More comparatives than you can shake a stick at:
The case of Greek

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1 Inaudible syntax → ¬ Surfacism

(1) Inaudible syntax consists of nodes in a phrase marker which may not correspond to
any pronounced elements in the speech stream (these nodes may be equivalent to
‘words’, single lexical nodes, or to phrases).

(2) The crucial Greek contrast that requires abstract syntax:

Perisoteri anthropi menun sto kratos pu kivernai o Putin

a. ap'oti o Bush.  
than.CLUSAAL the Bush.NOM
b. * apo ton Bush.  
than.PHRASAL the Bush.ACC
c. * tu Bush.  
the.GENITIVE Bush

‘More people live in the country that Putin governs than live in the country that Bush
governs.’

(3) Architectural alternatives

a. Surfacism: All higher-order (phrasal) structures are projected from and contain
only elements that are pronounced

‘WYHIWYG’ theory (‘What you hear is what you get’): Ginzburg and Sag 2000,
Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, much work in categorial grammars—part of the
Simpler Syntax Hypothesis
b. Some phrases and heads have no pronunciation.

Corollary: Their presence can only be detected indirectly.

(4) Goal today: Show that inaudible syntax exists. There’s no retreat to surfacism.

Greek comparatives

2 Clausal and phrasal comparatives in English

(5) Clausal comparatives (what follows than is clausoid): than is a preposition that takes
a clausal node (CP, S') as its complement:

a. Mary plays the guitar better than [clause John plays the guitar].
b. More people live in Russia than [clause live in the US].
c. In the 2000 presidential election in Florida, more people thought they voted for
Gore than [clause thought they voted for Bush].
d. Mary is taller than [clause John is].
3 Clausal and two phrasal comparatives in Greek

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>absolute</th>
<th>comparative</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>psil-os</td>
<td>psilo-ter-os</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tall-er-</td>
<td>perisotero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-os is masc.sg.nom)</td>
<td>psil-os</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3.1 Comparative morphemes:

- **apo**
  - GENITIVE
- **ap-oti**
  - from 'of'
- **than**
  - than.PLURAL
  - than.GEN
  - than.CLUSAL

(15) comparative morphemes:

- **apo**
- **ap-oti**
- **than**
- **from**
- **than**

(16) standard markers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phrasal</th>
<th>clausal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apo</td>
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<td>than.PLURAL</td>
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<tr>
<td>than</td>
<td>than.GEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>than</td>
<td>than.CLUSAL</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Greek prepositionhood:

(19) a. *Maria is erxetai apo tin Athina.*
    - *The Maria.NOM is coming from the Athens.ACC.*
    - *Maria is coming from Athens.*

b. *I sinavlia proserthike apo tin marxhia.*
    - *The concert sponsor.pass,3s by the perfection.*
    - *The concert was sponsored by the perfection.*

(20) *Apo pjon (ipes oti) epekse kalitera kithara i Maria* than.PLURAL whom (said.2sg that) played better guitar the Maria.NOM
    - *Than whom did (you say that) Maria play(ed) guitar better yesterday?*

(21) *Kanenas1 dhen ine psiloteros apo [ton eafotu].*
    - *n-person not is taller than.PHRASAL the self his*
    - *No-one is taller than himself.*

\(^1\)For reasons of time, **apo**-os-o/... and para clausal markers will not be discussed here, though they share many properties with **ap-oti** clauses; see Xeila-Markopoulou 1986, Giannakidou and Stavrour 2009, and Giannakidou and Yoon 2011.
Non-DP and multiple remnants are possible only with reduced clausal comparatives:

(28) a. Perisoteri
the Giannis not is taller than.PHRASAL n-person
1
‘Giannis isn’t taller than anyone.’


(23) a. More people live in Russia than in the US.

b. More people thought they voted for Gore than for Bush.

c. Amy likes to play the guitar loudly more than quietly.

d. More people like to watch movies than climb mountains.

e. Amy plays the guitar better than Sam the violin.

Bhatt and Takahashi 2011 (following Lechner 2001) claim that English has only clausal (and reduced) clausal comparatives, based on three examples with putative Principle C effects (two of which are irrelevant to deciding whether English doesn’t have any true phrasal (P+DP) comparatives, as they involve than+PPs):

(24) a. *More people expect him, to overtake Sally than Peter1’s sister. vs.

b. ??More people expect Sally to overtake him, than Peter1’s sister.

I’m not sure there’s a real constrast here, and in any case, their explanation of the putative contrast is in serious danger of failing, given the well-formedness of cases where overt mvmt or QR bleeds BT(C) (Fox 1999, etc.):

(25) a. Sam, ’s dad, he,’s always respected.

b. I expected him1 to overtake the same people Peter1’s sister did <expect him1 to overtake>.

• So English may still have both options (just as Japanese does, as Shimoyama 2011 argues)

(26) a. I Maria pezi kithara kalitera ap’oti o Giannis.
the Maria.NOM plays guitar better than.PHRASAL the Giannis.NOM
‘Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis plays the guitar.’

b. Perisoteri anthrofi nomizan oti psifisan ton Gore ap’oti more people thought that they,voted,for the Gore,ACC than.CLausal ton Bush.
the Bush,ACC
‘More people thought that they voted for Gore than they voted for Bush.’

(27) a. *I Maria pezi kithara kalitera ap’oti ton Gianni.
the Maria.NOM plays guitar better than.CLausal the Giannis,ACC.
‘Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis plays the guitar.’

b. *I Maria pezi kithara kalitera apo o Giannis.
the Maria.NOM plays guitar better than.PHRASAL the Giannis.NOM
‘Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis plays the guitar.’

Greek comparatives

(28) a. Perisoteri anthropi menun stis IPA ap’oti sti Rosia.
more people live in the USA than.CLausal in the Russia
‘More people live in the US than in Russia.’

b. Perisoteri anthropi milisan me ton Gianni tin Kyriaki ap’oti me
More people spoke with the Giannis the Sunday than.CLausal with
ton Anesti to Savato.
the Anestis the Saturday
‘More people spoke with Giannis on Sunday than with Anestis on Saturday.’

more people live in the USA than.PHRASAL in the Russia
(‘More people live in the US than in Russia.’)

b. * Perisoteri anthropi milisan me ton Gianni tin Kyriaki apo me
more people spoke with the Giannis the Sunday than.PHRASAL with
ton Anesti to Savato.
the Anestis the Saturday
(‘More people spoke with Giannis on Sunday than with Anestis on Saturday.’)

(30) * Ap’oti pios (ipes oti) epekse kalitera kithara i Maria
than.CLausal whom (said.2sg that) played better guitar the Maria.NOM
xthes?
yesterday
(lit. ‘Than who did (you say that) Maria play(ed) guitar better yesterday?’)

 n-person not is taller than.CLausal the self his
(lit. ‘No-one is taller than heself.’)

(32) * O Giannis dhen ine psiloteres ap’oti KANENAS.
the Giannis not is taller than.CLausal n-person
(lit. ‘Giannis isn’t taller than anyone.’)

(33) No difference wrt Principle C:

a. pro1 elvele tin Anna eki pjo sixna ap’oti tin nona tu Kosta{2/∗1}.

b. pro1 elvele tin Anna eki pjo sixna ap’oti tin nona tu Kosta{2/∗1}.
he1 saw the Anna there more often than the godmother the.gen Kostas
‘He1 saw Anna there more often than (he saw) Kostas{2/∗1}’s godmother.’
4  Standard analysis

(34) Properties of apo vs. ap’oti comparatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>apo</th>
<th>ap’oti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>allows only one remnant?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allows only DP remnant?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marks remnant with accusative?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allows pied-piping?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allows binding/neq-concord from matrix clause?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(35) a. apo-standards are just a DP prepositional object
b. ap’oti-standards are clausal, possibly reduced (due to movement of the remnant + clausal ellipsis)

(36) a. Abby plays guitar better [PP than [DP Ben]].
   b. I Maria pezi kithara kalitera [PP apo [DP ton Gianni]].
    the Maria plays guitar better than.PHRASAL. the Giannis.ACC
   'Maria plays the guitar better than Giannis.'

(37) a. More people live in Russia than [CP Op1 [PP in the Us]2 < t1 live t2 >]
   b. I Maria pezi kithara kalitera ap’oti [o Giannis],
    the Maria plays guitar better than.PHRASAL. the Giannis.NOM
    <[TP pezi kithara t3 ]>. play guitar
   'Maria plays guitar better than Giannis does.'
   c. [o Giannis] <[TP pezi kithara t4 ] >

(38) a. I Maria milai me ton Petro pjo sixna ap’oti me ton Gianni.
    the Maria speaks with the Petro.ACC more often than.CL. with the Giannis.ACC
    [[PP me ton Gianni], <[TP pro milai t1 ]>].
    with the Giannis.ACC she speaks
   'Maria talks with Petros more often than with Giannis.'
    [[PP me ton Gianni], <[TP pro milai t2 ]>]
   b. *I Maria milai me ton Petro pjo sixna ap’oti ton Gianni.
    the Maria speaks with the Petro.ACC more often than.CL. the Giannis.ACC
    [[DP ton Gianni]2 <[TP pro milai [PP me t2 ]]>.]
    the Giannis.ACC she speaks with
   ('Maria talks with Petros more often than Giannis.')
    *[ [DP ton Gianni]2 <[TP pro milai [PP me t2 ]]>

4.1 Unexpected island sensitivities

(39) a. Phrasal comparatives in Greek show island effects.
   b. Reduced clausal comparatives do not.

(40) Perisoteri anthropi menun sto [kratos pu kivernai o Putin
   more people live in the state that governs the Putin
   a. ap’oti o Bush. (mean 3.5, N=8)
   than.CLAUSAL. the Bush.NOM
   b. *apo ton Bush. (mean 1.63, N=8)
   than.PHRASAL. the Bush.ACC
   'More people live in the country that Putin governs than live in the country that Bush
govern.'

(41) O Nikos evlepe perisoteres tenies otan tu tis sistine i Nana
the Nikos saw more movies when him them recommended the Nara
   a. ap’oti i Elena.
   than.CLAUSAL. the Elena.NOM
   b. *apo tin Elena.
   than.PHRASAL. the Elena.ACC
   'Nikos saw more movies when Nana recommended them to him than he saw when
Elena recommended them to him.'

(42) To o pritisai proktai na kalesi ti [katharistria ine perisotero aksioperiergo
the that the dean is going to invite the cleaner is more noteworthy
   a. ap’oti tin Maria.
   than.CLAUSAL. the Maria.ACC
   b. *apo tin Maria.
   than.PHRASAL. the Maria.ACC
   'That the dean is going to invite the cleaning lady is more noteworthy than that he is
going to invite Maria.'

Nonelliptical controls are fine:

(43) Perisoteri anthropi menun sto [kratos pu kivernai o Putin ap’oti
   more people live in the state that governs the Putin than.CLAUSAL
   menun sto [kratos pu kivernai o Bush.
   live in the state that governs the Bush.NOM
   'More people live in the country that Putin governs than live in the country that Bush
governs.'

This example was tested in a written questionnaire administered to eight native speakers of Greek in Ka-
terini, Greece; respondents were asked to rate the example sentences on a scale of 1 (=unacceptable) to 5
(=completely normal). Similar effects are found in Lithuanian; see Grinsell 2010.
(44) O Nikos evlepe perisoteres tenies otan tu tis sistine i Nana ap'oti evlepe otan tu tis sistine i Elena.  

Nikos saw more movies when Nana recommended them to him than he saw when Elena recommended them to him.'

(45) To oti o pritanis prokitai na kalesi ti katharistria ine perisotero aksioperiergo the that the dean is going to invite the cleaner is more noteworthy ap'oti ine oti prokitai na kalesi tin Maria.  

That the dean is going to invite the cleaning lady is more noteworthy than that he is going to invite Maria is.'

5 An elliptical analysis

5.1 Elliptical repair in sluicing, VP-ellipsis, and fragment answers

(46) Idea: Island conditions are irreducibly syntactic in nature (island constraints must be stated over syntactic representations, and are not entirely reducible to semantic conditions or to processing overload. (Ross 1969, Phillips 2006, Sprouse et al. 2009, pace aliquibus aliisis)


(48) No ellipsis  

*Ben wants to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don’t remember which he wants to hire someone who speaks.

(49) Sluicing  

Ben wants to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don’t remember which.

(50) VP-ellipsis  

*Abby wants to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don’t remember what kind of language Ben does. (=<want to hire someone who speaks>)

5.2 Variable island effects in Greek comparatives

(51) Fragment answers (Merchant 2004, Arregi 2011, Temmerman 2012)  

a. A: Did each candidate try to feed questions to the journalist who will ask him about abortion (at the debate)?  

b. B: *No, [about foreign policy].  

c. cf. B: No, each candidate tried to feed questions to the journalist who will ask him about foreign policy.

(52) about foreign policy  

each candidate tried to feed questions to the journalist who will ask him

(53) Greek comparatives  

(54) a. Perisoteri anthropi nomisan oti psifisan ton Gore ap’oti more people thought.3p that voted.for.3p the Gore.ACC than.CLAUSAL than CLAUSAL ton Bush.  

the Bush.ACC  

'More people thought that they voted for Gore than (thought that they voted for) Bush.'
5.3 Greek apo-phrasals as reduced clausals?

(56) Reviving Smith 1961, Lees 1961, Chomsky 1965: phrasal comparatives are just a different kind of reduced clausal comparative.\(^3\)

Evidence for additional structure (implicated especially in assigning case, as such higher shells are in the verbal domain) in the prepositional phrase: Matsubara 2000, Kayne 2004; Theophanopoulou-Kontou 1992, Terzi 2005, Botwimik-Rotem and Terzi 2008. (On raising out of finite clauses, Joseph 1979, 1990, etc.; on raising to an additional case position, Béjar and Massam 1999, Merchant 2006; on raising to object of a preposition,
Schematically:

(58) \( \text{ap’oti} [FP \circ \text{Bush}_1 \text{ apo} [FP \circ \text{the Bush, ACC} \text{ meno} \text{ sto kratos pu than kivernai } t_1] \text{ apo the Bush, NOM live in the state that governs } kivernai t_1] \text{ apo than. PHRASAL} \text{ violi.} \) } 

(59) Joseph 1990:(14):

"With things coming to a head in this way, the solution was becoming evident." (lit. "With the knot thus reaches the comb, ...")

6 The ‘direct’ analysis revisited: -er\(^2\) vs. -er\(^3\), and eDe vs. Dee

Perhaps locality effects reflect covert movement of the correlate required by the semantics (following Heim 1985, Bhatt and Takahashi 2011, Kennedy 2007)?

(60) \[ -\text{er}_{\text{bee}} = \lambda D_{<d,ct>} \lambda x_{\circ} \lambda y_{\circ} \max \{d[D(d) (x)] > \max \{d'[D(d') (y)] \} \} \]

(61) a. More (=many-er\(^3\)) people know English, \text{correlate} than German.

b. \( \text{English}_1 \text{ -er} \)

d.\( \text{d- many people know } t_1 \)

(62) \( \text{Maria pezi kithara pjo sixna apo violi.} \text{ the Maria, NOM plays guitar more often than violi. ACC} \)

\( \text{‘Maria plays guitar more often than violin.’} \)

Greek comparatives

(63) a. TP

b. kithara\(_1\) guitar pjo\(^3\) more TP

\( \text{apo violi than violin} \)

(64) a. * Perisoteri anthropi meno sto kratos pu kivernai o Putin apo more people live in the country that governs the Putin than PHRASAL than the Bush, ACC

\( \text{‘More people live in the country that Putin governs than (live in the country that) Bush (governs).’} \)

b. \( \text{DP}_1 \text{ o Putin the Putin \text{ pjo}\(^3\) more TP} \text{ apo ton Bush than the Bush} \)

\( \text{d-poli anthropi meno sto kratos pu kivernai } t_1 \text{ d-many people live in the state that governs } t_1 \)

\( \bullet \text{ locality of apo comparatives = pseudo-clausemate restriction on QR? (judgment unmarked)} \)
(65) O Maria lei oti ine eksipni pjo sixna apo tin Anna.
the Maria says that is smart more often thanAPHRASAL the Anna
'Maria more often says that she’s smart than Anna (says she’s smart).'

(66) English is uniformly island-sensitive (as you’ve probably noticed); Heim 1985 and
Reinhart 1991:
   a. *I spent more time with a woman than played the clarinet than the lute.

Idea: The difference between English and Greek might be that in Greek clausal comparatives
(even reduced ones), movement of the correlate does not occur; in English clausal comparatives,
movement of the correlate is required (as it is in phrasal comparatives in both languages).
This should presumably be derived from differing constraints on the ellipsis involved: English would require LF-identity (forcing the correlate to move), while Greek wouldn’t. (This would potentially make new predications about scope in ellipsis in the two
languages we could test.)

6.1 Deriving positional effects
Bresnan 1973, Heim 1985, etc.:

(67) a. I have never seen a man taller than my mother.
   b. #I have never seen a taller man than my mother. (felicitous only if speaker’s
      mother is a man)
   c. *a taller than my mother man (Williams’ ‘Righthand Head Rule’)

(68) DPP
    DP
    a NP
    x than my mother
    N PP
    than AP
    A man
    my mother

(69) Greek apo-phrasals do not show these restrictions:
a. Giati omos enas kaliteros ton IE6 browser dhen ginete katholika
   why however a better than the IE6 browser not becomes generally
   apodhektos? accepted
   ‘But why doesn’t a browser that’s better than IE6 get more widely adopted?’
b. Enas psiloteros apo mena antras bori na min exi provlima.
   a taller than me man might SUBJ not has problem
   ‘A man taller than me might not have a problem.’ (⇒ the speaker is a man)

7 Genitives of comparison


(70) O Giannis ine psilóterós tis.
   the Giannis is taller herGEN
   ‘Giannis is taller than her.

(71) I Anna pandreftike enan psilóteró tis andra.
   the Anna married.3s a taller herGEN man
   ‘Anna married a man taller than her.’

(72) O píros tha ine psilóteros tu spitiu.
   the tower will be taller the house.GEN
   ‘The tower will be taller than the house.’

These occur with all possible genitive personal pronouns, and, more marginally, with
demonstrative and relative pronouns:

(73) O Giannis ine psilóterós mu/su/tu/tis/mas/sas/tus.
   the Giannis is taller 1s/2s/3sman/3sf/1p/2p/3p.GEN
   ‘Giannis is taller than me/you/him/it/her/us/you/them.’

(74) O Giannis ine psilóteros aftína/aftinis.
   the Giannis is taller dem.GEN
   ‘Giannis is taller than that one.’

(75) Ime o andras tu opiu ine psiloteros o Giannis.
   Iam the man which.GEN is taller the Giannis
   ‘I am the man whom Giannis is taller than.’

   Non-clitic nominals are also possible in predicate comparatives, but are worse in attributive
   (generally, longer genitive standards are worse than short ones in attributives):

(76) O Giannis ine psiloteros tu patera tu.
   the Giannis is taller the father.GEN his
   ‘Giannis is taller than his father.’
Nor can degree-denoting DPs be marked with the genitive:

(80) I Anna ine psiloteris { apo dio metra / *dio metron }. 
\textit{the Anna is taller than two meters two meters.Gen} 
\textit{‘Anna is taller than two meters.’} 

(81) **Generalizations:** 
The genitive of comparison... 
\textbf{a.} ... must be adjacent to a synthetic degree adjective... 
\textbf{b.} ... must denote an individual which is a standard of comparison (that is, a direct argument of the degree morpheme) 

7.1 **Analysis**

- Applying Heim’s analysis would lead us to expect the following:

(82) a. O Giannis ine psiloteris tis. 
\textit{the Giannis is taller her.Gen} 
\textit{‘Giannis is taller than her.’} 

\begin{align*}
 & \text{NP} \\
 & \text{VP} \\
 & \text{O Giannis} \\
 & \text{inez} \\
 & \text{A} \\
 & \text{AP} \\
 & \text{NP} \\
 & \text{DP} \\
 & \text{Deg} \\
 & \text{tis} \\
 & \text{TP} \\
 \end{align*}

\begin{align*}
 & \lambda \delta x \{ x \text{ ine d-psilos} \}
\end{align*}

\textbf{c.} i. O Giannis exi perisotera periodika { apo mena / *mu }. 
\textit{the Giannis has more magazines from me me.Gen} 
\textit{‘Giannis has more magazines than I have.’} 

ii. O Giannis exi perisotera { apo mena / *mu } periodika. 
\textit{the Giannis has more from me me.Gen magazines} 
\textit{‘Giannis has more magazines than I have.’} 

...
Instead, I propose an entirely in situ structure:

With **predicative** adjectives:

\[
\begin{array}{lr}
\text{S} & \text{DP}_1 \\
\text{O Giannis} & \text{VP} \\
\text{the Giannis} & t_1 \\
\text{V} & \text{AP} \\
\text{ine} & \text{DegP} \\
\text{is} & \text{DP} \\
\text{Deg-ter} & \text{tis} \\
\text{DP} & \text{psilother} \\
\text{A} & \text{her}\text{.gen} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Greek comparatives**

b. S

\[
\begin{array}{lr}
\text{DP}_1 & \text{VP} \\
\text{i Anna} & t_1 \\
\text{pandreftike} & \text{DP} \\
\text{married} & \text{D} \\
\text{enan} & \text{AP} \\
\text{a} & \text{NP} \\
\text{A} & \text{psilother} \\
\text{Deg} & \text{DegP} \\
\text{-ter} & \text{tis} \\
\text{DP} & \text{her}\text{.gen} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\lambda D\lambda x \max \{d[D(d)(x)] > \max \{d'[D(d')(her)]}\}\]

**Partial lexical entry for -ter:**

a. syntax: [Case: genitive]

b. semantics: \(\lambda y\lambda D\lambda x \max \{d[D(d)(x)] > \max \{d'[D(d')(her)]\}\}\]

d. [NP] \(\lambda x\text{man}(x)\)

e. [DP] \(\exists x\text{man}(x) \wedge \max \{d[D(d)(x)] > \max \{d'[D(d')(her)]\}\}\)

**Scoping [\text{DegP} -ter DP.gen] would be bad:**

a. O Kostas ine enas psiloteros tis andras, \(\rightarrow\)

\text{the Kostas is a taller of her man}"

'Kostas is a man who is taller than she is.'

b. LF: (!) Kostas [\text{DegP} -ter she ] [ \lambda D\lambda x [x is a d-tall man] \]
Compare *apo*-phrasal comparatives with genitives:

(89) (Milondas ja tin adherfi mu tin Eleni... *Speaking of my sister Eleni...*)

a. Exo enan jο megalitero apo aftin.
   *I have a son older from her.*

b. Exo enan megalitero apo aftin jο.
   *I have an older from her.*

c. Exo enan megalitero jο apo aftin.
   *I have an older son from her.*

d. = I have a son who is older than Eleni is. *<d-old>*

e. = I have an older son than Eleni does. *have a d-old son>

(90) (Milondas ja tin adherfi mu tin Eleni... Speaking of my sister Eleni...)

a. Exo enan jο megalitero tis.
   *I have a son older her,*

b. Exo enan megalitero tis jο.
   *I have an older her.*

c. *Exo enan megalitero jο tis.
   *I have an older son her.*

d. = I have a son who is older than Eleni is. *<d-old>*

e. ≠ I have a older son than Eleni does. *have a d-old son>

(91) Scoping -ter with *apo* is sometimes necessary: (89b) on *’VP’*-reading (89e):

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{S} \\
&\text{apo aftin} \\
&\text{from her}
\end{align*}
\]

7.2 Inventory

If all the semantic work is done by the comparative morpheme(s), as is usually assumed, then we have the following in Greek:

(92) with *ap’oti*:

a. \[ \pi [\pi] = \lambda D_{<dt>} \lambda D'_{<dt>} [\max(D) > \max(D')] \]

b. \[ \pi [\peristero] = \lambda D_{<dt>} \lambda D'_{<dt>} [\max(D) > \max(D')] \]

c. \[ [\pi -\text{ter}] = \lambda D_{<dt>} \lambda D'_{<dt>} [\max(D) > \max(D')] \]

(93) with *apo*:

a. \[ \pi [\pi] = \lambda D_{<dt>} \lambda x \lambda y [\max(\{D(d)(y)\}) > \max(\{D'(d')(y)\})] \]

b. \[ \pi [\peristero] = \lambda D_{<dt>} \lambda y \lambda x [\max(\{D(d)(x)\}) > \max(\{D'(d')(y)\})] \]

c. \[ [\pi -\text{ter}] = \lambda D_{<dt>} \lambda y \lambda x [\max(\{D(d)(x)\}) > \max(\{D'(d')(y)\})] \]

(94) with genitive:

a. \[ [\pi -\text{ter}] = \lambda y \lambda D \lambda x [\max(\{D(d)(x)\}) > \max(\{D'(d')(y)\})] \] (but cannot QR)

Quite an inventory; maybe a better route to go is to assign some meaning to the *than*-morphemes, or to use a division of labor: see Alrenga et al. 2012 for a move in this direction...

8 Conclusions

- We need at least three syntactic ways to reach similar meanings, even within one language
- Semantic primitives may not vary across languages, though the way they get put together may (see Kennedy 2007 and Giannakidou 2009) (and see Shimoyama 2011 for caveats about reaching this conclusion on the basis of Japanese!); order of Currying matters? Really?
- Surface structure can be misleading: we need inaudible syntax. As Culicover and Jackendoff 2005:246 fn.1 I put it, “If [such] cases... were grammatical, that would be far better evidence of the reality of invisible *sic, intended: inaudible—JM* structure.”

References


Appendix: Yes, but what about Hindi?

Bhatt and Takahashi 2011 claim that Hindi has only individual (phrasal, 'direct') comparison, not clausal (full degree) comparatives (except with correlative structures), and that, since Hindi lacks covert mvmnt (QR), only a direct analysis makes the correct predictions about the position of the standard: they claim that the correlate must move first, and then the standard + more can move just under it, allowing -er* to take all its arguments (generally this will mean that the correlate must precede the standard):

(95) a. * MP-se zyadaa loge-ne LGB pañh-ii. (= Bhatt and Takahashi’s (30))  
   MP-than more people-erg LGB.f read-Pjf.f  
   (intended: ‘More people read LGB than read the MP.’)

b. LGB MP-se zyadaa logô-ne pañh-ii.  
   LGB.f MP-than more people-erg read-Pjf.f  
   ‘More people read LGB than read the MP.’

(96) Problem: Binding Theory facts tell us that a low correlate can take covert scope over a scrambled standard:

a. Atif-ne [Ravi-kii, behen-kii foto]-se, us-k [Mohan-kii behen-kii foto]  
   Atif-erg Ravi-gen sister-gen picture-than he-dat Mohan-gen sister picture  
   [t1] zyadaa baar] dikhaa-ii. (=B&H’s (35))  
   more times show-Pjf.f  
   ‘Atif showed Mohan’s sister’s picture to him, more times than (Atif showed him,)
   Ravi,’s sister picture.’