CLL is made up of literary texts only and is smaller, but it is based on better controlled data sources and provides a clearer automatic differentiation of varieties. Further Ladin data are drawn from the digitalised information bulletin of the municipality of Mareo, from dictionaries, and grammar books. The linguistic evidence provided by the Ladin databases is verified and complemented orally by speakers of the language, including

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<sup>1</sup> The use of the term *Ladin* to refer to the varieties spoken in the upper and middle parts of Val Badia is therefore a simplification adopted in this article for ease of presentation.

the author of this article. Corpora are never fully representative when the goal of the analysis is a fine-grained description of the existence of certain linguistic structures in a minority language with several varieties. Digital corpora and introspective empirical evidence therefore complement each other. Relevant data are discussed with reference to pertinent studies, some key ones of which are briefly summarised in §2 below.

## 2. Literature background

Various scholars have addressed the topic of comparison in earlier works, the most influential of which have received a comprehensive review in Stolz (2013). An extensive list of existing sources has been identified and appraised more recently by Treis (2018). The present article would do little justice to the full range of studies on the topic and will therefore limit itself to summarising the works on equative and similitative constructions from which it draws most.

Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) belong to the pioneers who engaged in an extensive analysis of similitive and equative constructions in a high number of European languages, including English, Italian, and Friulian, which also belongs to Rhaeto-Romance and shares a number of linguistic features with the Ladin varieties considered in this article. Rhaeto-Romance is namely taken to include Ladin and Friulian in Italy and Romansh in Switzerland. With their typological study of equatives and similitives, Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) contributed to a volume on adverbial constructions, with which they claimed to be directly concerned, since an act of comparing typically involves concepts of degree and manner. The authors identified a bundle of features of equatives and similitives across European languages that can be taken as one of the features of *Standard Average European* (SAE). English, Italian, and Friulian were classified as belonging to the core SAE languages as regards the expression of equality and similarity. Haspelmath (2017) extended his analysis to include more languages in the world, whose equative constructions can be divided into six major types. The primary type that occurs in English and in most European languages is an equative construction that includes both an equative degree marker and an equative standard marker (*as tall as*). Haspelmath (2017) concluded with three broad cross-linguistic generalisations, the first of which is that languages normally do not have a degree marker that is not accompanied by a standard marker. Secondly, languages generally have object-verb order if the parameter follows the standard.

Thirdly, if the standard comes after the parameter, then the standard marker occurs before the standard.

Basic equative constructions with a specific standard of comparison were found to be very diverse in Henkelmann's (2006) world language sample, but constructions with equative markers predominated. The European language included in his sample, namely German, was shown to attest the use of relative-based equative constructions in accordance with SAE languages. Case-transparent German examples were provided to show that standard markers are actually subordinators that introduce typically reduced clauses.

Treis & Vanhove (2017) collected a range of theoretical and analytical perspectives on equative and similitive constructions across languages, including a cognitive-typological study on *like*-concepts by Schulze (2017). Schulze (2017: 36) highlights that *like*-expressions are derived metonymically or metaphorically and that "they represent fossilised patterns of cognitive processes conventionalised over times". Schulze (2017) argues that *like*-concepts are closely related to motion-concepts and image-concepts. In the same volume, König (2017) also emphasises that the process of assessing similarity is a key cognitive activity. König (2017) maintains that deictic expressions play a significant role in the formation of equatives and similitives, arguing that the exophoric or gestural use of demonstratives of manner, quality, and degree lies at the basis of comparative constructions. Latin used the expressions *sic*, *talis*, and *tantus* for the three different domains of manner, quality, and degree, while German *so* can be employed for all three dimensions. Unlike German, English has abandoned the exophoric use of *so*, using composite constructions in a gestural context instead (e.g. *like this* or *like that*). While German *so* functions as parameter or degree marker in equative comparatives, English "uses its reinforced form (*as* < *eal swa*) as comparative marker in affirmative sentences, though retaining the original basic manner deictic *so* in negations (*Fred is not so tall as George*)" (König 2017: 156).

Belletti (1991) considers the use of the contemporary Italian standard markers *quanto*, *come*, and *che* in combination with the degree markers *tanto* and *altrettanto*, their syntactic position, the pronominal forms following the markers, and elliptic structures. Belletti (2010) analyses comparatives in early Italian texts from the 13<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. While the comparative marker *che* in comparatives of inequivalence was used in more syntactic contexts than in modern standard Italian, no major differences were detected in comparative structures of equivalence.

The divide between *che* and *di* in comparatives of inequivalence was also addressed by Stolz (2013) in his analysis of competing comparative constructions in European languages. Stolz (2013) included Badiot in his sample of 44 Romance languages, but he provided no information on equatives or similatives in this Ladin variety. The comparative system of a Ladin variety was addressed for the first time in a systematic way by Irsara (2001, 2012, 2013), who described characteristics of the Val Badia system from a cross-linguistic perspective, including English and Italian in her analysis, and integrating the descriptive account with a discussion of potential teaching implications.

The present article moves on to addressing equative degree markers in English, Italian, and Ladin in §3. Equative and similative standard markers in these three languages will be discussed in §4, while §5 will uncover characteristic uses of the standard markers in Marou as compared to English. Although several constructions will be considered throughout the article, the main focus will be on equative and similative constructions with an adjectival parameter.

### **3. The degree markers *as* (English), *tanto* (Italian), and *tan* (Ladin) with adjectival parameters**

Equative constructions have been shown to be complex and diverse across languages, which often use degree markers as well as standard markers in their equatives, forming constructions that belong to the second of Haspelmath's (2017: 14) primary types, defined as "an equative construction that contains an ordinary predicative property-word as parameter plus differentiated comparee and standard, with both an equative degree-marker ('equally') and an equative standard-marker". This type is found in English, Italian, and Ladin, which use analytic degree markers that are always accompanied by a standard marker, in accordance with Haspelmath's (2017: 25) first generalisation that "no language has only a degree-marker, leaving the standard unmarked". Table 2 shows the degree (or parameter) markers that can be used in equative but not similative constructions in the languages and varieties considered.

A relationship of equivalence is typically expressed in English by a correlative use of the parameter marker *as* in combination with the same standard marker. Example (1) illustrates the construction 'as adjective as noun phrase'.

Varieties	Degree (parameter) markers
English	<i>as / (so)</i>
Italian	<i>tanto / altrettanto / così</i>
Badiot	<i>tan</i>
Ladin de mesa val (Lmv)	<i>tan</i>
Marou	<i>tan</i>

Table 2: Degree (parameter) markers.

(1) English (enTenTen15)

*I doubt there's a woman out there who hasn't dreamed of a spouse who looks like Brad Pitt, is **as** intelligent **as** Bill Gates, **as** kind and generous **as** Paul Newman, and **as** built **as** Arnold Schwarzenegger.*

Negated equatives are occasionally formed in English with the parameter marker *so*, which gives an archaic feeling to the constructions, according to Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998). The combination of the degree markers *as* and *so* with the standard marker *as* is exemplified in (2) and (3).

(2) English (enTenTen15)

*His injury is not **as** serious **as** that of teammate James O'Donoghue.*

(3) English (enTenTen15)

*The fiscal position of Portugal was certainly not good, but not **so** serious **as** that of Grece.*

Parameters of comparison are most typically accompanied by the degree marker *tanto* in Italian and *tan* in Ladin, as illustrated in (4) and (5).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The glosses used in the article follow broadly the Leipzig Glossing rules and are provided in the Appendix.

## (4) Italian (itTenTen16)

*I computer arriveranno ad essere tanto intelligenti*  
 the computers arrive.FUT to be [as much].DEGM intelligent  
*quanto gli umani.*  
 [how much].STDM the humans  
 ‘Computers will become as intelligent as humans.’

## (5) Badiot (TALL)

*L’ çiamurc, presciapüch tan gran che na*  
 the chamois, approximately [as much].DEGM big that.STDM a  
*çiora, po pesè trënta y inçe plö chili.*  
 goat, can weigh thirty and also more kilograms  
 ‘The chamois, more or less as big as a goat, can weigh thirty and even more kilograms.’

A further equative degree marker in Italian is *altrettanto*, exemplified in (6). However, *altrettanto... che* is considered bookish in contemporary Italian.

## (6) Italian (itTenTen16)

*La nostra Befana... era altrettanto simpatica*  
 the our Befana... was [just as much].DEGM nice  
*che Babbo Natale.*  
 that.STDM Father Christmas  
 ‘Our Befana (old hag) was just as nice as Santa Claus.’

As pointed out by Belletti (2010) and Pelo (2012) in their investigations into comparatives in Old Italian, the marker *(co)sì* was frequently used in combination with *come*. As (7) and (8) illustrate, *così* still occurs as a degree marker in contemporary Italian, often in negative clauses.

## (7) Italian (itTenTen16)

*... figure luminose che sono così lunghe come galassie*  
 ... figures luminous that are [like this].DEGM long like.STDM galaxies  
*intere.*  
 whole



‘... bright figures that are as long as whole galaxies.’

(8) Italian (itTenTen16)

*Jaime non è così intelligente come David, ma è più  
Jamie not is [like this].DEGM intelligente like.STDM David, but is more  
diligente.  
diligent*

‘Jaime is not as intelligent as David, but he is more diligent.’

In their attempt to identify typical features of SAE languages with respect to equative and similitive constructions, Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) concluded that parameter or degree markers are characteristically demonstrative-based in European languages. Although no deictic value is evident in the English marker *as*, its Old-English root *swá* was a demonstrative-based element. Nowadays, English *so* is not used deictically in an exophoric (or gestural) manner to refer to an extralinguistic situation, in which case adnominal demonstratives and other expressions of similarity are used, e.g. *this* + adjective, *like this* (+ gesture). König (2017) argued that the loss of the exophoric function of a basic demonstrative in English is untypical and that the original meaning of similarity of *so* is still noticeable in sentential anaphoric contexts of the type of *She said so*. The original meaning of similarity of *so* is also visible in expressions such as *Sarah is tall, and so is Jane* and in replies of the type of *So am I*. Italian *tanto* and Ladin *tan* are also demonstrative-based (like Latin *tam*) and still have a deictic function in certain contexts. The Italian utterances in (9) and (10) would most naturally be accompanied by a pointing gesture indicating height, width, and length. The Ladin questions in (11) were uttered by a saleswoman selling cheese behind a counter. By placing her knife in different positions on a wheel of cheese, the woman asked the customer how much she should cut off the larger piece, indicating potential slices.

(9) Italian (Zingarelli)

*È alto tanto e largo tanto.*  
is high [this much] and wide [this much]  
‘It is this high and this wide.’

## (10) Italian (itTenTen16)

*Aveva una pipa lunga tanto.*  
 had.3SG a pipe long [this much]  
 ‘He had a pipe as long as this.’

## (11) Badiot

*Tan nen os-te pa? Tan? Tan?*  
 [how much] PRTV want-you.SG PTCL? [this much]? [this much]?  
 ‘How much of it do you want? This much? This much?’

Ladin *tan* appears in a variety of syntactic functions, among which that of an interrogative pronoun, as can be noticed in (11) above and (12-13) below, in which case Italian uses *quanto* and not the formally similar *tanto*.

## (12) Badiot

*Tan nen os-te pa?*  
 [how much] PRTV want-you.SG PTCL?  
 ‘How much of it do you want?’

## (13) Italian

*Quanto ne vuoi?*  
 [how much] PRTV want.2SG?  
 ‘How much of it do you want?’

Hence, Ladin *tan* can be used as a quantitative pronominal word, displaying a characteristic feature of European languages. Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998: 299) maintained in fact that “an additional feature characterizing Standard Average European languages is the use of quantitative pronominal words when quantities are compared.” Quantities are compared explicitly in (14) and (15), whereas *tan* premodifies an adjective of size in (16) and an adjectival parameter that denotes a quality in (17).

## (14) Badiot

*Nos un tan de patiic ch’ os.*  
 we have [as much] of.PRTV stuff that.STDM you.PL

‘We have as much stuff as you.’

(15) Badiot

*Nos nen un tan ch’ os.*<sup>3</sup>  
we PRTV have [as much] that.STDM you.PL  
‘We have as much of it as you.’

(16) Badiot (TALL)

*L’ cíamurc, presciapüch tan gran che na cíora,*  
the chamois approximately [as much].DEGM big that.STDM a goat,  
*po pesè trènta y incé plö chili.*  
can weigh thirty and also more kilograms  
‘The chamois, more or less as big as a goat, can weigh thirty and even more kilograms.’

(17) Badiot (TALL)

*Les ëres... é tan bunes che i ëi.*  
the women... are [as much].DEGM good that.STDM the men  
‘Women... are as good as men.’

Ladin *tan* can be preceded by a multiplicative numeral, as (18) and (19) illustrate. It can therefore be argued in Rett’s (2020: 182) words that Ladin demonstrates “the ability of an equative to be modified by a factor modifier like *twice*.” Examples (18) and (19) illustrate the construction called *equative-pro-COI construction* by Stolz (2013), who defines it as “the use of the syntactic format of the equative construction for the purpose of expressing the meaning of a typical COI construction,” where COI stands for *comparison of inequivalence*.

(18) Badiot (TALL)

*Al é dui iadi tan gran che le pice Martin!*  
he is two times [as much].DEGM big that.STDM the little Martin!  
‘He is twice as big as little Martin.’

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<sup>3</sup> Pronominal *tan* is declined according to number and gender, i.e. *tan* SG.M, *tanta* SG.F, *tanc* PL.M, *tantes* PL.F.

## (19) Lmv (TALL)

*Le sach dô ester almanco trëi iadi tan gran*  
 the sack must.IPFV be at least three times [as much].DEGM big  
*co chël che al ti â sciuré ía a chë*  
 how.STDM that.DEM that.COMP he her.DAT had thrown thither to that  
*vedla.*  
 old.F

‘The bag must have been at least three times as big as the one that he had thrown to that old woman.’

Stolz (2013: 122) argues that the equative-pro-COI construction “prominently involves English”, whose speakers most naturally adopt “the frame [(comparee is X times) as quality as (standard)].” However, Stolz (2013) also points out that a proper COI construction of the type of [(comparee is X times) more quality (or quality-er) than (standard)] is also found in this context.<sup>4</sup> Ladin also uses both the *equative-pro-COI construction* and a *proper COI construction* with multiplicative numerals, as illustrated respectively in (18)-(19) above and in (20) below. Example (21) shows that the equative degree marker *tan* and the degree marker of nonequivalence *plö / plü* can be used synonymously in this context.<sup>5</sup>

## (20) Lmv (TALL)

*Chësta nëi é trëi iadi plü točia co la naturala.*  
 this snow is three times more thick how.STDM the natural  
 ‘This snow is three times thicker than natural snow.’

<sup>4</sup> Similarly, German also employs both the *equative-pro-COI construction* and a *proper COI construction* with multiplicative numerals. A corpus search in the *German Web 2013* (deTenTen13) revealed that the construction ‘three times as big as’ (2473 hits) is more frequent than the construction ‘three times bigger than’ (473 hits) and that the construction ‘three times as high as’ (2742 hits) is more frequent than the construction ‘three times higher than’ (1146 hits). The search included different spelling conventions and numerals (search carried out on 2021.04.23).

<sup>5</sup> The same is pointed out for French by Stolz (2013), who provided the example in (i).

## (i) French (Stolz 2013: 28-29)

*La France est deux fois aussi / plus grande que l’ Autriche.*  
 the France is two times as.DEGM / more big that.STDM the Austria  
 ‘France is twice as big as / bigger than Austria.’

(21) Badiot

*La Francia é dui iadi tan / plö grana ch' l'*  
 the France is two times [as much].DEGM / more big that.STDM the  
*Austria.*  
 Austria  
 'France is twice as big as / bigger than Austria.'

Italian typically employs a *proper COI construction* with multiplicative numerals, as a search in the corpus *Italian Web 2016* confirmed (see Table 3).

<b>proper COI construction</b>	<b>hits</b>	<b>equative-pro-COI construction</b>	<b>hits</b>
<i>tre volte maggiore/più grande</i> three times bigger/ more big 'three times bigger'	715	<i>tre volte tanto grande</i> three times [as much].DEGM big 'three times as big'	1
<i>tre volte più alto</i> three times more high 'three times higher'	159	<i>tre volte tanto alto</i> three times [as much].DEGM high 'three times as high'	0
numeral + <i>volte maggiore/più grande</i> numeral + times bigger/ more big 'numeral + times bigger'	3707	numeral + <i>volte tanto grande</i> numeral + times [as much].DEGM big 'numeral + times as big'	0

Table 3: Corpus search results for Italian (itTenTen16).

### 3.1. Position of the degree markers

The parameter typically precedes the standard of comparison in SAE languages, including English, Italian, and Ladin. Haspelmath (2017: 26) noted in this regard that “if the standard follows the parameter, then the standard-marker generally precedes the standard”. However, Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) admitted that speculating on the position of the standard marker is easier than predicting the order of the parameter marker. While the standard marker is clearly the head of the standard, it is not so obvious whether the parameter marker is “the head or the dependent of the parameter” (Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998: 289). Example (22) illustrates the pre-adjectival position of the degree marker *as* in English.

(22) English (enTenTen15)

*A woman can be as intelligent as a man or even more.*

It is shown in (23) and (24) that Italian *tanto* can precede or follow the adjective. The same holds true for Ladin *tan*, which usually precedes the adjective, as in (25) and (26), but which can occasionally occur in a post-adjectival position, as illustrated in (27), which exemplifies a generic equative where the image of the world is evoked to indicate something that has existed for a long time.

## (23) Italian (itTenTen16)

*I computer arriveranno ad essere tanto intelligenti*  
 the computers arrive.FUT to be [as much].DEGM intelligent  
*quanto gli umani.*  
 [how much].STDM the humans  
 ‘Computers will become as intelligent as humans.’

## (24) Italian (itTenTen16)

*La donna è intelligente tanto quanto un uomo e a*  
 the woman is intelligent [as much] [how much] a man and at  
*volte di più.*  
 times more  
 ‘A woman is as intelligent as a man and sometimes more.’

## (25) Badiot (TALL)

*Iö sun pa bel tan sciché che tö.*  
 I am PTCL already [as much].DEGM smart that.STDM you.SG  
 ‘I am already as smart as you.’

## (26) Marou (TALL)

*Tö es tan vedla co iu.*  
 you.SG are [as much].DEGM old.F how.STDM I

## (27) Marou (TALL)

*Na verité... Ara é vedla tan co le monn.*  
 a truth... It is old [as much].DEGM how.STDM the world  
 ‘A truth... It is as old as the world / as old as the hills.’

### 3.2. Omission of the degree markers

Quirk et al. (1985) observed that the English degree (parameter) marker *as* is sometimes absent in informal and in literary contexts if a copular verb is present or implied, as in examples (28) and (29).

(28) English (BNC)

*The weapon was old **as** the world and deadly **as** poison.*

(29) English (enTenTen15)

*... his only daughter, comely **as** a summer cloud, clever **as** a cone spider, has fingers so lively she can spin straw into gold.*

Quirk et al. (1985) noted that the single *as* is close to *like* when it is followed by a noun phrase, as examples (30) and (31) illustrate. Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998: 309) specified that in SAE languages the equative parameter marker is optional and often missing in generic equatives, “whose standard does not have specific reference but refers to a class generically”. Examples (30) and (31) illustrate how the image of ivory can be evoked to describe something that is very pale. While in (30) and (31) the standard is an entity that is seen as having a certain property and is used idiomatically, in (32) the standard has specific reference and the typical correlative construction with the double *as* can be observed.

(30) English (BNC)

*Sometimes he would catch Benedicta looking at him, her lovely face pale **as** ivory...*

(31) English (BNC)

*His face was pale **like** carved ivory, his chest still.*

(32) English (BNC)

*Valerie Cass now looked **as** pale **as** her daughter.*

As in English, the Italian degree marker *tanto* can be omitted in the *tanto... quanto* construction, as illustrated in (33), whereas Ladin *tan* always needs to be expressed

in a *tan... che / co* construction of the type of (34) and can be omitted only with similitive standard markers, discussed in §4.<sup>6</sup>

(33) Italian (itTenTen16)

*Le donne non sono intelligenti quanto gli uomini.*  
 the women not are intelligent [how much].STDM the men  
 ‘Women are not (as) intelligent as men.’

(34) Badiot

\* *Iö sun sciché che tö.*  
 I am intelligent that.STDM you.SG  
 ‘I am (as) intelligent as you.’

#### 4. Equative and similitive standard markers

Many European languages characteristically use equative constructions that are based on a demonstrative expression that means ‘so’ (as noted in §3 above) and a relative expression that means ‘how’ and that is often used as an interrogative, as pointed out by Haspelmath (2017: 11-12), who explains that “the demonstrative functions as a degree-marker, and the relative as a standard-marker”. Haspelmath (2017) stresses that demonstrative-relative (correlative) constructions are typical of the European linguistic area, including Germanic and Romance territories. Table 4 enlists the equative and similitive standard markers that occur in the languages considered in the present article. Equative and similitive standard markers are not separated in the table, arguing in line with Haspelmath (2017) that equative and similitive constructions are often expressed in similar ways.

Varieties	Standard markers
English	<i>as / like</i>
Italian	<i>quanto / come / che</i>
Badiot	<i>che / sciöche / coche</i>
Ladin de mesa val (Lmv)	<i>co / sciöche / coche</i>
Marou	<i>co / desco / desche / coche</i>

**Table 4:** Equative and similitive standard markers.

<sup>6</sup> Similarly, Italian *altrettanto* cannot be omitted in the construction *altrettanto... che* (cf. example (6)).



#### 4.1. Equative and similative standard markers in English

The English standard marker *as* typically correlates with the same degree marker. Although it is possible for the standard marker *as* to be unaccompanied by a degree marker, as was discussed in §3 above, this is not particularly common in the databases considered for the present analysis. While (35) exemplifies the typical correlative construction ‘*as* adjective *as* noun-phrase’, (36) shows that it is possible for the standard marker *as* to occur without a preceding degree marker, which happens in particular in generic equatives and in literary or informal contexts, where (36) seems to have arisen, considering the rather blunt choice of words. The single standard marker *as* is usually followed by a generic lexical standard, so that the definite article in (37) is rather untypical.

(35) English (BNC)

*First time I went to London, I was about as old as Emily.*

(36) English (enTenTen15)

*We may be old as the hills, but hopefully we aren't dumb as a box of rocks.*

(37) English (enTenTen15)

*His eyes were big as the dish-plates.*

Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) found that the equative standard marker is identical to the similative marker in the majority of SAE languages. English has therefore been described as rather exceptional among European languages, with its two standard markers *as* and *like*, which distinguish formally between equative and similative constructions. The closeness of the single standard marker *as* to the standard *like* was pointed out in §3.2 and is further illustrated in (38) and (39), in which the structures ‘*as* adjective *as* noun phrase’ and ‘adjective *like* noun phrase’ express a semantically similar concept. In both (38) and (39) the size of a building is compared to the size of a castle. However, (38) and (39) might be argued to illustrate quantitative and qualitative comparison respectively.

(38) English (enTenTen15)

*Eight Chimneys is **as big as** a castle, but dustier and darker than Samantha imagines a castle would be.*

(39) English (enTenTen15)

*It is big **like** a castle and has many underground rooms.*

The English similitive marker *like* and the following standard of comparison often form a simple phrase that functions as an adverbial of manner, as illustrated in (40) and (41), which refer to manners of singing and swimming.

(40) English (enTenTen15)

*She sings **like** a bird.*

(41) English (enTenTen15)

*Now he swims **like** a fish.*

#### **4.2. Equative and similitive standard markers in Italian**

It was observed in §3 that the Italian degree marker *tanto* is characteristically accompanied by the standard marker *quanto*, which often occurs without the degree marker. While the standard marker *quanto* is used in combination with *tanto* in (42), it is used on its own in (43).

(42) Italian (itTenTen16)

*L' attività quotidiana può essere **tanto** efficace*  
 the activity daily can be [as much].DEGM effective  
***quanto** gli antidepressivi.*  
 [how much].STDM the antidepressants  
 'Daily activity can be as effective as antidepressants.'

(43) Italian (itTenTen16)

*La psicoterapia cognitivo comportamentale è efficace*  
 the psychotherapy cognitive behavioural is effective

*quanto*            *gli antidepressivi*.  
 [how much].STDM the antidepressants  
 ‘Cognitive-behavioural psychotherapy is (as) effective as antidepressants.’

Belletti (1991) maintains that only the standard marker *quanto* can precede a nominal standard if the adjectival parameter is preceded by *tanto*, whereas *come* cannot be used in this case. Cerruti (2009) acknowledges the standard linguistic norm according to which the degree marker *tanto* correlates with *quanto* + VP, NP, AdjP, AdvP, PrepP or with *come* + NP, but he emphasises that the structure ‘*tanto* adjective *come* adjective’ is attested in his corpus of spoken language as well. Example (44) shows a correlative use of *tanto* and *come* (+ nominal), which is therefore attested in the data examined in the present article, while the structure ‘*tanto* adjective *come* adjective’ is rare.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> A typical equative construction with two adjectives in Italian is ‘*tanto* adjective *quanto* adjective’, as illustrated in (i).

- (i) Italian (itTenTen16)  
*Nina è tanto bella quanto fortunata.*  
 Nina is [as much].DEGM beautiful [how much].STDM lucky  
 ‘Nina is as beautiful as lucky.’

Ladin ‘*tan* adjective’ can correlate with both ‘*che / co* adjective’ and ‘*sciöche* adjective’, as illustrated in (ii-iii), which also show that the adverbs *avisa* ‘just’ and *ince* ‘also’ typically occur in equative and similitive constructions of this type.

- (ii) Lmv  
*Nina é (avisa) tan bela co (ince) fortunada.*  
 Nina is (just) [as much].DEGM beautiful how.STDM (also) lucky  
 ‘Nina is (just) as beautiful as (also) lucky.’

- (iii) Lmv  
*Nina é (tan) bela sciöche (ince) fortunada.*  
 Nina is ([as much].DEGM) beautiful like.STDM (also) lucky  
 ‘Nina is (as) beautiful like (also) lucky.’

German also frequently uses the emphatic element *genau* to strengthen the parameter marker semantically, as shown in (iv).

- (iv) German (deTenTen13)  
*Der Brief ist genau-so schön wie traurig.*  
 the letter is just-as beautiful as sad  
 ‘The letter is just as beautiful as sad.’

## (44) Italian (itTenTen10)

*La giudico tanto eterna come l' acqua e l'*  
 it.ACC.F judge.1SG [as much].DEGM *eternal* like.STDM the water and the  
 aria.  
 air  
 'I consider it as eternal as water and air.'

When the optional degree marker *tanto* is absent, both *quanto* and *come* are equally acceptable in specific and generic equatives, confirming the statement by Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) that quantitative and qualitative equative markers in Italian are not always as clearly distinguished and distributed as in other languages. Examples (45-48) illustrate how *quanto* and *come* can both be used in specific and generic equatives, although it might still be argued that *quanto* and *come* convey a slightly different semantic meaning.

## (45) Italian (itTenTen16)

*Tu sei forte quanto me.*  
 you.SG are strong [how much].STDM *me*  
 'You are (as) strong as me.'

## (46) Italian (itTenTen16)

*Roberto era sano e forte come me.*  
 Roberto was healthy and strong like.STDM *me*  
 'Roberto was healthy and strong like me.'

## (47) Italian (itTenTen16)

*Era forte quanto un uomo.*  
 was.3SG strong [how much].STDM a man  
 'He was (as) strong as a man.'

## (48) Italian (itTenTen16)

*Il padre le insegna a essere forte come un uomo.*  
 the father her.DAT teaches to be strong like.STDM a man  
 'Her father teaches her to be strong like a man.'

Haspelmath (2017: 13) points out that European languages often “use a ‘how’ word to express similarity of manner”, such as *come* in Italian. Treis (2018: 22) explains

that “the main similative construction involves an intransitive stative verb ‘be like (this)’ or a transitive verb ‘do like (this)’”, which is exemplified in (49) and (50), where *come* is used to express qualitative similarity.

(49) Italian (itTenTen16)

*Libera era come suo padre.*  
Libera was like.STDM her father  
‘Libera was like her father.’

(50) Italian (itTenTen16)

*Canta come un gatto schiacciato, ma canta.*  
sings like.STDM a cat squashed, but sings  
‘He sings like a squashed cat, but he sings.’

A further standard marker in Italian constructions of comparison is *che*, which introduces the standard if the parameter is preceded by *altrettanto*, as was noted in §3 and further exemplified in (51). While Belletti (1991) rejects the use of *quanto* and *come* in correlation with *altrettanto* as unacceptable, the correlative structure ‘*altrettanto* adjective *quanto* / *come* NP’ is not categorically absent in the databases examined, as shown in (52) and (53).<sup>8</sup>

(51) Italian (itTenTen16)

*... pensa che le donne trobriandesi siano... e altrettanto*  
... thinks that the women Trobriand be.SBJV... and [just as much].DEGM  
*libere che gli uomini.*  
free that.STDM the men  
‘... he thinks that Trobriand women... are... and just as free as men.’

(52) Italian (itTenTen16)

*... oli vegetali... possono diventare altrettanto importanti*  
... oil vegetarian.PL... can become [just as much].DEGM important  
*quanto il petrolio e il carbone.*  
[how much].STDM the petrol and the coal  
‘... vegetable oils... can become just as important as petrol and coal.’

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<sup>8</sup> When the parameter is an AP, Italian can also use *altrettanto* without a degree marker, as in *È bella ma altrettanto noiosa*. ‘She is beautiful but equally boring.’

## (53) Italian (itTenTen16)

Se l' essere umano potesse essere **altrettanto** saggio  
 if the being human could be [just as much].DEGM wise  
**come** un uccellino!  
 like.STDM a [little bird]!  
 'If the human being could be just as wise as a little bird!'

## 4.3. Equative and similative standard markers in Ladin

While the Italian standard marker *che* is used exclusively in correlation with *altrettanto*, the standard markers *che* and *co* are widely used in combination with the degree marker *tan* in Badiot, Ladin de mesa val, and Marou, as illustrated in (54-56). While *ch(e)* /kə/ is typical of Badiot, *co* is characteristic of Ladin de mesa val and Marou.<sup>9</sup>

## (54) Badiot (TALL)

Les ëres... é **tan** bunes **che** i ëi.  
 the women... are [as much].DEGM good that.STDM the men  
 'Women... are as good as men.'

## (55) Lmv (TALL)

Chël gran tachin... chël **che** é **tan** gran **co** iö?  
 that big turkey... that.DEM that.COMP is [as much].DEGM big how.STDM I?  
 'That big turkey... the one that is as big as I (am)?'

## (56) Marou (TALL)

Scë düc foss **tan** scichês **co** os...  
 if all were [as much].DEGM clever how.STDM you.PL  
 'If everybody was as clever as you...'

<sup>9</sup> The modern-spelling versions of the corpus CLL are adopted in this article for ease of comprehension. If the modern transcription of the markers does not correspond to the original form, this is pointed out in order to give a more precise picture. Transcribers of older texts often opt for the nowadays written standard form *co*, which, however, does not necessarily correspond to the original form, e.g. *qu*' in Badiot.

Badiot *che* fulfils several functions in different contexts, in some of which it corresponds to Italian *che* while in others it differs. Badiot *che* occurs in comparatives of nonequivalence independently of the syntactic context, as illustrated in (57) and (58), in which *che* is followed by a noun phrase and by a personal pronoun. In these contexts, standard modern Italian would prefer the preposition *di*, whereas *che* would be less appropriate (Dardano & Trifone, 1985; Serianni, 1989). However, due to substratum influence, the comparative marker of inequivalence *che* is overextended in northern Italian dialects, e.g. in Piedmontese (Cerruti 2009).<sup>10</sup>

(57) Badiot (TALL)

*Al se vëgn in mënt che l' scür d-la nõt sides plö*  
it us.DAT comes in mind that the darkness of-the night be more  
*sterch che la lüm d-l dé nü.*  
strong that.STDM the light of-the day new  
'It occurs to us that the darkness of the night is stronger than the light of the new day.'

(58) Badiot (TALL)

*Ai ne s' à nia spordü de manco che*  
they NEG.PTCL themselves.REFL have not frightened of less that.STDM  
*nos.*  
we = us  
'They were not less frightened than us.'

Both Ladin and Italian *che* can function as a complementiser in relative clauses and in subordinate clauses in general, as the Ladin sentences (59-61) illustrate.

(59) Badiot

*I á lit l' test che la studënta á scrit.*  
I have read the text that the student has written  
'I have read the text that the student has written.'

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<sup>10</sup> Nowadays, certain uses of *de* in comparatives of nonequivalence in Badiot are arguably an influence of Italian, independently of the fact that Latin *de*, *quam*, and *quod* were long-time competitors in the older stages of various Italo-Romance varieties, as argued by Stolz (2013).

(60) Badiot

*I á baié cun la studënta **che** vëgn da-l' America.*

I have spoken with the student that comes from-the America.

'I have spoken to the student who comes from America.'

(61) Badiot

*Ël pënsa **che** ël sais döt.*

he thinks that he knows.SBJV everything

'He thinks that he knows everything.'

Unlike Italian *che*, the Badiot standard marker *che* /ke/ corresponds to the human interrogative pronoun, whereas Italian uses *chi* in interrogatives with a human reference, as in (62) and (63).

(62) Badiot

***Che** as-te pa odü?*

who have-you.SG PTCL seen

'Who have you seen?'

(63) Italian

***Chi** hai visto?*

who have.2SG seen

'Who have you seen?'

The complementiser *che* follows *wh*-elements in subordinate interrogatives in Badiot, as in some other dialects that are spoken in northern Italy, e.g. in central Trentino (Benincà & Poletto 1997; Casalicchio & Cordin 2020). This is exemplified in (64) and (65).

(64) Badiot

*Ël me á cunté **cí** **che** ël á odü.*

he me.DAT has told what that.COMP he has seen

'He has told me what he has seen.'



(65) Badiot

*Ĕl me á cunté che che ěl á odü.*  
he me.DAT has told who that.COMP he has seen  
'He has told me who he has seen.'

Marou *co* functions as a standard marker in equative and simulative structures, but it is also used as a relative pronoun, independently of whether the preceding noun phrase is a human or non-human entity, as illustrated in (66) and (67). However, *co* is used in nominative contexts, whereas *che* is employed in non-nominative contexts. This case distinction in Marou, which is not present in Badiot, is exemplified in (66)-68).<sup>11</sup>

(66) Marou (CLL, 1969)

*Le sorëdl co lomina nosta tera, é sö alalt a-l ci.*  
the sun that.NOM illuminates our earth, is up high at-the sky  
'The sun that illuminates our earth is high up in the sky.'

(67) Marou (CLL, 1967)

*... n pere co á laoré por te, co é sën belo*  
... a father that.NOM has worked for you, that.NOM is now already

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<sup>11</sup> While no nominative vs. non-nominative distinction is marked by the relative pronoun *che* in Badiot and in Italian, French has retained a case distinction like Marou. The examples (i) and (ii) illustrate that *qui* is used in a nominative context and *que* is non-nominative.

(i) French (frTenTen17)

*... comme le soleil qui éclaire notre terre.*  
... like the sun that.NOM illuminates our earth  
'... like the sun that illuminates our earth.'

(ii) French (frTenTen17)

*L' air que je respire, l' eau que je bois, le soleil que je vois,*  
the air that.ACC I breath, the water that.ACC I drink, the sun that.ACC I see,  
*le sang qui coule dans mes veines...*  
the blood that.NOM flows in my veines...  
'The air that I breath, the water that I drink, the sun that I see, the blood that flows in my veins...'

*vedl...*

old...

‘... a father who has worked for you, who is now already old...’

(68) Marou (TALL)

*La ega de vita che iu bëri mo pai-i enstès!*

the water of life that.ACC I drink me.DAT pay-I myself

‘The spirit that I drink, I pay myself!’

Like English *how* and Italian *come*, Marou *co* is also used in manner interrogatives and subordinate clauses, as illustrated in (69) and (70).

(69) Marou (CLL, 2003)

*Co podun-se pa nos sëi cares co é tões intenziuns?*

how can-we PTCL we know which that are your intentions

‘How can we know which ones (that) are your intentions?’

(70) Marou (google)

*Le Mareo ne sa nia der co reagì a-la situaziun.*

the Mareo NEG.PTCL knows not very how react to-the situation

‘Mareo team does not really know how to react to the situation.’

The degree marker *tan* is frequently used in combination with the standard marker *sciöche* in Badiot and in Ladin de mesa val, as shown in (71) and (72), which also illustrate that the coordinated construction ‘*tan* adjective *sciöche*’ can be followed by a nominal standard with specific or generic reference. While the standard of comparison in (71) is constituted by the walls of a specific room, (72) refers to the typical smoothness of oil.

(71) Ladin (TALL)

*Al ê tan scür sciöche i mürs de chë ciamera.*

it was [as much].DEGM dark like.STDM the walls of that room

‘It was as dark as the walls of that room.’

(72) Ladin (CLL, 1987)

... mer... ch' ê datrai **tan** chât **sciöche** n öre,  
... sea... that was sometimes [as much].DEGM still like.STDM an oil,  
zënza ones intravaiades, zënza faldes.

without waves twisted, without creases

‘... the sea... which was sometimes as still as oil, without twisted waves, without creases.’

*Sciöche* also occurs without *tan*, unlike the markers *che* and *co* (cf. §3). The standard of comparison can again be specific or generic. Two specific people constitute the standard of comparison in (73), while the similitive marker *sciöche* introduces a generic standard in (74) and (75), which involve the static verb ‘be’ and the dynamic verb ‘tremble’.

(73) Ladin (CLL, 1952)

Chësc fô vistí apresciapüch **sciöch'** i atri dui sü  
this was dressed approximately like.STDM the other two his  
*fredesc.*

brothers

‘This one was dressed approximately like the other two of his brothers.’

(74) Ladin (CLL, 1858)

L' Orco é gran **sciöche**<sup>12</sup> na munt!  
the ogre is big like.STDM a mountain

‘The ogre is big like a mountain!’

(75) Ladin (CLL, 1964)

Al tremorâ **sciöche**<sup>13</sup> na fëia.  
he trembled like.STDM a leaf

‘He trembled like a leaf.’

A further marker that is occasionally found in Badiot, Ladin de mesa val, and Marou is *coche* (composed of *co* + *che*), which is widespread in the nearby Ladin valley of

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<sup>12</sup> Originally *sciöch'*.

<sup>13</sup> Originally *sciöch'*.

Gherdëina, but not used systematically in comparative structures in Val Badia, where it often seems to be an individual idiosyncrasy. However, Gasser (2000) equates *coche* with *sciöche* in his grammar book, where he explains that the standard of comparison can be preceded by *sciöche* or *coche* and exemplifies the latter with (76), where *coche* is followed by an adverbial phrase, and with (77), where *coche* functions as a conjunction and introduces a clause.<sup>14</sup>

(76) Ladin (Gasser 2000: 43)

*Sö-l lüch de Somavila laôr-i cíamò coche plü*  
 on-the farm of Somavila work-they still [how that].STDM more  
*dadî.*  
 formerly  
 ‘On the farm of Somavila, they still work like years ago.’

(77) Ladin (Gasser 2000: 194)

*Coche i scolars d-la cuarta tlassa cíanta, insciö cíanta bëgn*  
 [how that] the pupils of-the fourth class sing, so sing PTCL  
*inçe chi d-la terza.*  
 also those of-the third  
 ‘Just as the fourth-grade pupils sing, so do the third-graders.’

Similarly, *coche* occurs alongside *sciöche* in Gallmann et al. (2013) in the example reproduced in (78).

(78) Ladin (Gallmann et al. 2013: 76)

*Cun i ciavëis luné cíara Rita fora sciöche / coche na stria.*  
 with the hair long look Rita out like / [how that].STDM a witch  
 ‘With long hair, Rita looks like a witch.’

The form *coche* appears in the bilingual dictionary of Ladin de mesa val and Italian by Moling et al. (2016). There is no entry for *coche* in Mischí’s (2015) bilingual dictionary of Ladin de mesa val and German, but the book includes the terms *cochemai*

<sup>14</sup> It might be hypothesised that *coche* used to be widespread and employed systematically in Val Badia, where it was ousted by the co-existing *sciöche* later in history, but there is not enough evidence for this hypothesis to be proved at the present moment.

(composed of *co* + *che* + *mai*) and *cochessî* (composed of *co* + *che* + *sî*), which can both have an adjectival and adverbial function. *Cochemai* and *cochessî* convey a meaning along the lines of ‘sui generis, in whatever way’, as (79) and (80) illustrate.

(79) Ladin (CLL, 1949)

*Dlunch á-i odü iö jënt dër coche maí*<sup>15</sup>.  
everywhere have-I seen I people very [how that] never  
‘Everywhere have I seen people very much sui generis.’

(80) Ladin (CLL, 1959)

*La jënt... sona y cianta...ladin todësch talian cochessî*<sup>16</sup>.  
the people... play and sing... Ladin German Italian [how that be]  
‘People... play and sing... Ladin, German, Italian, in whatever way.’

While Badiot and Ladin de mesa val use *sciöche*, Marou has the two standard markers *desco* and *desche*.<sup>17</sup> Like *sciöche*, the standard markers *desco* and *desche* can be used with or without the degree marker *tan* and with a specific or generic standard, as shown in (81-84), and no difference between equatives and similatives could be detected.

(81) Marou (CLL, 1968)

*... checio lüront y tan sterch desco fü*.  
... red glowing and [as much].DEGM strong like.STDM fire  
‘... in a glowing red and as strong as fire.’

(82) Marou (CLL, 1930)

*I ne sun mino surt no desco os dui, ch’ i sëis*  
I NEG.PTCL am NEG.PTCL deaf not like.STDM you.PL two, that you.PL are

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<sup>15</sup> Originally *coch’ mai*.

<sup>16</sup> Originally *co ch’si*.

<sup>17</sup> Ladin *sciöch*’ is only attested twice in the Marou texts included in the corpus of literary texts and both instances are from the same author. Additionally, three instances of *sciöche* are found in the transcribed versions, which are not totally faithful to the original in this case. The original forms *sciöco*, *söcco*, and *shö*, *ch’* should arguably be interpreted as *ensciö co*, which is also attested once.

*surc desco n tapo.*

deaf like.STDM a log

‘I am not deaf like you two, who are deaf like a log.’

(83) Marou (TALL)

*Y empò è-l sté atlò tan bel desche nos ne*

and still is-it been here [as much].DEGM nice as.STDM we NEG.PTCL

*l' ân te nosta vita mai ciamó albü.*

it had in our life never yet had

‘And still, it has been as nice here as it never was in our life before.’

(84) Marou (TALL)

*Co-le tomp s' aüs-on a chël desche le cian*

with-the time one.REFL get-used-one to that as.STDM the dog

*s' aüsa co-i pöresc.*

itself.REFL gets-used with-the lice

‘With time one gets used to that as the dog gets used to lice.’

Characteristic uses of the two markers *desco* and *desche* are discussed in §5 by drawing comparisons with English *as* and *like*, after addressing the case marking of pronominal standards in §4.4.

#### 4.4. Pronominal standard markers and case

Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998: 306) observed that “in Standard Average European, the standard marker is usually derived from a subordinator and therefore does not govern (or ‘assign’) the case of the standard, which is identical to that of the comparee.” It is often maintained that the English complement *as* has a nominative in formal style and an accusative in informal style if a verb can be added to which the pronoun is the subject. The traditional view suggests using the nominative pronominal form in this case, arguing that the pronoun is the subject of an elliptical clause. Biber et al. (1999) found that nominative and accusative forms were divided fairly equally in fiction, whereas only accusative forms were attested in their corpus of conversation. Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998: 308-309) confirmed that “in SAE languages there is a clear tendency for case-transparent standard markers to be turned into case-determining prepositions”, arguing that this tendency reflects “the gradual

loss of the connection between the ‘underlying’ relative clause and the phrasal standard and can be understood as a type of grammaticalization.”

Hence, while the standard and the comparee are often in the same case in European languages, it is also not uncommon for the standard and comparee to be in a different case, as in Italian, where the direct object pronoun is used in phrasal constructions independently of the case of the comparee. Vice versa, the standard marker does not assign the case of the pronominal standard in Ladin or Marou, as illustrated in (85-90), where the nominative forms *iö*, *iu* ‘I’ and *tö* ‘you’ are used.

(85) Badiot (TALL)

*Degügn n' é tan furbi che iö.*  
nobody NEG.PTCL is [as much].DEGM clever.PL that.STDM I.NOM  
‘Nobody is as clever as I.’

(86) Badiot (TALL)

*Iö sun pa bel tan sciché che tö.*  
I am PTCL already [as much].DEGM smart that.STDM you.NOM.SG  
‘I am already as smart as you.’

(87) Lmv (Mischí 2015: 389)

*Ëra é avisa tan eleganta co tö.*  
she is just [as much].DEGM elegant how.STDM you.NOM.SG  
‘She is just as elegant as you.’

(88) Badiot (CLL, 1878)

*... porvé de me mantigní en pesc y contènta sciöche*  
... try to me maintain in peace and satisfied like.STDM  
*tö.*<sup>18</sup>  
you.NOM.SG  
‘... try to keep myself peaceful and satisfied like you.’

(89) Marou (TALL)

*... su desco iu.*  
... lonely like.STDM I.NOM  
‘... lonely like me.’

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<sup>18</sup> Originally *in pesc... sceoucche tou*

(90) Marou (TALL)

*Ciar-i ince iu fora desco tö?*  
 look-I also I out like.STDM you.NOM.SG  
 ‘Do I also look like you?’

In (91), the pronominal standard takes the nominative form *iu* ‘I’ even with a direct-object comparee.

(91) Marou (TALL)

*Veronica adora pö en ël madü desco... desco iu por*  
 Veronica needs PTCL a man mature like.STDM...like.STDM I.NOM for  
*tó en ejempio.*  
 take an example  
 ‘Veronica needs a mature man like... like me, to give an example.’

Despite the typical use of nominative pronominal forms in Ladin comparative constructions, the objective pronominal forms are not excluded nowadays, and this might be argued to be an influence of Italian, which exerts a considerable influence on younger speakers in particular. Cross-linguistic influence might explain the use of the accusative form *me* ‘me’ in (92), while a stylistic choice might have been made in (93), where two instances of the nominative form *tö* ‘you’ are found at first and then the accusative form *te* ‘you’, immediately after the prepositional phrase *por te* ‘for you’.

(92) Badiot (google)

*E-le... ladins sciöche me? Iö sun badiot.*  
 is-it... Ladins like.STDM me? I am Badiot.  
 ‘Are there Ladins like me? I am Badiot.’

(93) Marou (google)

*Chel co vir desco tö, vir l’ amur. Chel*  
 that.DEM that.COMP lives like.STDM you.NOM.SG lives the love. that.DEM  
*co ponsa y fej desco tö y dá la vita...*  
 that.COMP thinks and does like.STDM you.NOM.SG and gives the life..  
*Fá ch’ i viri por te y desco te.*  
 make that I live for you. ACC.SG and like.STDM you.ACC.SG



‘The one who lives like you, lives love. The one who thinks and behaves like you and gives his or her life... Let me live for you and like you.’

### 5. Marou *desco* and *desche* vs. English *like* and *as*

The preceding sections have shown that standard markers of comparison differ in the varieties that are spoken in Val Badia. The difference concerns in particular the use of the two standard markers *desco* and *desche* in Marou where Badiot and Ladin de mesa val use the same marker *sciöche* (and Italian *come*). A search of the corpus of literary texts for *desco*, *desche*, and *desch*’ in the subsection of the Marou variety returned the numbers reported in Table 5.<sup>19</sup>

Marou standard markers	Numbers of occurrence	% of the total number of words
<i>desco</i>	159	0.089%
<i>desch</i>	48	0.027%
<i>desche</i>	23	0.013%

Table 5: Marou *desco*, *desch*, *desche* in the literary corpus CLL (search carried out on 2020.11.11).

A precise explanation of the distribution of *desco* and *desche* was missing in dictionaries and grammar books, when Irsara (2001) undertook an investigation into their contexts of use, which was followed up by Irsara (2012). The existence of the two markers was acknowledged by speakers of Marou, who provided resolute judgements concerning the acceptability of *desco* and *desch(e)* in certain contexts, while being unaware of their systematic distribution. A corpus analysis of the right context of the markers immediately confuted the tentative hypothesis that the use of

<sup>19</sup> The Romansh varieties spoken in Switzerland have the forms *sco* and *scu*. A CLL search of the literary texts in their original spelling returned one instance of *skö*, as (i) illustrates.

(i) Ladin (CLL, 1910)  
 ... *ne*            *türa*    *plü*            *salč*        *skö*            *n* *sajok*.  
 ... NEG.PTCL    throws    any-more    jumps    like.STDM    a    grosshopper  
 ‘... does not jump any more like a grasshopper.’

*desco* and *desche* might be dictated by the initial sound of the following expression.<sup>20</sup> Both *desco* and *desche* are followed by vowel and consonant sounds, while the abbreviated form *desch'* is followed by a vowel in all its 23 occurrences.

A comparison of Marou *desco* and *desche* with English *like* and *as* called for a syntactic analysis. Despite the rather limited application of this rule, it was the tradition of prescriptive opposition between *like* and *as* in English that led to an investigation into the syntactic contexts of use of *desco* and *desche* in Marou, which produced the following result: *desch(e)* introduces a clause with an inflected verb, whereas *desco* normally precedes a phrase, which can be postmodified by a relative clause. *Desche* and *desch'* are freely substitutable in front of a vowel, while *desco* is not abbreviated. Table 6 shows the results that were obtained from an analysis of the right contexts of the forms *desco*, *desch'*, and *desche* in the literary texts contained in the Marou subsection of the corpus CLL. In the great majority of cases, *desco* is followed by a phrase, while *desch(e)* is followed by clause, in accordance with the generalisation made above.

Particles	+ finite clause	+ phrase
<i>desco</i>	15 <sup>a</sup>	144 <sup>b</sup>
<i>desch'</i>	48	/
<i>desche</i>	22	1

<sup>a</sup> Of these 15 exceptional instances of *desco* + clause, 9 are from the same author.

<sup>b</sup> One instance is arguably not relevant because *desco* is part of a title with no right context.

**Table 6:** Right context of Marou *desco* and *desch(e)* in the literary corpus CLL  
(search carried out on 2020.11.11)

A syntactic analysis of *desco* and *desch(e)* in the ten latest information bulletins of the municipality of Mareo yielded the results reported in Table 7, which adds validity to the findings in Table 6, in spite of the different registers of the texts considered in the two tables.

<sup>20</sup> This idea was initially proposed by Videsott & Plangg (1998) in their Marou dictionary, where the entry reproduced in (i) is found.

- (i) Marou (Videsott & Plangg 1998: 121)  
*Desco* adv., vor Vokal *desche*  
 ‘Desco adverb, in front of a vowel *desche*’

Particles	+ finite clause	+ phrase
<i>desco</i>	3	285
<i>desch'</i>	14	/
<i>desche</i>	26	/

**Table 7:** Right context of Marou *desco* and *desch(e)* in *Le Saltà* (numbers 21-30).

It will be illustrated in the next sections that Marou *desco* and *desch(e)* are used in various constructions that are somewhat related to the more straightforward clauses of equality and similarity, which will also explain the more extensive use of *desco* in *Le Saltà* than in the corpus CLL. While in CLL *desco* makes up 69% of the total number of occurrences of the three forms, in *Le Saltà* 88%.<sup>21</sup>

### 5.1. Equative and similative clauses in English and Marou

<sup>21</sup> A detailed analysis of the deictic or anaphoric demonstratives *ensciö* (Marou), *così* (Italian), and *so* (English) lies beyond the scope of this article. However, their use as affirmative particles is worth pointing out. The examples (i-ii) illustrate the use of *ensciö* (Marou) and *così* (Italian) in the Lord's Prayer.

(i) Italian (itTenTen16)

*Sia fatta la tua volontà come in Cielo così in terra.*  
 be done the your will like in sky so in earth  
 'Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven.'

(ii) Marou

*Töa orenté sides fata, desco a-l ci ensciö sö-la tera.*  
 your will be done, like at-the sky so on-the earth  
 'Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven.'

König (2017) emphasizes that several languages have affirmative particles that are based on these anaphoric manner deictics, including English (*yeah swa* > *yes*) and Italian (*ëccu(m) sìc* > *così, sì*). This also holds true for Marou, where the affirmative particle *sciö* is used in a number of contexts, as illustrated in (iii).

(iii) Marou (TALL)

*Gustl ciügna de sciö.*  
 Gustl nods of yes  
 'Gustl nods.'

Equatives and similatives can have phrasal and clausal standards of comparison. Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998: 303) argued that equative clauses draw more complex comparisons and defined them as “comparisons where the verb is part of the standard, i.e., where the two situations compared differ not only in their participants, but also in their verbal core.” In (94), the compared situations differ in their participants, in (95) in their verbal core, and in (96) in both their participants and verbal core, but the standard marker *as* is followed by a clause with an inflected verb in all of them, so that *desch(e)* would be used in Marou.

(94) English (enTenTen15)

*You can walk as well as **they** can.*

(95) English (enTenTen15)

*He **moved** as beautifully as he **looked**.*

(96) English (enTenTen15)

***She respected** her father's decision as much as **he cared** for her happiness.*

While the correlative construction with the double *as* marker is used in (94-96) above, *like* is used in (97), which was given by Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) as an example of a similative clause or manner adjunct, which specifies in what way something is done.

(97) English (Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998: 280)

*She writes **like** her brother talks.*

Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998: 320) noticed that SAE languages or “languages whose equative and similative standard marker is based on the relative pronoun ‘how’, similative clauses are generally marked just by this word or by the same marker as non-clausal similative phrases.” The relative pronoun ‘how’ in Marou is *co*, which can occur in the form *coche* in similative clauses, as in (98), although the latter type of clauses is generally uncommon, as pointed out by Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998).

(98) Marou (CLL, 1952)

*Al é t-la natöra, al é vëi, al é dërt, che önn mëss morí,  
it is in-the nature, it is true, it is right, that one must die,*

*coche*                    *n popul*                    *se*                    *perd.*

[how that].STDM    a population    itself.REFL loses

‘It is in the nature of things, it is true, it is right, that one must die, like a population gets lost.’

However, the generalization made by Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) that similitive clauses normally use the same marker that is also employed in non-clausal similitive phrases does not hold true for Marou, which distinguishes between phrasal *desco* and clausal *desch(e)*, as illustrated in (99) and (100).

(99) Marou (TALL)

... *spo bradlâ-l*                    *desco*                    *en*                    *picio môt.*

... then    cried-he    like.STDM    a                    little boy

‘... then he cried like a little boy.’

(100) Marou (TALL)

*Al*                    *se*                    *lasciâ jí,*                    *desche*                    *en*                    *picio môt*                    *se*                    *lascia*

he    himself.REFL    let                    go,    as.STDM                    a                    little boy    himself.REFL    lets

*jí dô*                    *en*                    *toc*                    *d-la*                    *oma.*

go    after    a                    smack    of-the    mother

‘He let himself go, as a little boy lets himself go after a smack from his mother.’

While speakers do not often have occasion to compare manners or ways of doing something using similitive clauses, the formally and semantically similar accord and simulative clauses are much more common.

## 5.2. Accord clauses, simulative clauses, and role phrases in English and Marou

Accord or illocutionary clauses are typically expressed in English by adverbial finite clauses introduced by *as*, which are normally realised in a distinct tone unit, and can occur in different positions within a sentence. (101) exemplifies the use of an accord clause or parenthetical disjunct in a central position.

(101) English (BNC)

*The results are, as you might have guessed, violently unpredictable.*

Accord finite clauses are introduced by *desch(e)* in Marou. The accord clause appears as a peripheral comment at the end of the sentence in (102), whereas it occurs medially in (103) and initially in (104), with word order implications in the latter case because of the verb-second characteristics of Marou.

(102) Marou (TALL)

*Sparagné n' é-l nia gnü..., desche diic sa.*  
 save NEG.PTCL is-it not come., as.STDM all know  
 'Money has not been saved..., as everybody knows.'

(103) Marou (*Le Saltà 23*)

*Na banca da-l tomp n' á nia da fá con scioldi,*  
 a bank of-the time NEG.PTCL has nothing to do with money,  
*mo ara á da fá – desche l' ennom dij – con tomp.*  
 but it has to do – as.STDM the name says – with time.  
 'A time bank has nothing to do with money, but it has something to do, as the name suggests, with time.'

(104) Marou (*Le Saltà 25*)

*Desche trec se recordará, é sides le 2015 co le 2016*  
 as.STDM many REFL remember.FUT is both the 2015 how the 2016  
*stés agn dër megri de nëi.*  
 been years very thin of snow  
 'As many will remember, both 2015 and 2016 were years with very little snow.'

While English *as* also introduces elliptical clauses of the type of (105), elliptical clauses are introduced by *desco* in Marou, as illustrated in (106).

(105) English (BNC)

*As mentioned above, there are openings in both the private and public sectors.*

(106) Marou (*Le Saltà 22*)

*Desco belo anunzié dessorá, ...*  
 like.STDM already announced above, ...  
 'As already announced above, ...'

Finally, English *as* is frequently found in combination with *if* and *though* in simulative hypothetical constructions of the type of (107-110), where *like* can be used in American English and in informal style, as illustrated in (111) and (112).

(107) English (enTenTen15)

*He leapt and jumped and spun around **as if** he was crazy.*

(108) English (enTenTen15)

*Jan always drove **as though** he was crazy.*

(109) English (enTenTen15)

*But Minka rolled on her back **as if** crazy.*

(110) English (enTenTen15)

*Saying ‘I have seen! I have seen!’ and dancing in ecstatic love **as though** mad.*

(111) English (enTenTen15)

*... small shrieking creatures that were dancing around **like** they were crazy.*

(112) English (enTenTen15)

*He was drinking vanilla and dancing **like** crazy.*

Both *desch(e)* and *desco* are used in simulative constructions, in accordance with their clausal and phrasal contexts of use. While *desch(e)* introduces hypothetical clauses, *desco* is used with elliptical or verbless constructions, as illustrated in (113) and (114).

(113) Marou (TALL)

*Matio... vën ete, al fej **desch’** al jorass.*

Matio... comes in, he makes as he flied.SBJV

‘Matio... enters, he acts as if he was flying.’

(114) Marou (TALL)

*Le Mazot ea post ia **desco** mort.*

the Mazot was laid thither like dead

‘Mazot lay there as if dead.’

Like accord and simulative clauses, role phrases are expressed in a manner similar to equatives and similatives in several languages, despite being semantically different, since they “express the role or function in which a participant appears” (Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998: 321). Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998: 322) found that “in most European languages, role phrases are marked by the same particle that is used as standard marker in equality and similarity constructions.” While the role marker is *as* in English, Marou uses *desco* to refer to someone’s role or job, which is preceded by no article. This function of *desco* partly explains its high number of occurrences in the municipal information bulletin *Le Saltà*, which publishes reports on people’s achievements and their roles, as in (115), and the results of public job applications, as in (116).

(115) Marou (*Le Saltà* 21)

... protagonist d-la scora, empröma **desco** maester, spo  
 ... protagonist of-the school, at first like teacher, then  
**desco** diretur.

like director

‘... a school protagonist, at first as a teacher, then as a director.’

(116) Marou (*Le Saltà* 23)

La sign.ra... é gnüda tuta sö... **desco** cöga por la scolina.  
 the Ms... is been taken up... like cook for the kindergarten  
 ‘Ms... has been hired... as a kindergarten cook.’

While resemblance to a mother is expressed by the disjunct in (117), the referent’s actual role is indicated in (118).

(117) English (enTenTen15)

**Like** a mother, she has food security close to her heart.

(118) English (enTenTen15)

**As** a mother, she wants the best for her kids.



The distinction resemblance vs. role is marked in English by the different particles *like* and *as*, whereas in Marou the difference lies in the presence or absence of the indefinite article, as illustrated in (119) and (120).<sup>22</sup>

(119) Marou (google)

*Chel-bel-dio é por nos desco n pere y desco na oma.*  
that-nice-god is for us like a father and like a mother  
'God is for us like a father and like a mother.'

(120) Marou (TALL)

*Töa fomena n' è da nia! Y desco oma ès-era ciamó*  
your wife NEG.PTCL is of nothing! And like mother is-she even  
*da manco.*  
of less  
'Your wife is worth nothing! And as a mother even less.'

Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) maintain that role markers are the oldest and most grammaticalised markers, such as English *as*, which is older than the similative marker *like*.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, it seems reasonable to hypothesise that *desche* is innovative in Marou, while the role marker *desco* is more grammaticalised and older. An even older form appears to be *sco*, which was arguably widespread in earlier times, and is found in a Ladin version of the Lord's Prayer that appears in Bacher's early grammar book dating back to 1833. Craffonara (1995) argues that *sco* must have sounded archaic in most of Val Badia at that time already, because extant texts from the previous century usually had *[(ij)šökə]*, with different spelling patterns, in certain varieties of Val Badia, and *[dèško]* in Marou.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> The same holds true for Italian, where the distinction resemblance vs. role is also marked by the presence and absence of the indefinite article (*come una madre* 'like a mother' vs. *come madre* 'as a mother').

<sup>23</sup> Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) emphasise that this is also the case with German, which uses the older marker *als* as a role marker and not the more innovative standard marker of equality and similarity *wie*.

<sup>24</sup> *Desche* is also used in the Ladin variety spoken in the Dolomitic valley of Fascia, where it is the only extant form, whereas *desco* does not occur.

## 6. Conclusion

This article has investigated a number of marking patterns of equative and similative constructions in English, Italian, and Ladin as spoken in the South-Tyrolean valley of Badia. The analysis started from the extensively investigated English language and moved on to the well-documented Italian language, before verifying observations made for these major languages in Ladin varieties spoken in different areas of Val Badia. The article has presented a descriptive account of selected characteristics, adopting a cross-linguistic point of view, and relating the identified linguistic features to typological generalisations made in the literature on the topic under discussion. The article aimed to set the analysis of the Ladin data in particular in a wider context of qualitative research by drawing parallels with major languages and finding differences between them. The analysis was intended to make a small-scale contribution to the ongoing debate on equatives and similatives in European languages. In particular, the focus of the investigation was on the use of degree and standard markers in the more straightforward equative and similative constructions and on the use of these same markers in various related constructions, such as accord clauses, simulative clauses, and role phrases, which were analysed in particular in the second part of the article, where the Marou variety was focused upon.

In line with other European languages, English, Italian, and Ladin all use analytic degree or parameter markers, which never occur without an accompanying standard marker. Both the Italian and Ladin degree markers *tanto* and *tan* were confirmed to be demonstrative based and to have retained a deictic value in certain contexts, unlike the English degree markers *as* and *so*, which were originally also demonstrative based, but which have broadly lost their exophoric deictic value. Unlike Italian *tanto*, Ladin *tan* was shown to occur as an interrogative, thus corresponding to Italian *quanto* and English *how much*. The use of Ladin *tan* in equative-pro-COI constructions was subsequently illustrated, demonstrating that *tan* can be preceded by multiplicative numerals like English *as*, which can be preceded by factor modifiers like *twice*. The position of the Italian and Ladin markers *tanto* and *tan* was shown to be less obvious than the position of the English degree marker *as*, which is typically found in pre-adjectival position. While Ladin *tan* usually precedes the adjectival parameter in specific equatives, it is often found in post-adjectival position in generic equatives. While generic equatives sometimes lack the degree marker *as* in English, leaving the

second *as* on its own, Ladin *tan* can be omitted with certain standard markers but not with the standard marker *che / co*.

After examining the degree markers in English, Italian, and Ladin, the article went on to explore equative and simulative standard markers, which precede the standard of comparison. While the English standard markers *as* and *like* are normally taken to describe quantity and quality respectively, quantitative and qualitative standard markers often occur in similar contexts. While Italian *quanto* and *come* are equally acceptable in equative constructions if unaccompanied by a degree marker, it is *come* that is typically used to express similarity of manner in the contexts ‘to be like’ or ‘to do like (this)’. Italian uses the general subordinator *che* as a standard marker in coordination with the degree marker *altrettanto*, whereas Ladin Badiot *che* is used with *tan*, which can also be accompanied by simulative markers. The Ladin complementiser *che* has no animacy restrictions, whereas the interrogative pronoun *che* refers to human referents and corresponds to Italian *chi* and English *who*. Unlike Badiot, Marou employs the *how*-word *co* as an equative standard marker. Marou *co* also occurs as a nominative relative pronoun, while *che* is the form that is used in a non-nominative context. Case-marking issues were also addressed in relation to pronominal standards in Badiot and Marou, where the standard markers do normally not govern the case of the standard of comparison, although a tendency to use pronominal standards in their oblique case forms could also be detected and might be interpreted as cross-linguistic influence from Italian, in spite of this tendency being generally found by Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) in languages across Europe.

Besides the different equative standard markers *che* and *co* in Badiot and Marou, a notable difference between these two varieties was detected in the use of the two standard markers *desco* and *desch(e)* in Marou where Badiot uses *sciöch(e)*. After considering the difference between clausal *as* and phrasal *like* as traditionally prescribed by norms of formal English, it was found that Marou *desch(e)* introduces a clause with an explicitly given finite verb, while *desco* is typically followed by a phrase, which can be postmodified by a relative clause. *Desch(e)* therefore occurs in equative and simulative clauses, in accord clauses, and in simulative clauses, whereas it is *desco* that is used in role phrases, where English employs its older form *as* and not *like*. It was finally maintained that the role marker *desco* is arguably the older form, in line with Haspelmath & Buchholz’s (1998) typological findings in European languages.

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## Abbreviations

2 = 2 <sup>nd</sup> person	F = feminine	PRTV = partitive
3 = 3 <sup>rd</sup> person	FUT = future	PTCL = particle
ACC = accusative	IPFV = imperfect	REFL = reflexive
COMP = complementiser	M = masculine	SBJV = subjunctive mood
DAT = dative	NEG = negative	SG = singular
DEGM = degree marker	NOM = nominative	STDM = standard marker
DEM = demonstrative	PL = plural	

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## Corpora

*British National Corpus* (BNC)

[https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fbnc2\\_tt21](https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fbnc2_tt21)

*Corpus dl ladin leterar* (CLL)

<http://vll.ladintal.it/applications/textanalysis/search.jsp>

[https://app.sketchengine.eu/#concordance?corpname=preloaded%2Fitwac3.no\\_dups.fulldocs.7&tab=basic&structs=s&operations=%5B%5D](https://app.sketchengine.eu/#concordance?corpname=preloaded%2Fitwac3.no_dups.fulldocs.7&tab=basic&structs=s&operations=%5B%5D)

*Italian Web 2010* (itTenTen10)

<https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fittenten>

*Italian Web 2016* (itTenTen16)

[https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fittenten16\\_2](https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fittenten16_2)

*Le Saltà*

<https://www.comun.mareo.bz.it/system/web/zeitung.aspx?sprache=7&detailonr=225171055-1042&menuonr=219899036> (Accessed 2020.11.03)

*Tratament Automatich dl Lingaz Ladin: Corpus lad* (TALL)

<http://corpuslad.ladintal.it/applications/textanalysis/search.jsp>

*English Web 2015* (enTenTen15)

[https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fententen15\\_t31](https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fententen15_t31)

*French Web 2017* (frTenTen17)

[https://app.sketchengine.eu/#concordance?corpname=preloaded%2Ffrtnten17\\_f12](https://app.sketchengine.eu/#concordance?corpname=preloaded%2Ffrtnten17_f12)

*German Web 2013* (deTenTen13)

[https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fdetenten13\\_rft3](https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fdetenten13_rft3)

*ItWAC*

<https://app.sketchengine.eu/#concordance?corpname=preloaded%2Fitwac3.nodups.fulldocs.7&tab=basic&structs=s&operations=%5B%5D>

*Italian Web 2010* (itTenTen10)

<https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fittenten>

*Italian Web 2016* (itTenTen16)

[https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fittenten16\\_2](https://app.sketchengine.eu/#dashboard?corpname=preloaded%2Fittenten16_2)

*Le Saltà*

<https://www.comun.mareo.bz.it/system/web/zeitung.aspx?sprache=7&detailonr=225171055-1042&menuonr=219899036> (Accessed 2020.11.03)

*Tratament Automatich dl Lingaz Ladin: Corpus lad* (TALL)

<http://corpuslad.ladintal.it/applications/textanalysis/search.jsp>

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