

## Appendix A Note on Phrasal Comparatives\*

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Abbreviations used in glosses include: ABL. = ablative case marking; ACC. = accusative case marking; CL = classifier; DAT. = dative case marking; DIR. = directional particle; ERG. = ergative case marking; fem. = feminine; GEN. = genitive case marking; neg. = negation marking; masc. = masculine; NOM. = nominative case marking; pl. = plural; PREP. = preposition; sg. = singular; SUBJUNCT. = subjunctive particle; past = past tense; PERF. = perfective; POSS. = possession relation; STD = standard marker; TAP = tense-aspect marker; and TOP. = marker of topicalization.

## 1 Contextual Degree Comparatives

	Variation in Acceptability	Variation in Interpretation	Island Sensitivity	Filled Degree Slot
Japanese [ <i>yori</i> ]	Yes.	Yes.	-not elicited-	Yes.
English [ <i>compared to</i> ]	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.
German [ <i>im Vergleich zu</i> ]	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.

**Figure 1** Contextual Degree Comparatives

### 1.1 Japanese

#### Variation in Acceptability

- (1) *?/??/\*Taroo-wa Hanako-ga katta yori nagai kasa-o katta.*  
 Taroo-TOP. Hanako-TOP. bought STD long umbrella-ACC. bought  
 ‘Compared to what Hanako bought, Taroo bought a longer umbrella.’  
 (Beck, Oda & Sugisaki 2004: 290)
- (2) *Taroo-wa Hanako-ga katta yori takusan kasa-o katta.*  
 Taroo-TOP. Hanako-TOP. bought STD many umbrella-ACC. bought  
 ‘Compared to what Hanako bought, Taroo bought more umbrellas.’  
 (Beck et al. 2004: 290)

#### Variation in Interpretation

- (3) Context: Women’s clothing is on sale. A \$ 500 coat is now available for \$ 250, and a \$ 150 dress is now available \$ 130.
- (4) *Kotoo-wa doresu yori yasui.*  
 coat-TOP. dress STD cheap  
 ‘Compared to the coat, the dress is cheaper.’  
 (Oda 2008: 56-57)

#### Filled Degree Argument Slot

- (5) *John-wa Mary-ga ronbun-o san-bon yonda yori ookuno*  
 John-TOP. Mary-NOM. paper-ACC. three-CL read STD many  
*ronbun-o yonda.*  
 paper-ACC. read  
 ‘Compared to the three papers Mary read, John read more papers.’  
 (Oda 2008: 89)

### Outside of Comparatives

- (6) *Ken-wa yooroppa-yori amerika-ni iku-koto-ni kimeta.*  
Ken-TOP. Europe-STD America-to go-fact-DAT. decided  
'Ken decided to go to Europe rather than America.'  
(Beck et al. 2004: 295)

### Multiple Context Setters

- (7) *John-wa Mary-ga yonda yori Bill-ga yonda yori Sue-ga*  
John-TOP. Mary-NOM. read STD Bill-NOM. read STD Sue-NOM.  
*yonda yori nagai hon-o yonda.*  
read STD long book-ACC. read  
'John read a longer book than any of Mary, Bill and Sue did.'  
(Oda 2008: 146)
- 

## 1.2 English

### Variation in Acceptability

- (8) a. *?/??/\*Compared to what John bought, Mary bought a longer umbrella.*  
b. *Mary bought a longer umbrella than John (did).*
- (9) a. *Compared to what John bought, Mary bought more umbrellas.*  
b. *Mary bought more umbrellas than John (did).*

### Variation in Interpretation

- (10) Context: A clothing store has reduced prices for a number of items. A certain dress got less of a reduction than some coat, although the absolute price for the coat is still above the price for the dress.
- (11) a. *Compared to the dress, the coat is less expensive.*  
b. *#The coat is less expensive than the dress (is).*

### Island Sensitivity

- (12) a. *Compared to Bill, John wrote a paper that was longer.*  
b. *#John wrote a paper that was longer than Bill.*

**Filled Degree Argument Slot**

- (13) a. *Compared to the five papers Mary wrote, Bill wrote more papers.*  
 b. \**Bill wrote more papers than Mary wrote five.*
- 

**1.3 German****Variation in Acceptability**

- (14) a. *Im Vergleich zu was Johannes gekauft hat, hat Maria einen längeren Regenschirm gekauft.*  
 in.the comparison to what John bought has has Mary  
 a longer umbrella bought  
 ‘Compared to what John bought, Mary bought a longer umbrella.’  
 b. *Maria hat einen längeren Regenschirm gekauft als Johannes (gekauft hat).*  
 Mary has a longer umbrella bought STD John  
 (gekauft hat).  
 bought has  
 ‘Mary bought a longer umbrella than John.’
- (15) a. *Im Vergleich zu was Johannes gekauft hat, hat Maria mehr Regenschirme gekauft.*  
 in.the comparison to what John bought has has Mary more  
 umbrellas bought  
 ‘Compared to what John bought, Mary bought more umbrellas.’  
 b. *Maria hat mehr Regenschirme gekauft als Johannes (gekauft hat).*  
 Mary has more umbrellas bought STD John bought has  
 ‘Mary bought more umbrellas than John.’

**Variation in Interpretation**

- (16) Context: A clothing store has reduced prices for a number of items. A certain dress got less of a reduction than some coat, although the absolute price for the coat is still above the price for the dress.
- (17) a. *Im Vergleich zu dem Kleid ist der Mantel weniger teuer.*  
 in.the comparison to the dress is the coat less expensive  
 ‘Compared to the dress, the coat is less expensive.’  
 b. #*Der Mantel ist weniger teuer als das Kleid.*  
 the coat is less expensive STD the dress  
 ‘The coat is less expensive than the dress.’

### Island Sensitivity

- (18) a. *Im Vergleich zu Ulrike war James auf einer Insel im Pazifik, welche größer war.*  
 in.the comparison to Ulrike was James on an island in.the pacific which bigger was  
 ‘Compared to Ulrike, James visited an island in the Pacific which was bigger.’
- b. *#James war auf einer Insel im Pazifik, welche größer war als Ulrike.*  
 James was on an island in.the pacific which bigger was STD Ulrike  
 Ulrike  
 ‘James visited an island in the Pacific which was bigger than Ulrike.’

### Filled Degree Argument Slot

- (19) a. *Im Vergleich zu den fünf Büchern, welche Johannes gelesen hat, habe ich mehr (Bücher) gelesen.*  
 in.the comparison to the five books which John read has have I more books read  
 ‘Compared to the five books John read, I read more.’
- b. *\*Johannes hat mehr Bücher gelesen als ich fünf.*  
 John has more books read STD I five  
 ‘John read more books than I did five.’

## 1.4 Sāmoan

### Variation in Interpretation

- (20) Context: Angenommen die Preise für Tarowurzeln und Kakao sind wegen einer schlechten Ernte ziemlich in die Höhe gegangen. Der Preisanstieg bei Tarowurzeln war um 1 Tala, bei Kakao nur um 30 Sene. (Aber trotzdem ist Taro immer noch billiger zu kaufen als Kakao.)<sup>1</sup>
- (21) *‘O le talo e taugatā atu i lō le koko.*  
 TOP. the taro TAP expensive DIR. PREP. STD the cocoa  
 ‘Compared to cocoa, taro is more expensive.’

<sup>1</sup> Translation: Assume prices for taro roots and for cocoa did go up considerably due to a bad harvest. The price for taro went up by one tala, the price for cocoa by thirty sene. Nevertheless, it’s still cheaper to buy taro than to buy cocoa.

## Island Sensitivity

- (22) *ʔNa fa'atau e Malia talo e tetele atu i lō Eseta.*  
 TAP buy ERG. Mary taro TAP be.many(pl.) DIR. PREP. STD Eseta  
 'Compared to Eseta, Mary bought more taro.'
- (23) Context: Suppose that Mary bought five umbrellas  
 while Frank only bought two umbrellas.
- (24) *Sa fa'atau e Malia fa'amalu e tele i lō Falani.*  
 TAP buy ERG. Mary umbrella TAP be.many PREP. STD Frank  
 'Compared to Frank, Mary bought more umbrellas.'  
 (Villalta 2007: 6)

## 2 Compositionally Integrated Standards

	Predicative Comparative	Attributive Comparative	Adverbial Comparative	Clausal Standards	Scope: Bhatt & Takahashi (to app.)	Scope: Minimal Requirement Readings	Conclusion
Greek [GEN.]	Yes.	[ <i>In situ.</i> ]	No.	No.	-not elicited-	-not elicited- <sup>ʔ</sup>	[[ -er <sub>(Kennedy)</sub> ]]
English [ <i>than</i> ]	Yes.	[ <i>In situ.</i> ]	No.	No.	(No.)	(No.)	[[ -er <sub>(Kennedy)</sub> ]]
Greek [ <i>apo</i> ]	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	-not elicited-	-not elicited- <sup>ʔ</sup>	[[ -er <sub>(Heim)</sub> ]]
Hindi	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Wide.	Yes.	[[ -er <sub>(Heim)</sub> ]]
Turkish	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	No.	-not elicited-	Yes.	[[ -er <sub>(Heim)</sub> ]]
German [ <i>als</i> ]	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Narrow.	Yes.	[[ -er <sub>(clausal)</sub> ]]
English [ <i>than</i> ]	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Narrow.	Yes.	[[ -er <sub>(clausal)</sub> ]]
Greek [ <i>apo ti</i> ]	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	-not elicited-	-not elicited- <sup>ʔ</sup>	[[ -er <sub>(clausal)</sub> ]]

<sup>ʔ</sup> However, Merchant (2011) provides other data that seem to require a scopally mobile operator and that point towards a scopally immobile operator in the case of the Genitive-marked comparative in Greek and speak in favor of a scopally mobile operator for *apo*- and *apo ti*-marked comparatives. Cf. the appendix.

**Figure 2** Contextual Degree Comparatives

### 2.1 Immobile Comparative Operators

#### 2.1.1 Greek

##### Predicative Comparatives

- (25) *Ke meta su lene pos i andres ine dhithen eksipnoteri*  
 and then you(DAT.) they.say that the men are supposedly smarter  
*ton jinekon!*  
 of.the women  
 'And then they tell you how men are supposedly smarter than women!'  
 (Merchant 2011: 4)

### Attributive Comparatives

- (26) *I Anna pandreftike enan psilotero tis andra.*  
the Anna married(3sg.) a taller her(GEN.) man  
'Anna<sub>i</sub> married a man taller than her<sub>i</sub>.'  
(Merchant 2011: 3)
- (27) *O Kostas ine enas psilotos tis andras.*  
the Kostas is a taller of.her man  
'Kostas is a man who is taller than she is.'  
(Merchant 2011: 15)

### Adverbial Comparatives

- (28) \**I Maria pezi kithara kalitera mu.*  
the Mary plays guitar better me(GEN.)  
'Maria plays guitar better than I do.'  
(Merchant 2011: 4)

### Scopal Mobility

- (29) *Thelo na ime psilotos tis.*  
I.want SUBJUNCT. I.am taller of.her  
= 'I want to be taller than she is.'  
≠ 'I want to be taller than she wants to be tall.'  
(Merchant 2011: 16-17)
- 

## 2.1.2 Yorùbá

### Attributive Comparatives

- (30) Context: You are comparing Olu's appearance to his father's.
- (31) \**Olu jẹ ọkunrin sisanra ju Baba rẹ lọ.*  
Olu be man be.fat exceed father his STD  
'Olu is a fatter man than his father.'  
(Howell 2012: 34)
- 
-

## 2.2 Versatile Phrasal Comparative Operators

### 2.2.1 Greek

#### Predicative Comparatives

- (32) *Kanenas den ine psiloteros apo ton eafto tu.*  
 person(neg.) not is taller from the self his  
 ‘Nobody is taller than himself.’  
 (Merchant 2009: 138)

#### Attributive Comparatives

- (33) *O Giannis exi perisotera periodika apo mena.*  
 the Giannis has more magazines from me  
 ‘Giannis has more magazines than I have.’  
 (Merchant 2011: 4)

#### Adverbial Comparatives

- (34) *I Maria pezi kithara kalitera apo ton Gianni.*  
 the Maria(NOM.) plays guitar better from the Gianni(ACC.)  
 ‘Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis.’  
 (Merchant 2009: 136)

#### Clausal Standards

- (35) *\*Perisoteri anthropi menun stis IPA apo sti Rosia.*  
 more people live in.the United States from in.the Russia  
 ‘More people live in the United States than in Russia.’  
 (Merchant 2009: 139)

#### Scopal Mobility

- (36) *Thelo na ime psiloteros apo aftin.*  
 I.want SUBJUNCT. I.am taller(masc.) from her  
 = ‘I want to be taller than she is.’  
 = ‘I want to be taller than she wants to be tall.’  
 (Merchant 2011: 18)
-



## 2.2.2 Hindi

### Predicative Comparatives

- (37) *Sangeeta Ramesh se lambi hai.*  
Sangeeta Ramesh STD tall(fem.) is  
'Sangeeta is taller than Ramesh.'  
(Beck, Krasikova, Fleischer, Gergel, Hofstetter, Savelsberg, Vanderelst & Villalta 2009: 40)

### Attributive Comparatives

- (38) *Sangeeta kepaas Ramesh se zyaadaa tez kar hai.*  
Sangeeta POSS. Ramesh STD more fast car is  
'Sangeeta has a faster car than Ramesh.'  
(Beck et al. 2009: 40)

### Adverbial Comparatives

- (39) *Sangeeta ne Ramesh se zyaadaa tez dauri.*  
Sangeeta ERG. Ramesh STD. more fast ran  
'Sangeeta ran faster than Ramesh.'  
(Beck et al. 2009: 40)

### Clausal Standards

- (40) \**Aaj maine socha tha se zyaadaa garam hai.*  
Today I think was STD more hot is  
'Today was hotter than I thought.'  
(Beck et al. 2009: 41)

### Scope: Bhatt & Takahashi (to app.)

- (41) *Har syn. paper har sem. paper-se zyaadaa logō-ne parh-aa.*  
every syn. paper every sem. paper-STD more people-ERG. read-PERF.  
'Every syntax paper was read by more students than every semantics paper.'  
= 'The least read syntax paper was read by more people than any semantics paper.'  
≠ 'There are more people who read every syntax paper than there are people who read every semantics paper.'  
(Bhatt & Takahashi to app.: 19)

### Minimal Requirement Readings

- (42) Context: The minimal requirement for the length of the paper is 25 pages.  
The draft is 20 pages long.
- (43) *Ise theak 5 page aur lamba honā chahiye.*  
it exactly five pages more long(masc.)  
'It is exactly five pages longer than that.'  
(Beck et al. 2009: 42)

### 2.2.3 Turkish

#### Predicative Comparatives

- (44) *Maria Peter'den uzun.*  
Mary Peter(ABL.) tall  
'Mary is taller than Peter.'  
(Hofstetter 2009: 193)

#### Attributive Comparatives

- (45) *Maria Hans'tan (daha) pahalı bir araba satın aldı.*  
Mary Hans(ABL.) even expensive a car bought  
'Mary bought a more expensive car than Hans.'  
(Beck et al. 2009: 59)

#### Adverbial Comparatives

- (46) *Maria Peter'den hızlı koştu.*  
Maria Peter(ABL.) fast ran(3sg.)  
'Maria ran faster than Peter.'  
(Hofstetter 2009: 193)

#### Clausal Standards

- (47) \**Maria Hans sesli ıslık çalmadı sesli şarkı soöyledi.*  
Maria Hans loud whistled(3sg.) loud sing(past)(3sg.)  
'Mary sang louder than Hans whistled.'  
(Hofstetter 2009: 194)

## Minimal Requirement Readings

- (48) *Müsvedde on sayfa uzunlu-ğun-da.*  
draft ten page length-GEN.-in  
'The draft is ten pages in length.'
- (49) *Makale müsvedde-den tam beş sayfa uzun olmak zorunda.*  
article draft-ABL. exactly five page long be.required  
'The article is required to be exactly five pages longer than the draft.'  
(Hofstetter 2012: 324)

## 2.3 Clausal Comparative Operators

### 2.3.1 German

#### Predicative Comparatives

- (50) *Maria ist größer als das Bett lang ist.*  
Maria is taller STD the bed long is  
'Maria is taller than the bed is long'

#### Attributive Comparatives

- (51) *Sigrid hat eine schönere Rose in ihrem Garten als ich auf meinem Balkon.*  
Sigrid has a more.beautiful rose in her garden STD I on my balcony  
'Sigrid has a more beautiful rose in her garden than I have on my balcony.'

#### Adverbial Comparatives

- (52) *Maria ist schneller gerannt als Bill.*  
Mary is faster run STD Bill  
'Mary ran faster than Bill.'

#### Clausal Standards

- (53) *Meine Morning Glory ist heute größer als sie gestern war.*  
my Morning Glory is today taller than she yesterday was  
'My Morning Glory is taller today than it was yesterday.'

**Scope: Bhatt & Takahashi (to app.)**

- (54) *Mehr Menschen haben jedes Syntaxpapier als jedes Semantikpapier gelesen.*  
more people have every syntax.paper than every semantics.paper  
read  
'More people read every syntax paper than every semantics paper.'  
= 'There are more people who read every syntax paper than there are people who read every semantics paper.'  
≠ 'The least read syntax paper was read by more people than any semantics paper.'

**Scope: Minimal Requirement Readings**

- (55) Context: The height minimally required of Johannes is below the height minimally required of Bill.
- (56) *Johannes muss weniger groß als Wilhelm sein.*  
Johannes needs less tall than Wilhelm be  
'Johannes needs to be less tall than Bill.'
- 

**2.3.2 English**

**Predicative Comparatives**

- (57) *My Morning Glory is taller today than it was yesterday.*

**Attributive Comparatives**

- (58) a. *Mary bought a faster computer than Bill.*  
b. *Mary bought a faster computer than this one.*

**Adverbial Comparatives**

- (59) *Mary ran faster than John.*

**Clausal Standards**

- (60) *The knife is longer than the drawer is deep.*

**Scope: Bhatt & Takahashi (to app.)**

- (61) *More people read every syntax paper than every semantics paper.*  
= ‘There are more people who read every syntax paper than there are people who read every semantics paper.’  
≠ ‘The least read syntax paper was read by more people than any semantics paper.’

**Minimal Requirement Readings**

- (62) Context: The height minimally required of John is below the height minimally required of Bill.  
(63) *John needs to be less tall than Bill.*
- 

**2.3.3 Greek**

**Predicative Comparatives**

- (64) *To oti o pritanis prokite na kalesi tin katharistria ine perisotero*  
the that the dean is.going to invite the cleaner is more  
*aksioperi ergo ap’oti tin Maria.*  
noteworthy STD the Maria(ACC.)  
‘That the dean is going to invite the cleaning lady is more noteworthy than that he is going to invite Mary.’  
(Merchant 2009: 143)

**Attributive Comparatives**

- (65) *Perisoteri anthropi nomizan oti psifisan ton Gore ap’oti ton*  
more people thought that they.voted.for the Gore(ACC.) STD the  
*Bush.*  
Bush(ACC.)  
‘More people thought that they voted for Gore than though they voted for Bush.’  
(Merchant 2009: 138-139)

### Adverbial Comparatives

- (66) *I Maria milai me ton Petro pjo sixna ap'oti me ton*  
 the Maria(NOM.) speaks with the Petro(ACC.) more often than with the  
*Gianni milai.*  
 Giannis(ACC.) speaks  
 'Maria talks with Petros more often than with Giannis.'  
 (Merchant 2009: 141)

### Clausal Standards

- (67) *I Maria pezi kithara kalitera ap'oti pezi kithara o*  
 the Mary(NOM.) play guitar better STD play guitar the  
*Giannis.*  
 Giannis(NOM.)  
 'Mary plays the guitar better than Giannis plays the guitar.'  
 (Merchant 2009: 135)

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