

How to be Positive

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GLOW

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Outline

Introduction

Comparatives: data

An informal analysis

The spellout algorithm Starke (2018)

How to be POS

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Comparatives: data

An informal analysis

The spellout algorithm Starke (2018)

How to be POS

Comparative formation in Slovak

(1) Comparatives in Slovak

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE	gloss
<i>star-ý</i>		'old'
<i>múdr-y</i>		'wise'

Comparative formation in Slovak

(1) Comparatives in Slovak

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE	gloss
star-ý	star	'old'
múdr-y	múdr	'wise'

Comparative formation in Slovak

(1) Comparatives in Slovak

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE		gloss
star-ý	star	š-í	'old'
múdr-y	múdr	ejš-í	'wise'

Comparative formation in Slovak

(1) Comparatives in Slovak

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE		gloss	
star-ý	star	š-í	'old'	
múdr-y	múdr	ejš-í	'wise'	
sliz-k-ý			'slim-y'	AUGMENT

Comparative formation in Slovak

(1) Comparatives in Slovak

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE		gloss
star-ý	star	š-í	'old'
múdr-y	múdr	ejš-í	'wise'
sliz-k-ý	sliz-k		'slim-y'

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sliz-k-ý	sliz-k	ejš-í	'slim-y'
ťaž-k-ý			'heav-y'

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sliz-k-ý	sliz-k	ejš-í	'slim-y'
ťaž-k-ý	ťaž-k		'heav-y'

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ťaž-k-ý	ťaž	š-í	'heav-y'

Comparative formation in Slovak

(1) Comparatives in Slovak

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE		gloss	
star-ý	star	š-í	'old'	CONTAINMENT
múdr-y	múdr	ejš-í	'wise'	
sliz-k-ý	sliz-k	ejš-í	'slim-y'	
ťaž-k-ý	ťaž	š-í	'heav-y'	TRUNCATION

Comparative formation in Slovak

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POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE		gloss	
star-ý	star	š-í	'old'	CONTAINMENT
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ťaž-k-ý	ťaž	š-í	'heav-y'	TRUNCATION

(2) *Candidate Universal* (Grano & Davis 2018)

Universally, the comparative form of a gradable adjective is derived from or identical to its positive form.

If English was like Slovak...

(3)

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE	class
old		
slim-y		
heav-y		

If English was like Slovak...

(3)

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE	class
old	er	
slim-y	er	
heav-y	er	

If English was like Slovak...

(3)

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE	class
old	old	er
slim-y	slim-y	er
heav-y		er

If English was like Slovak...

(3)

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE		class
old	old	er	containment
slim-y	slim-y	er	containment
heav-y		er	

If English was like Slovak...

(3)

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE		class
old	old	er	containment
slim-y	slim-y	er	containment
heav-y	heav	er	

If English was like Slovak...

(3)

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE		class
old	old	er	containment
slim-y	slim-y	er	containment
heav-y	heav	er	truncation

(4)

root	POS	CMPR
old	—	—
heav-y	AUG	—
slim-y	AUG	AUG

Implications for the structure of the comparative

(5) a. POSITIVE

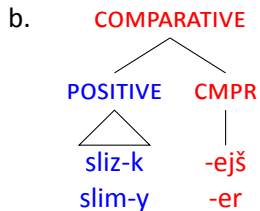
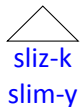


sliz-k

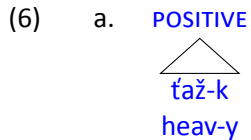
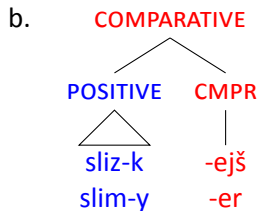
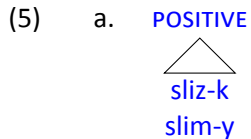
slim-y

Implications for the structure of the comparative

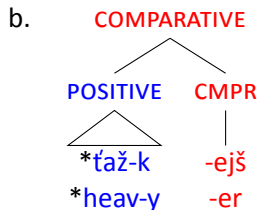
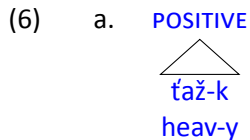
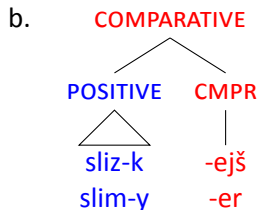
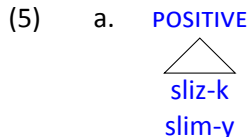
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Implications for the structure of the comparative



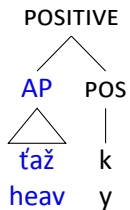
Implications for the structure of the comparative



Our proposal: symmetric structures

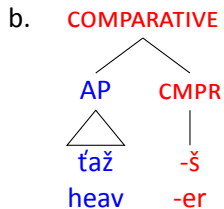
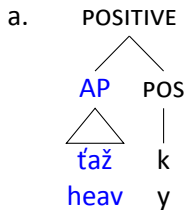
(7)

a.

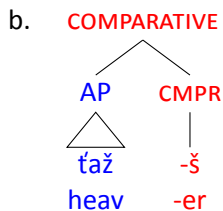
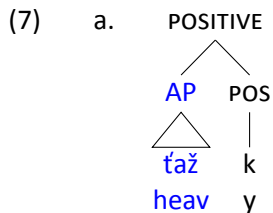


Our proposal: symmetric structures

(7)

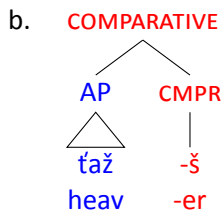
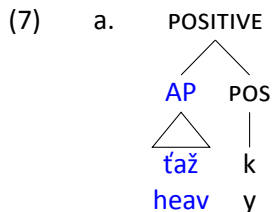


Our proposal: symmetric structures



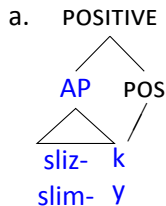
- ▶ To handle containment, we need phrasal spellout in addition.

Our proposal: symmetric structures

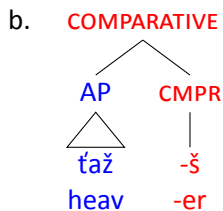
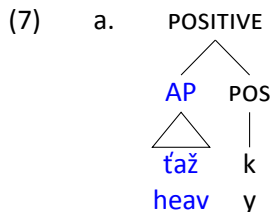


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(8) Containment pattern

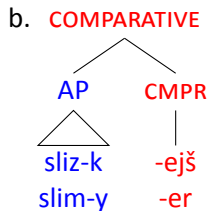
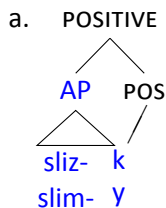


Our proposal: symmetric structures



- ▶ To handle containment, we need phrasal spellout in addition.

(8) Containment pattern



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Truncation of Slovak -k in CMPR

POSITIVE			DIMINUTIVE				COMPARATIVE			gloss
root	AUG	AGR	root	DIM	AUG	AGR	root	CMPR	AGR	
blíz	k	y	bliz	un	k	ý	bliž	š	í	'close'
úz	k	y	uz	un	k	ý	už	š	í	'narrow'
níz	k	y	niz	un	k	ý	niž	š	í	'low'
krát	k	y	krat	un	k	ý	krat	š	í	'short'
l'ah	k	ý	l'ah	un	k	ý	l'ah	š	í	'easy'
mäk	k	ý	mäk	un	k	ý	mäk	š	í	'soft'
ten	k	ý	ten	un	k	ý	ten	š	í	'thin'
hlad	k	ý	hlad	un	k	ý	hlad	š	í	'smooth'
slad	k	ý	slad	un	k	ý	slad	š	í	'sweet'
vlh	k	ý	vlh	un	k	ý	vlh	š	í	'wet'
ried	k	ý					red	š	í	'thin' (soup)
krot	k	ý					krot	š	í	'tame'
prud	k	ý					prud	š	í	'steep'
t'až	k	ý					t'až	š	í	'heavy'

Truncation of Slovak -k in CMPR

POSITIVE			DIMINUTIVE				COMPARATIVE			gloss
root	AUG	AGR	root	DIM	AUG	AGR	root	CMPR	AGR	
blíz	k	y	bliz	un	k	ý	bliž	š	í	'close'
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mäk	k	ý	mäk	un	k	ý	mäk	š	í	'soft'
ten	k	ý	ten	un	k	ý	ten	š	í	'thin'
hlad	k	ý	hlad	un	k	ý	hlad	š	í	'smooth'
slad	k	ý	slad	un	k	ý	slad	š	í	'sweet'
vlh	k	ý	vlh	un	k	ý	vlh	š	í	'wet'
ried	k	ý					red	š	í	'thin' (soup)
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krát	k	y	krat	un	k	ý	krat	š	í	'short'
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hlad	k	ý	hlad	un	k	ý	hlad	š	í	'smooth'
slad	k	ý	slad	un	k	ý	slad	š	í	'sweet'
vlh	k	ý	vlh	un	k	ý	vlh	š	í	'wet'
ried	k	ý					red	š	í	'thin' (soup)
krot	k	ý					krot	š	í	'tame'
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Containment of Slovak -k in CMPR

POSITIVE			DIMINUTIVE				COMPARATIVE				gloss
root	AUG	AGR	root	DIM	AUG	AGR	root	AUG	CMPR	AGR	
heb	k	ý	heb	un	k	ý	heb	k	ejš	í	'smooth'
sliz	k	ý	sliz	un	k	ý	sliz	k	ejš	í	'slimy'
kreh	k	ý	kreh	un	k	ý	kreh	k	ejš	í	'fragile'
brit	k	ý					brit	k	ejš	í	'sharp' (humor)
hor	k	ý					hor	k	ejš	í	'bitter'
hyb	k	ý					hyb	k	ejš	í	'nimble'
krep	k	ý					krep	k	ejš	í	'energetic'
mrz	k	ý					mrz	k	ejš	í	'ugly'
trp	k	ý					trp	k	ejš	í	'bitter'
syp	k	ý					syp	k	ejš	í	'loose' (sand)
váz	k	ý					váz	k	ejš	í	'sticky'
vrt	k	ý					vrt	k	ejš	í	'nimble'
vlh	k	ý					vlh	k	ejš	í	'wet'

Containment of Slovak -k in CMPR

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root	AUG	AGR	root	DIM	AUG	AGR	root	AUG	CMPR	AGR	
heb	k	ý	heb	un	k	ý	heb	k	ejš	í	'smooth'
sliz	k	ý	sliz	un	k	ý	sliz	k	ejš	í	'slimy'
kreh	k	ý	kreh	un	k	ý	kreh	k	ejš	í	'fragile'
brit	k	ý					brit	k	ejš	í	'sharp' (humor)
hor	k	ý					hor	k	ejš	í	'bitter'
hyb	k	ý					hyb	k	ejš	í	'nimble'
krep	k	ý					krep	k	ejš	í	'energetic'
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Distribution of κ: phonology?

(9) Slovak minimal pairs

POSITIVE			DIMINUTIVE				COMPARATIVE				gloss
root	AUG	AGR	root	DIM	AUG	AGR	root	AUG	CMPR	AGR	
l'ah	k	ý	l'ah	un	k	ý	l'ah		š	í	'easy'
kreh	k	ý	kreh	un	k	ý	kreh	k	ejš	í	'fragile'

Distribution of κ: phonology?

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POSITIVE			DIMINUTIVE				COMPARATIVE				gloss
root	AUG	AGR	root	DIM	AUG	AGR	root	AUG	CMPR	AGR	
l'ah	k	ý	l'ah	un	k	ý	l'ah		š	í	'easy'
kreh	k	ý	kreh	un	k	ý	kreh	k	ejš	í	'fragile'
krot	k	ý					krot		š	í	'tame'
brit	k	ý					brit	k	ejš	í	'sharp' (humor)

Distribution of κ : semantics?

- (10) There is a regularity connecting adjectives with $-k$:
- a. $-k \Rightarrow$ scalar A
(context-dependent, gradable, have antonyms)

Distribution of κ : semantics?

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- a. $-k \Rightarrow$ scalar A
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 - b. scalar A $\not\Rightarrow -k$

Distribution of κ: semantics?

- (10) There is a regularity connecting adjectives with *-k*:
- a. *-k* ⇒ scalar A
(context-dependent, gradable, have antonyms)
 - b. scalar A ⇏ *-k*

POSITIVE	gloss	antonym	gloss	
ťaž k ý	'heavy'	ľah-k-ý	'light'	truncation

Distribution of κ : semantics?

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mäk k ý	'soft'	tvrd-ý	'hard'	

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mäk k ý		'soft'	tvrd-ý	'hard'	
vlh k ý		'wet'	such-ý	'dry'	

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vlh k ý		'wet'	such-ý	'dry'	
slad k ý		'sweet'	—		

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mäk k ý	'soft'	tvrd-ý	'hard'	
vlh k ý	'wet'	such-ý	'dry'	
slad k ý	'sweet'	—		
krehk ý	'fragile'	pev-n-ý	'firm'	containment

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mäk k ý	'soft'	tvrd-ý	'hard'	
vlh k ý	'wet'	such-ý	'dry'	
slad k ý	'sweet'	—		
krehk ý	'fragile'	pev-n-ý	'firm'	containment
brit k ý	'sharp'	tup-ý	'blunt'	
heb k ý	'smooth'	hrub-ý	'rough'	

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slad k ý	'sweet'	—		
krehk ý	'fragile'	pev-n-ý	'firm'	containment
brit k ý	'sharp'	tup-ý	'blunt'	
heb k ý	'smooth'	hrub-ý	'rough'	
sliz k ý	'slimy'	—		

Distribution of κ : semantics?

- (10) There is a regularity connecting adjectives with $-k$:
- $-k \Rightarrow$ scalar A
(context-dependent, gradable, have antonyms)
 - scalar A $\not\Rightarrow -k$

POSITIVE	gloss	antonym	gloss	
ťaž k ý	'heavy'	ľah-k-ý	'light'	truncation
krát k ý	'short'	dlh-ý	'long'	
mäk k ý	'soft'	tvrd-ý	'hard'	
vlh k ý	'wet'	such-ý	'dry'	
slad k ý	'sweet'	—		
krehk ý	'fragile'	pev-n-ý	'firm'	containment
brit k ý	'sharp'	tup-ý	'blunt'	
heb k ý	'smooth'	hrub-ý	'rough'	
sliz k ý	'slimy'	—		
hor k ý	'bitter'	—		

What do we learn?

- ▶ Slovak has complex adjectives in the positive

(11) root-K-AGR

What do we learn?

- ▶ Slovak has complex adjectives in the positive

(11) root-K-AGR

- ▶ The adjectives with AUG are scalar, but not all scalar As have AUG.

What do we learn?

- ▶ Slovak has complex adjectives in the positive

(11) root-K-AGR

- ▶ The adjectives with AUG are scalar, but not all scalar As have AUG.
- ▶ In the comparative, AUG is either preserved or dropped, depending on the root.

(12) a. root-K-CMPR (containment)
b. root -CMPR (truncation)

Introduction

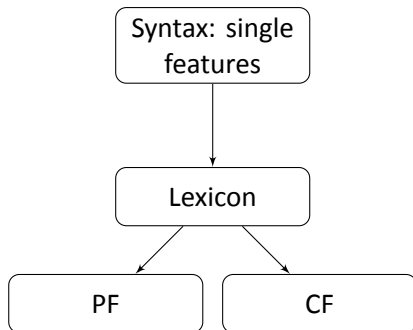
Comparatives: data

An informal analysis

The spellout algorithm Starke (2018)

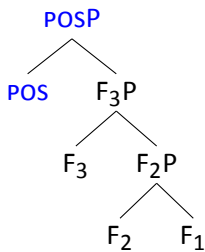
How to be POS

Nanosyntax

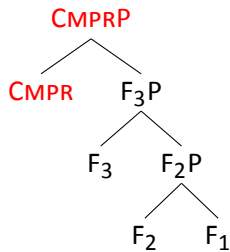


The structures

(13)

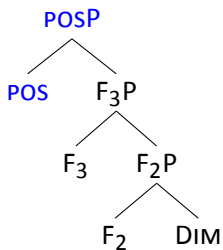


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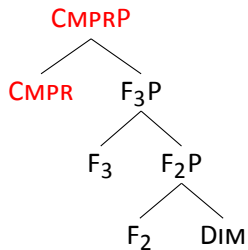


The structures

(13)



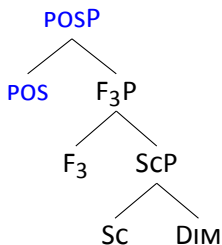
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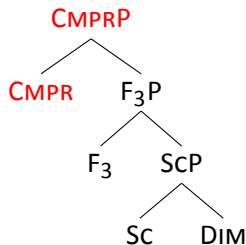
- ▶ **DIMENSION:** *size, velocity, ... (color, material)*

The structures

(13)



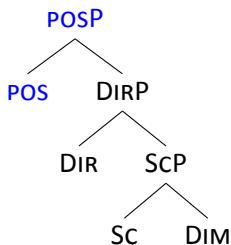
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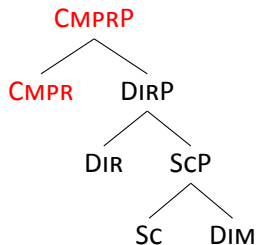
- ▶ DIMENSION: *size, velocity, ... (color, material)*
- ▶ SCALE: some dimensions are associated to a scale, a sequence of degrees (size yes, material (prototypically) not)

The structures

(13)

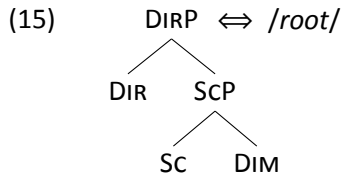


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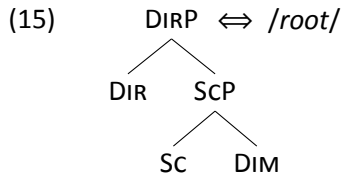


- ▶ DIMENSION: *size, velocity, ... (color, material)*
- ▶ SCALE: some dimensions are associated to a scale, a sequence of degrees (size yes, material (prototypically) not)
- ▶ DIRECTION: Positive vs. negative (*fast/slow, tall/short, ...*)

Phrasal spellout

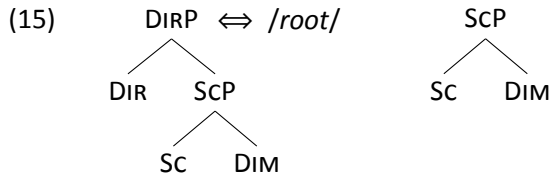


Phrasal spellout



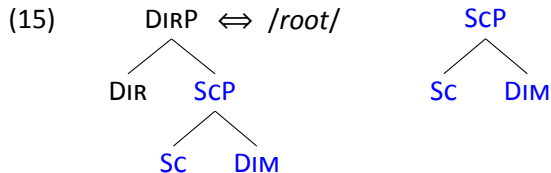
- (16) *The Superset Principle* (Starke 2009)
A lexically stored tree L matches a syntactic node S iff L contains the syntactic tree dominated by S as a subtree

Phrasal spellout



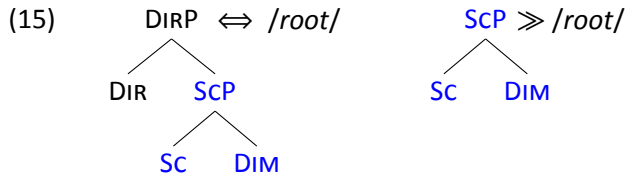
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Phrasal spellout



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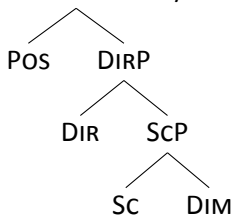
Phrasal spellout



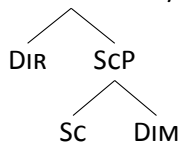
- (16) *The Superset Principle* (Starke 2009)
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Root size

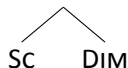
(17) POSP \Leftrightarrow /XL-root/



(18) DIRP \Leftrightarrow /L-root/

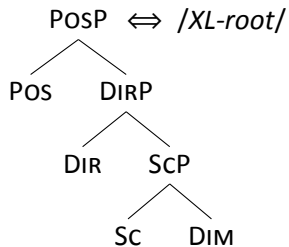


(19) SCP \Leftrightarrow /S-root/

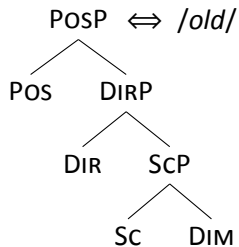


- (20) *Root size* (Caha, De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd 2019)
Roots come in different sizes. Their size determines the class they belong to.

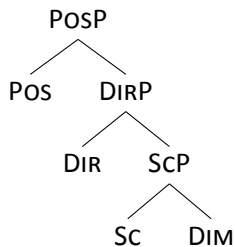
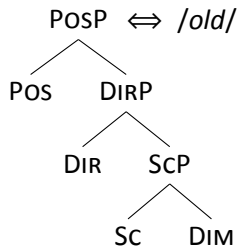
XL-roots in the positive (*old*)



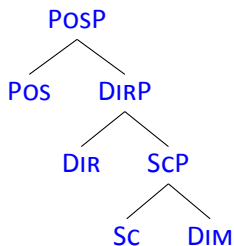
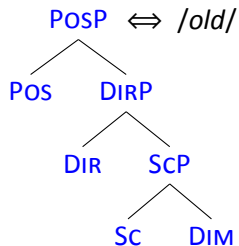
XL-roots in the positive (*old*)



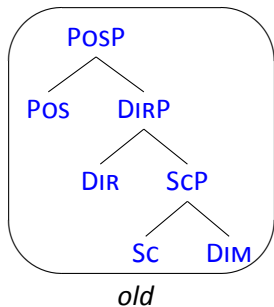
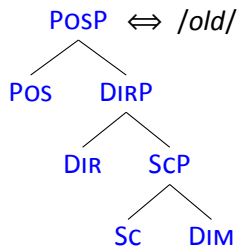
XL-roots in the positive (*old*)



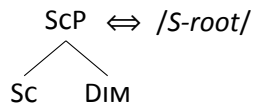
XL-roots in the positive (*old*)



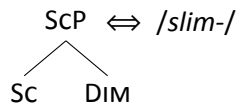
XL-roots in the positive (*old*)



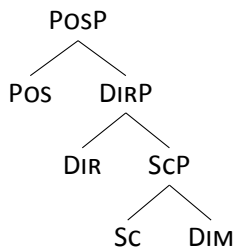
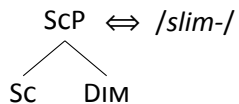
S-roots in the positive (*slim-y*)



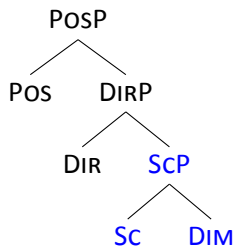
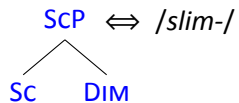
S-roots in the positive (*slim-y*)



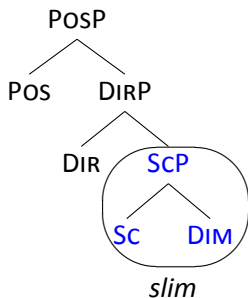
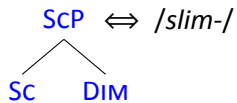
S-roots in the positive (*slim-y*)



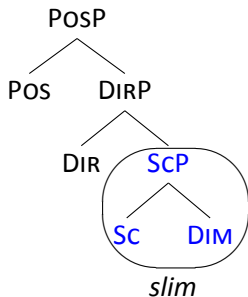
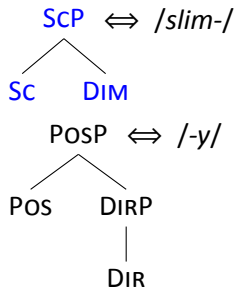
S-roots in the positive (*slim-y*)



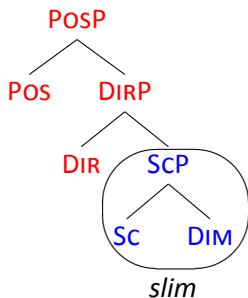
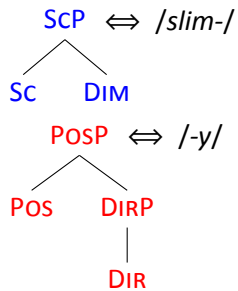
S-roots in the positive (*slim-y*)



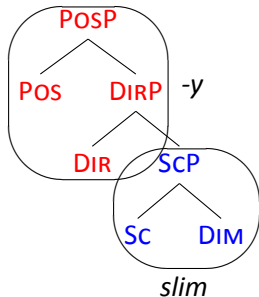
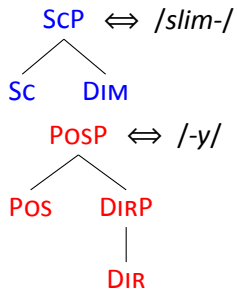
S-roots in the positive (*slim-y*)



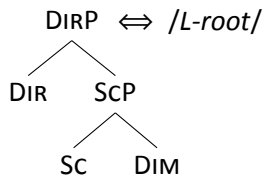
S-roots in the positive (*slim-y*)



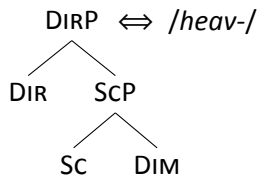
S-roots in the positive (*slim-y*)



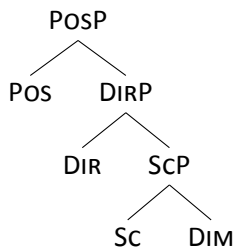
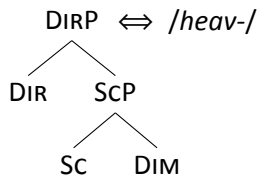
L-roots in the positive (*heav-y*)



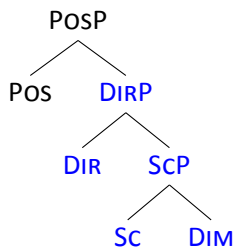
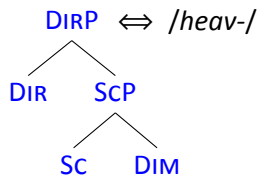
L-roots in the positive (*heav-y*)



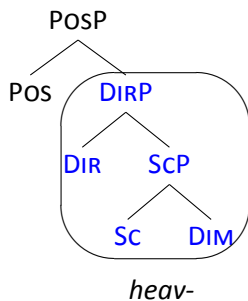
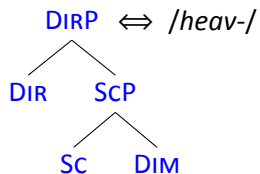
L-roots in the positive (*heav-y*)



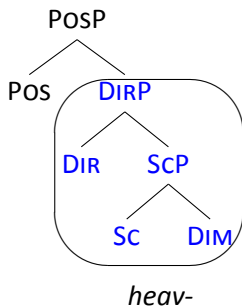
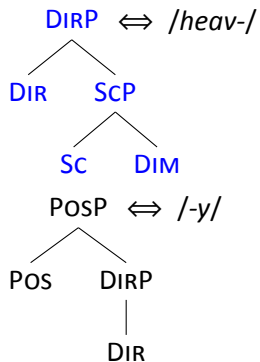
L-roots in the positive (*heav-y*)



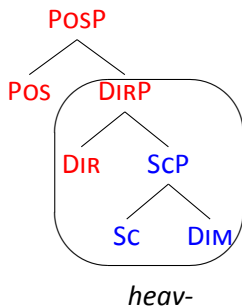
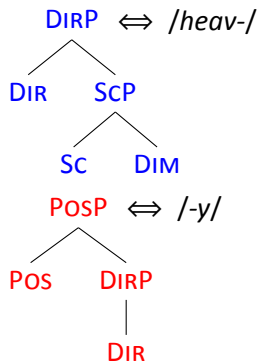
L-roots in the positive (*heav-y*)



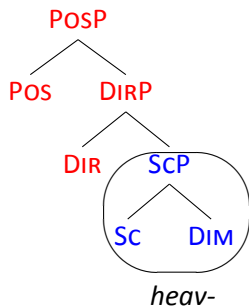
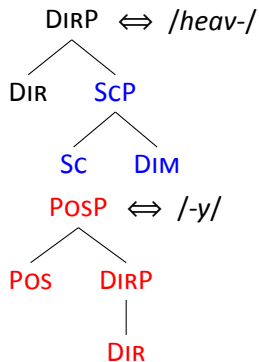
L-roots in the positive (*heav-y*)



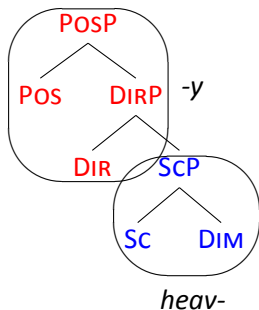
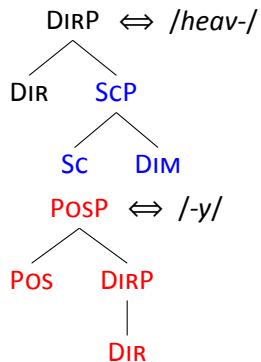
L-roots in the positive (*heav-y*)



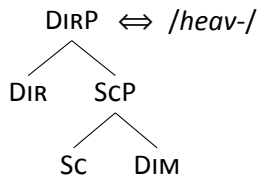
L-roots in the positive (*heav-y*)



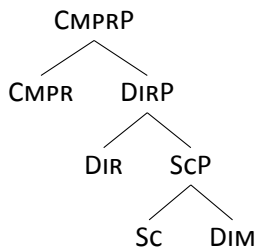
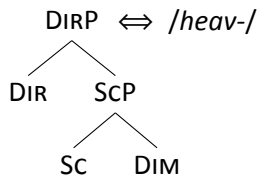
L-roots in the positive (*heav-y*)



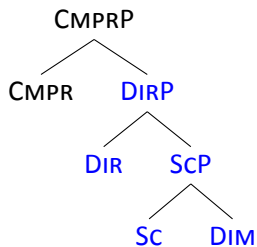
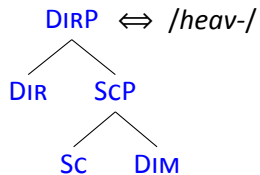
L-roots in the comparative (*heav-y* — *heav-er*)



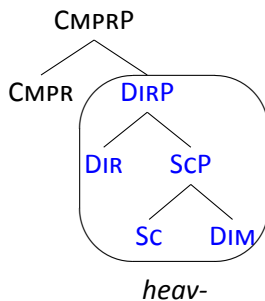
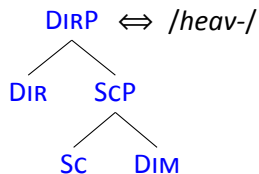
L-roots in the comparative (*heav-y — heav-er*)



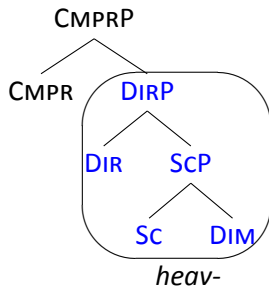
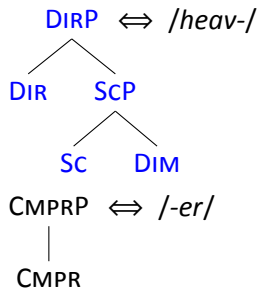
L-roots in the comparative (*heav-y — heav-er*)



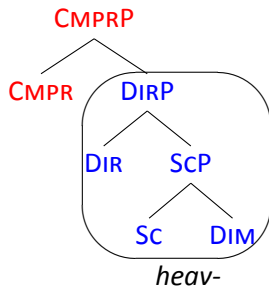
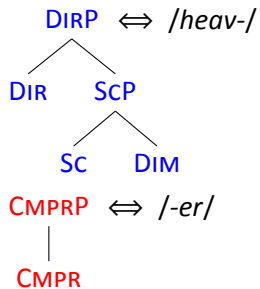
L-roots in the comparative (*heav-y — heav-er*)



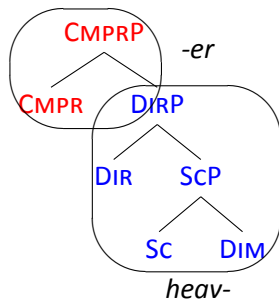
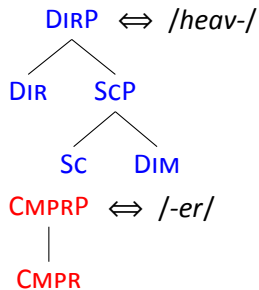
L-roots in the comparative (*heav-y — heav-er*)



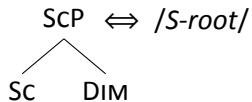
L-roots in the comparative (*heav-y — heav-er*)



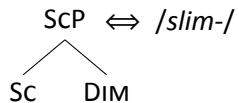
L-roots in the comparative (*heav-y — heav-er*)



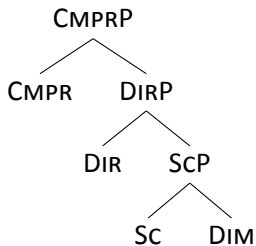
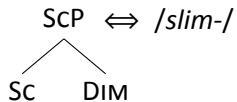
S-roots in the comparative (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



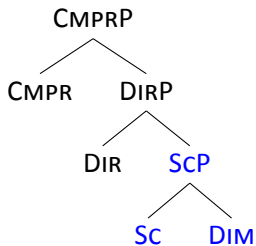
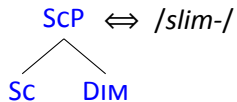
S-roots in the comparative (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



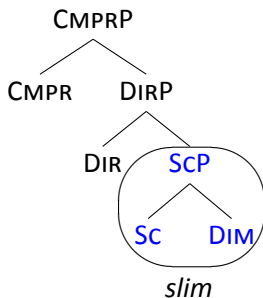
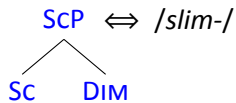
S-roots in the comparative (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



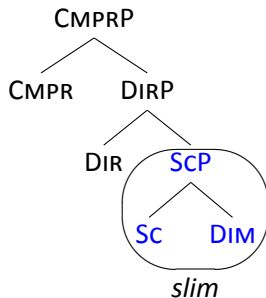
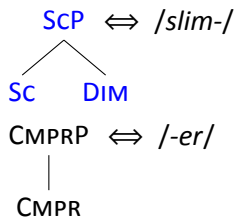
S-roots in the comparative (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



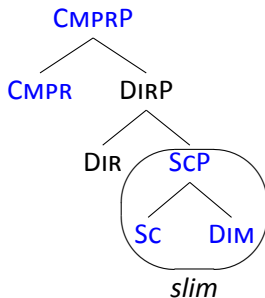
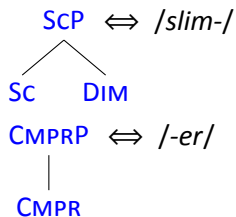
S-roots in the comparative (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



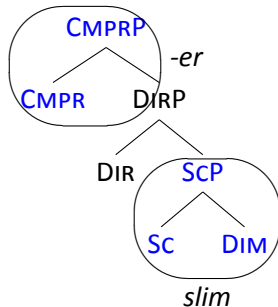
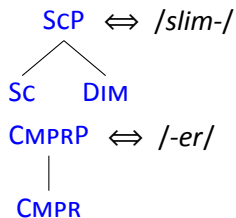
S-roots in the comparative (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



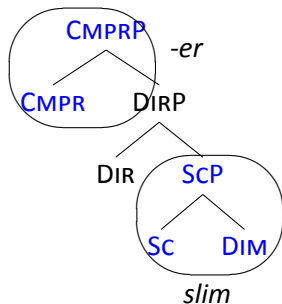
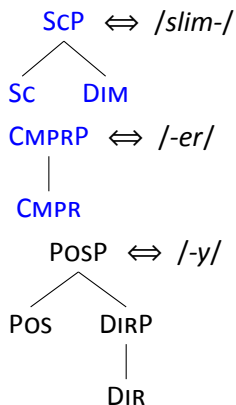
S-roots in the comparative (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



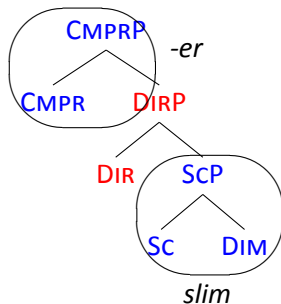
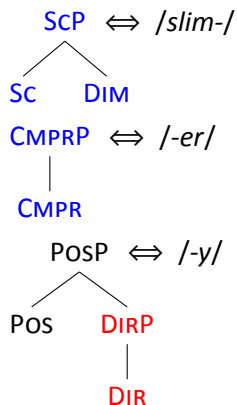
S-roots in the comparative (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



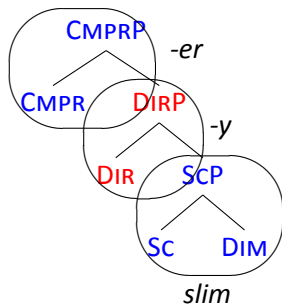
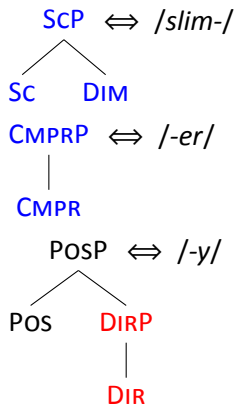
S-roots in the comparative (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



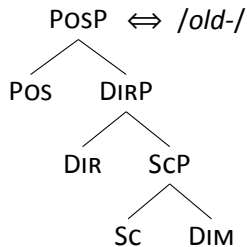
S-roots in the comparative (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



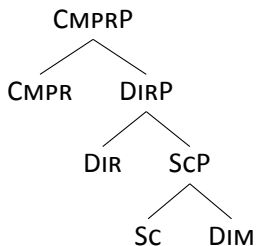
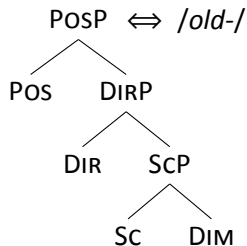
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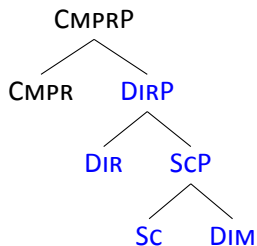
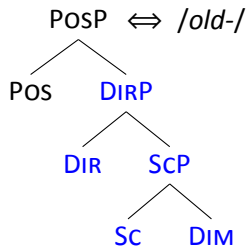
XL-roots in the comparative (*old* — *old-er*)



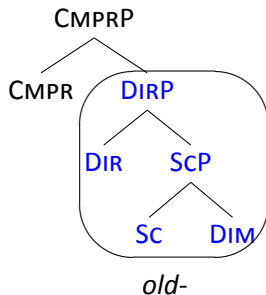
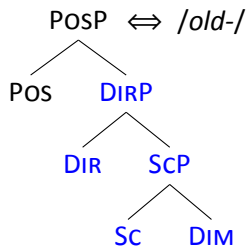
XL-roots in the comparative (*old* — *old-er*)



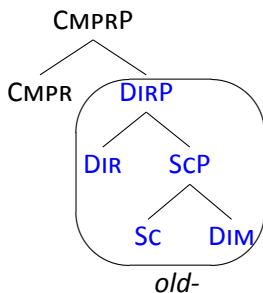
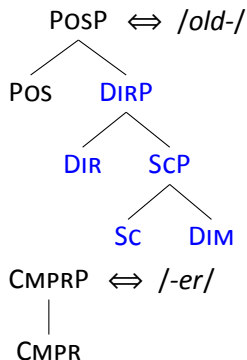
XL-roots in the comparative (*old* — *old-er*)



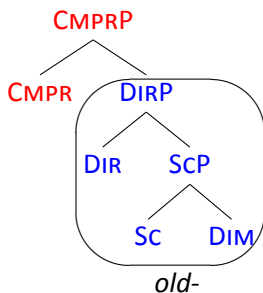
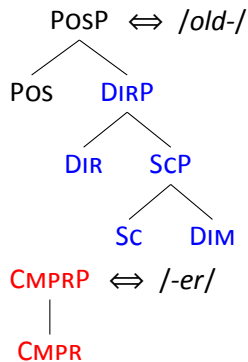
XL-roots in the comparative (*old* — *old-er*)



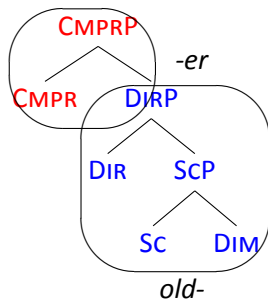
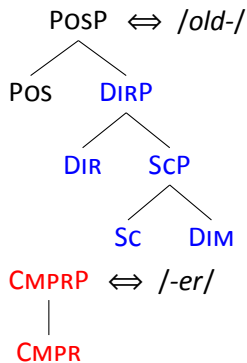
XL-roots in the comparative (*old* — *old-er*)



XL-roots in the comparative (*old* — *old-er*)



XL-roots in the comparative (*old* — *old-er*)



Introduction

Comparatives: data

An informal analysis

The spellout algorithm Starke (2018)

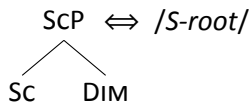
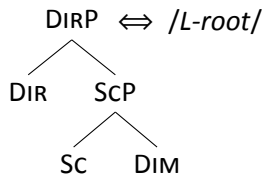
How to be POS

Root competition

- (21) *Free choice of the root:* When several roots match, the choice among them is free.

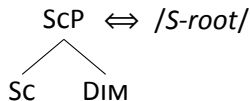
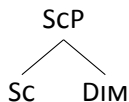
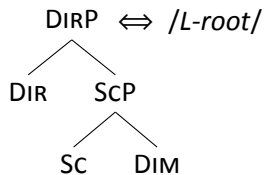
Root competition

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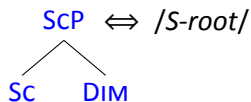
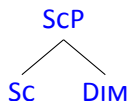
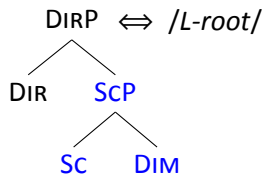
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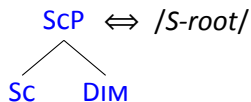
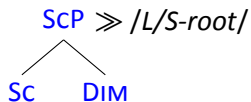
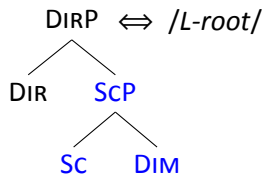
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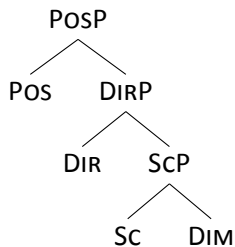
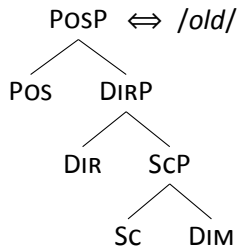


Root competition

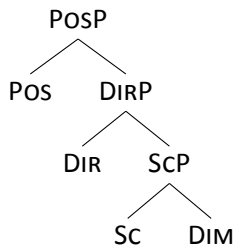
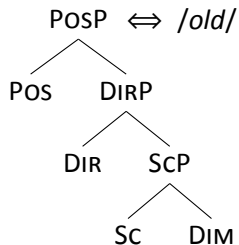
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Cyclic spellout, XL-root (*old*)

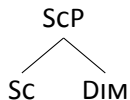
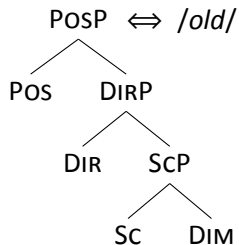


Cyclic spellout, XL-root (*old*)



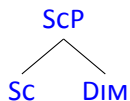
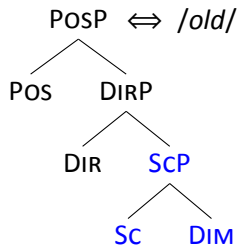
- (22) Merge F and
a. Spell out FP

Cyclic spellout, XL-root (*old*)



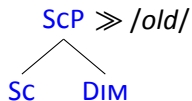
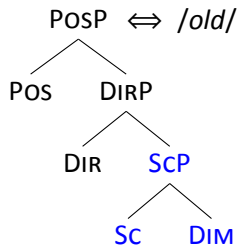
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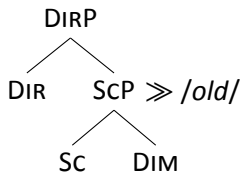
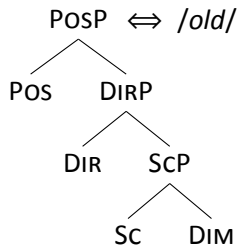
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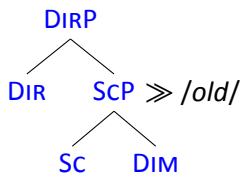
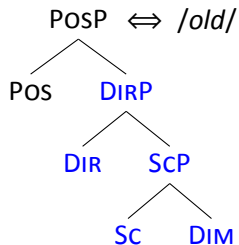
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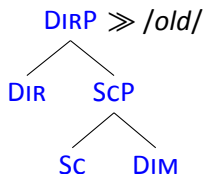
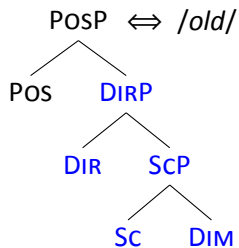
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Cyclic spellout, XL-root (*old*)



- (22) Merge F and
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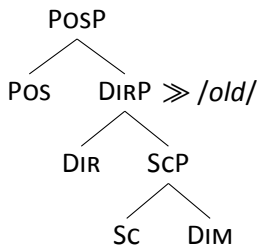
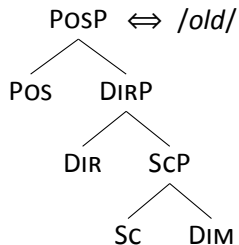
Cyclic spellout, XL-root (*old*)



- (22) Merge F and
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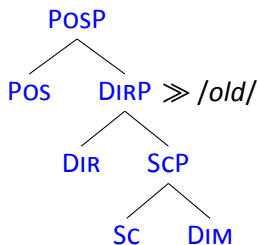
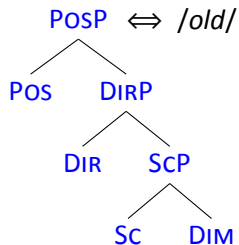
- (23) Cyclic over-ride: lexicalisation at a node XP over-rides any previous match at a phrase contained in XP.

Cyclic spellout, XL-root (*old*)



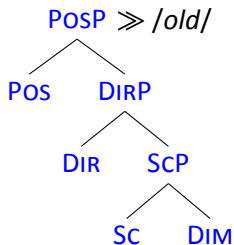
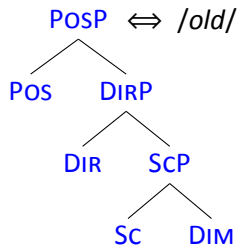
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Cyclic spellout, XL-root (*old*)



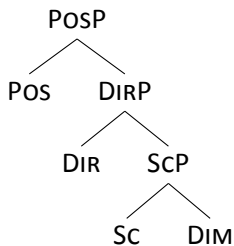
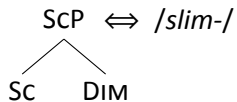
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Cyclic spellout, XL-root (*old*)

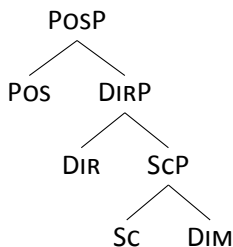
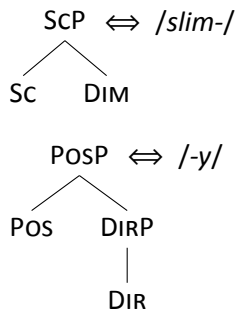


- (22) Merge F and
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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)

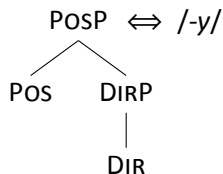
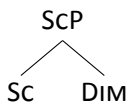
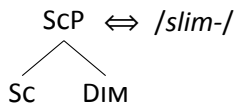


Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



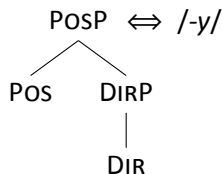
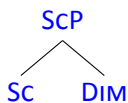
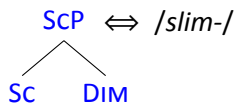
- (23) Merge F and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



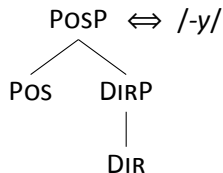
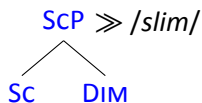
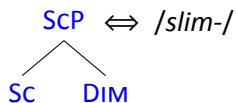
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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



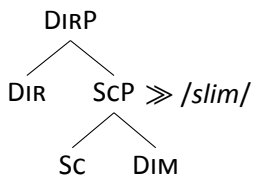
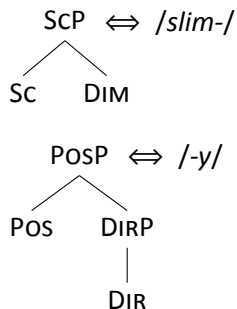
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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



- (23) **Merge F** and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)

SCP \Leftrightarrow /*slim-*/

Sc DIM

POSP \Leftrightarrow /*-y*/

POS DIRP

DIR

DIRP

DIR SCP \ggg /*slim*/

Sc DIM

(23) Merge F and

- a. **Spell out FP**
- b. If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- c. If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)

SCP \Leftrightarrow /*slim-*/

Sc DIM

POSP \Leftrightarrow /-y/

POS DIRP

DIR

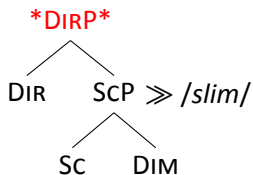
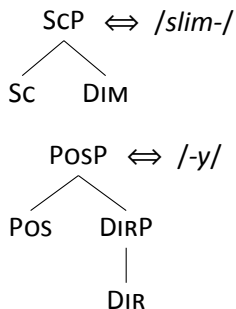
DIRP

DIR SCP \ggg /*slim*/

Sc DIM

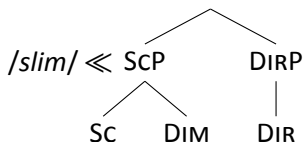
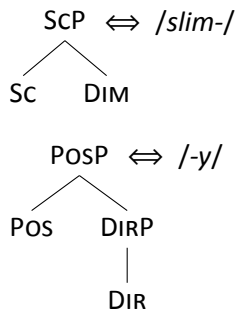
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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



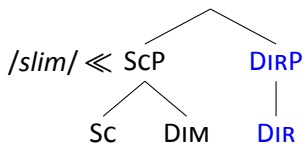
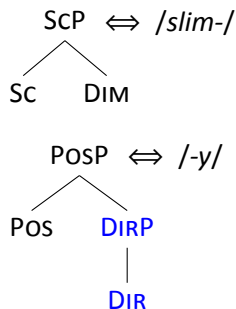
- (23) Merge F and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)**

Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



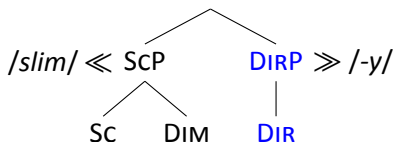
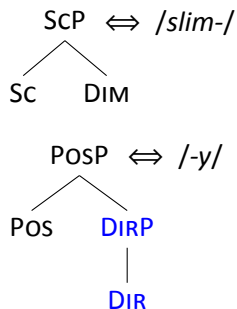
- (23) Merge F and
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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



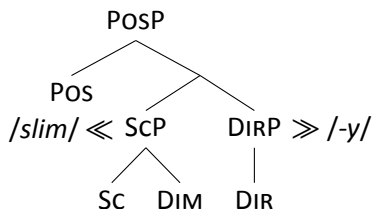
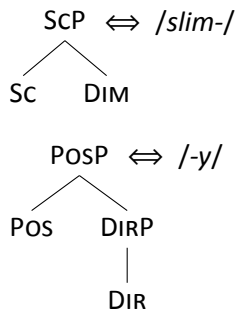
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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



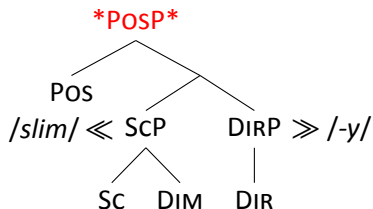
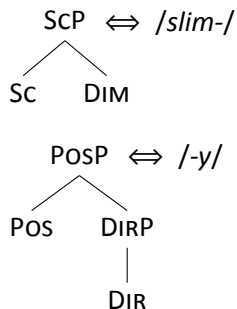
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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



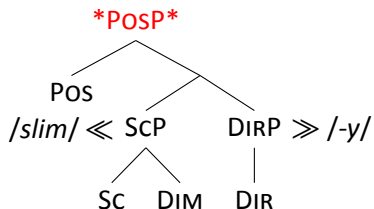
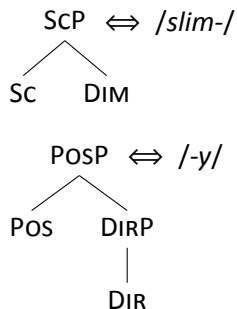
- (23) **Merge F** and
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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



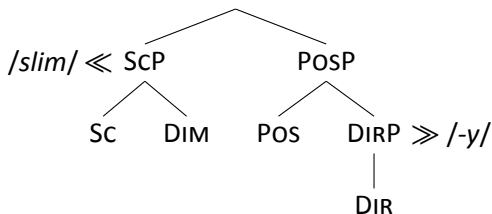
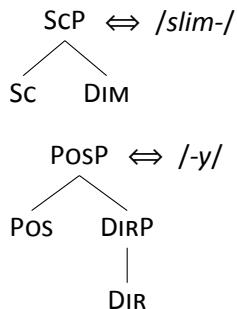
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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



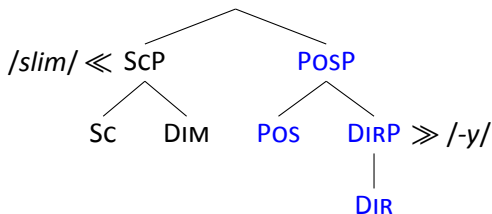
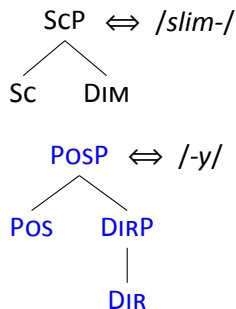
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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



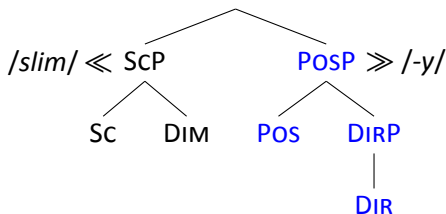
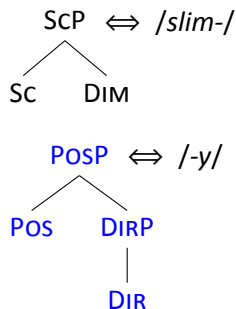
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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)



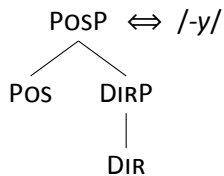
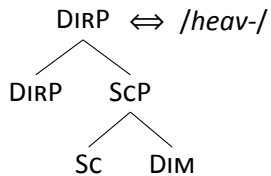
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Spellout Driven Movement, S-root (*slim-y*)

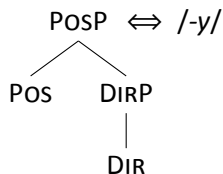
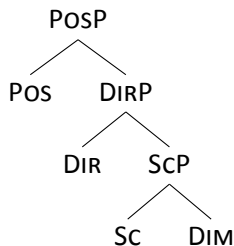
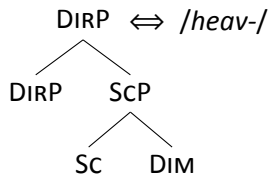


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Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)

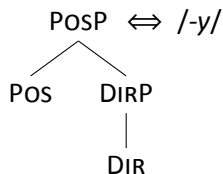
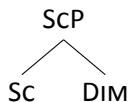
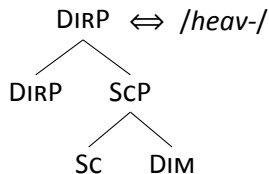


Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



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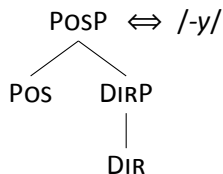
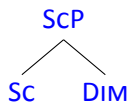
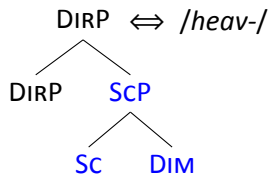
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



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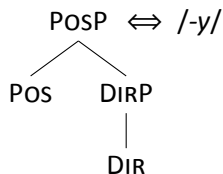
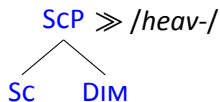
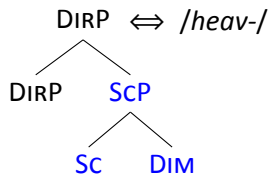
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



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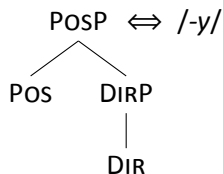
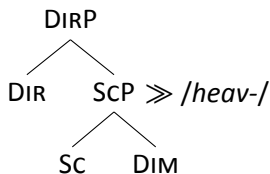
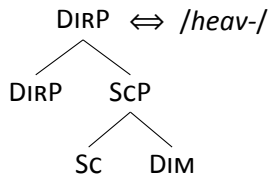
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



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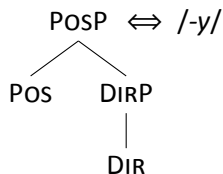
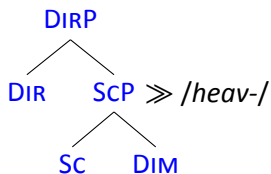
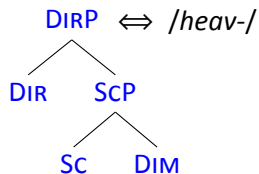
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



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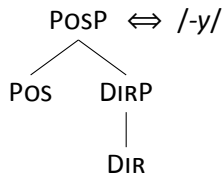
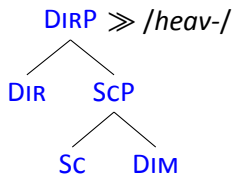
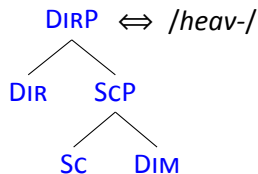
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



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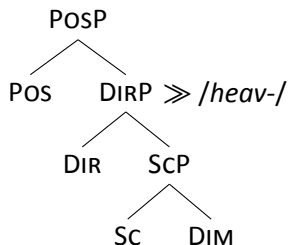
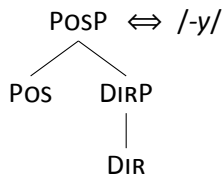
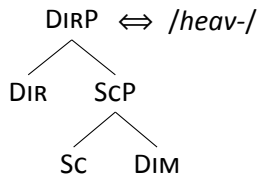
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



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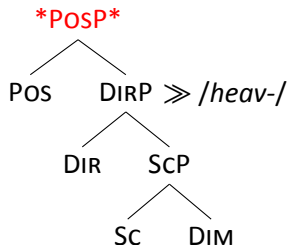
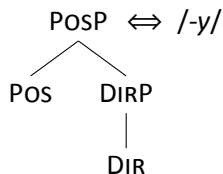
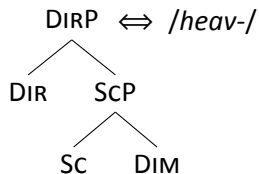
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



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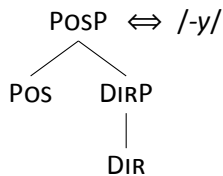
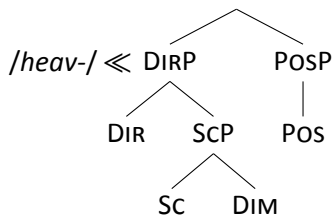
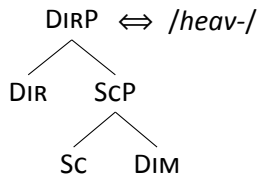
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



(24) Merge F and

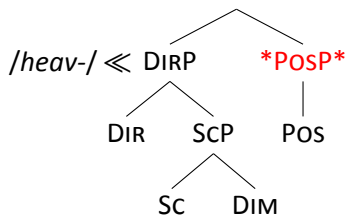
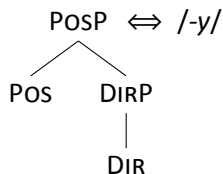
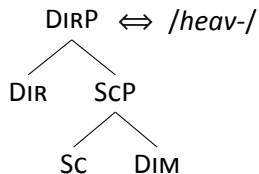
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Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



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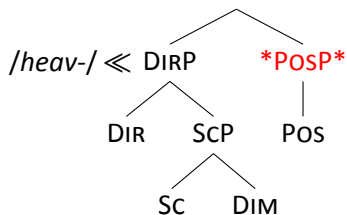
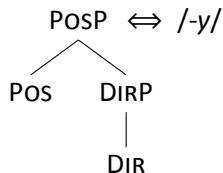
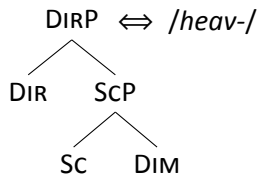
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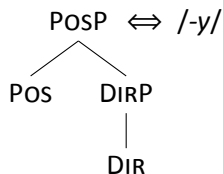
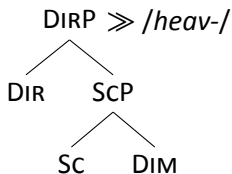
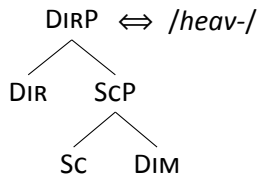
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



Backtracking: When spellout fails, go back to the previous cycle, and try the next option for that cycle

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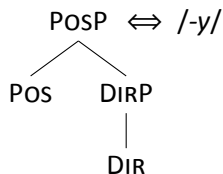
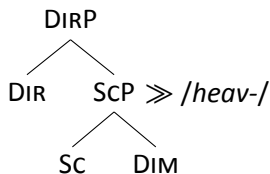
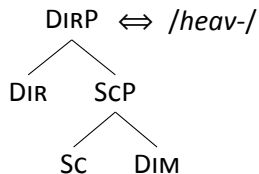
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



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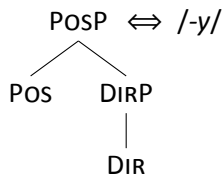
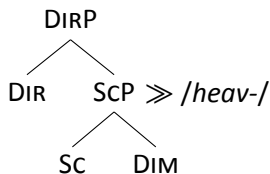
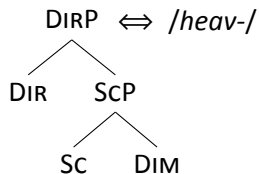
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



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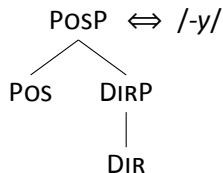
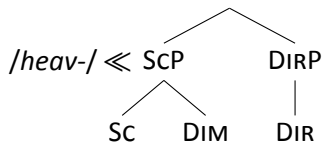
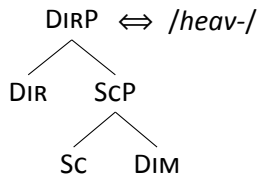
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



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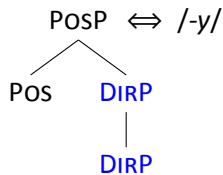
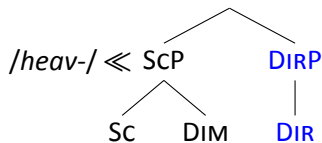
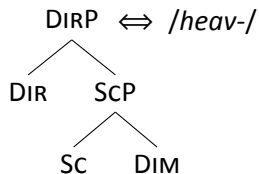
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Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



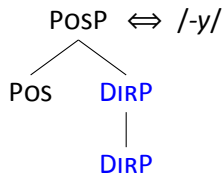
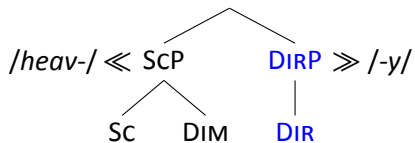
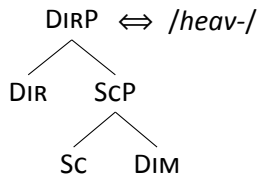
- (24) Merge F and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)**

Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



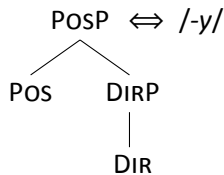
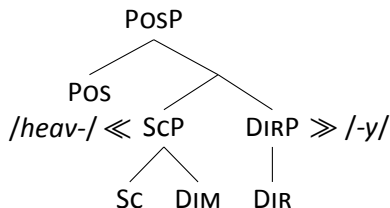
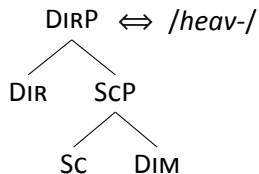
- (24) Merge F and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



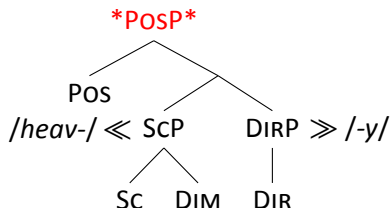
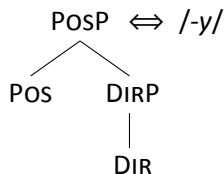
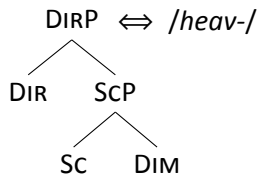
- (24) Merge F and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



- (24) **Merge F** and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

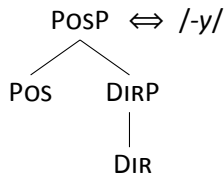
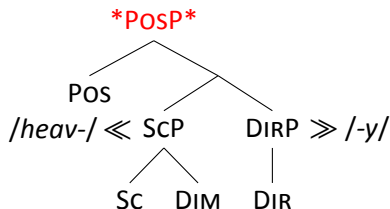
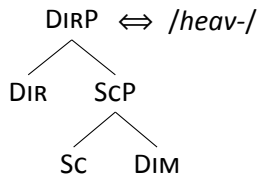
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



(24) Merge F and

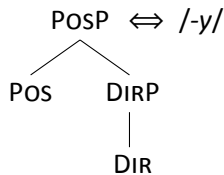
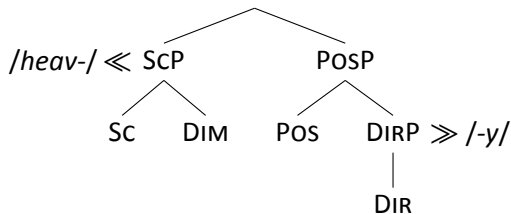
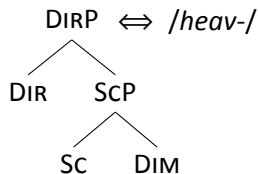
- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



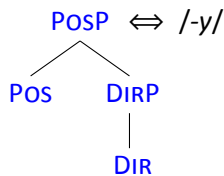
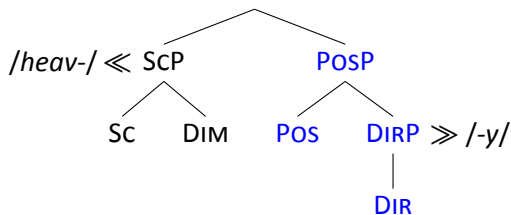
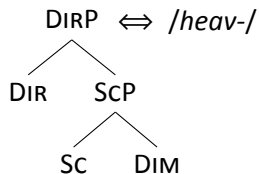
- (24) Merge F and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



- (24) Merge F and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

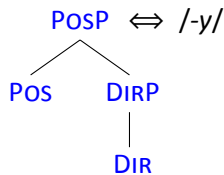
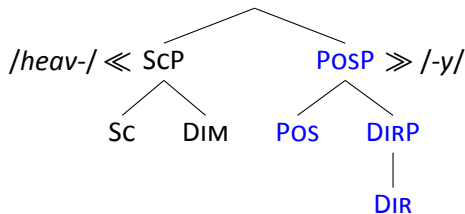
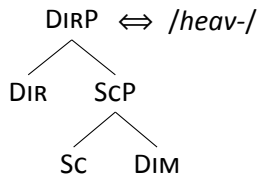
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



(24) Merge F and

- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
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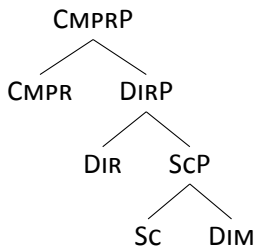
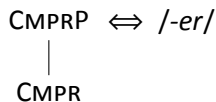
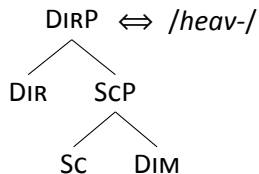
Backtracking, L-root (*heav-y*)



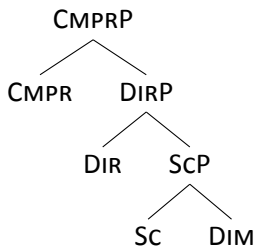
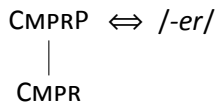
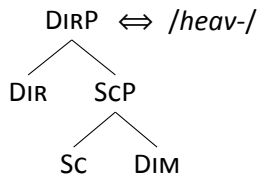
(24) Merge F and

- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
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The comparative of an L-root (*heav-y — heav-er*)

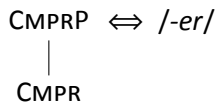
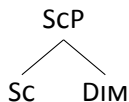
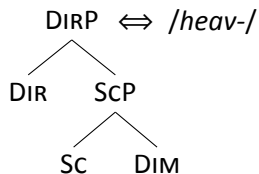


The comparative of an L-root (*heav-y — heav-er*)



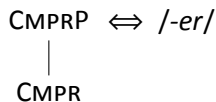
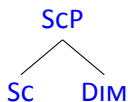
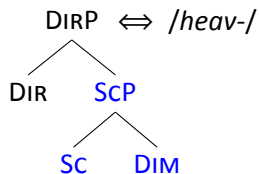
- (25) Merge F
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

The comparative of an L-root (*heav-y — heav-er*)



- (25) **Merge F**
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

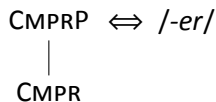
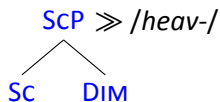
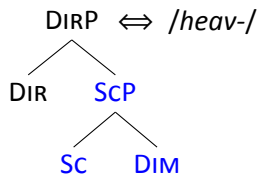
The comparative of an L-root (*heav-y — heav-er*)



(25) Merge F

- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
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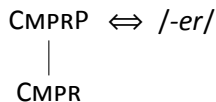
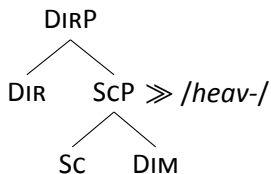
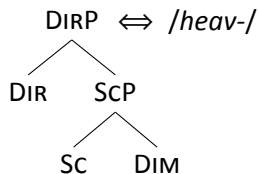
The comparative of an L-root (*heav-y — heav-er*)



(25) Merge F

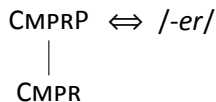
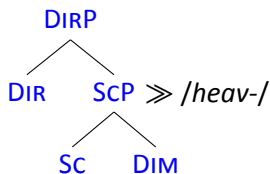
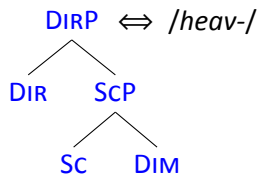
- Spell out FP
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The comparative of an L-root (*heav-y — heav-er*)



- (25) **Merge F**
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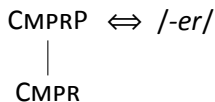
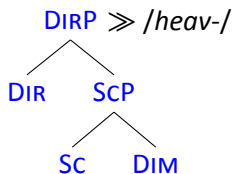
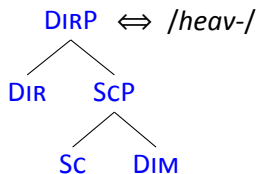
The comparative of an L-root (*heav-y — heav-er*)



(25) Merge F

- a. **Spell out FP**
- b. If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- c. If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

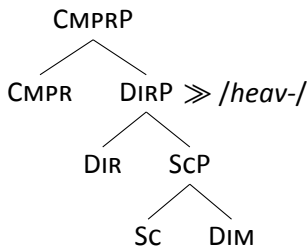
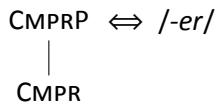
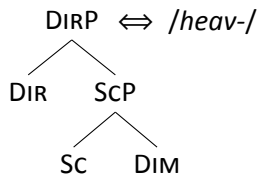
The comparative of an L-root (*heav-y — heav-er*)



(25) Merge F

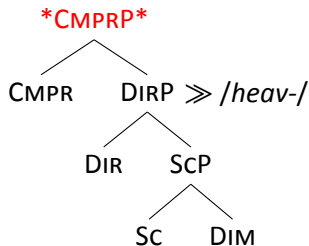
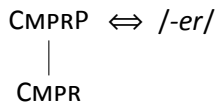
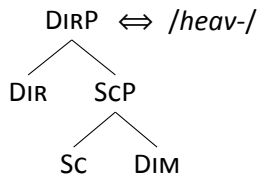
- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

The comparative of an L-root (*heav-y — heav-er*)



- (25) **Merge F**
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

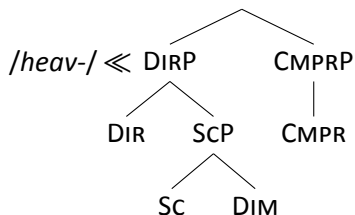
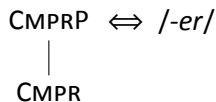
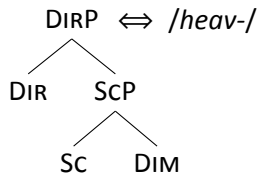
The comparative of an L-root (*heav-y — heav-er*)



(25) Merge F

- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
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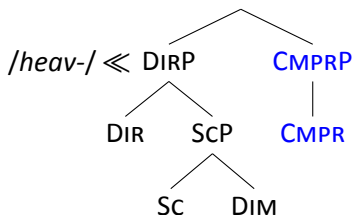
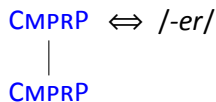
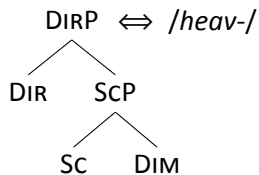
The comparative of an L-root (*heav-y — heav-er*)



(25) Merge F

- a. Spell out FP
- b. If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- c. **If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)**

The comparative of an L-root (*heav-y — heav-er*)

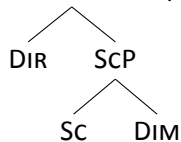


(25) Merge F

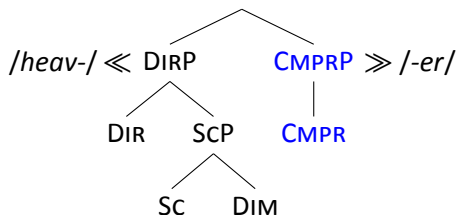
- a. **Spell out FP**
- b. If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- c. If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

The comparative of an L-root (*heav-y — heav-er*)

DIRP \Leftrightarrow /heav-/



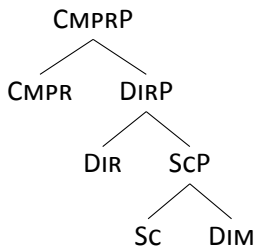
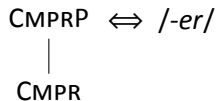
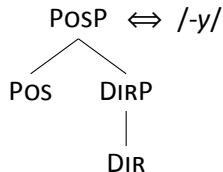
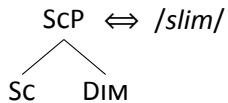
CMPRP \Leftrightarrow /-er/



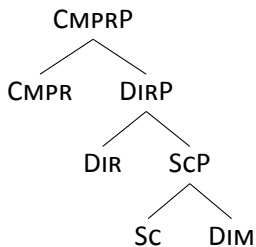
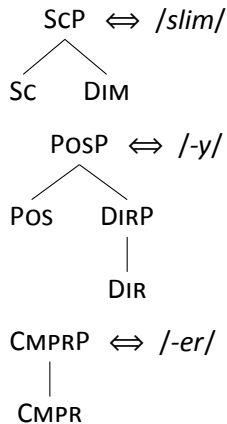
(25) Merge F

- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)

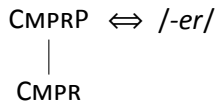
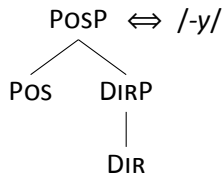
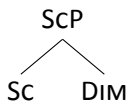
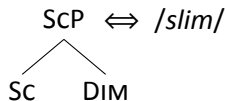


The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



- (26) Merge F and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

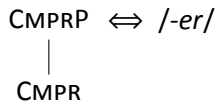
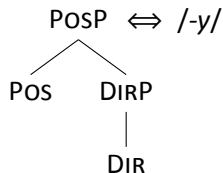
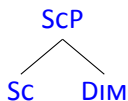
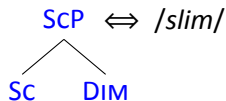
The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)



(26) Merge F and

- a. Spell out FP
- b. If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- c. If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

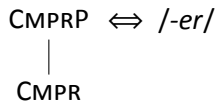
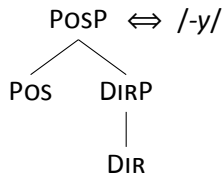
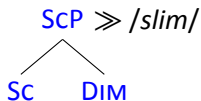
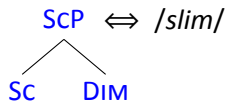
The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)



(26) Merge F and

- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

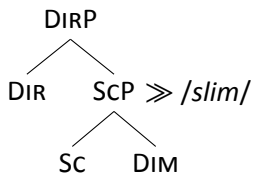
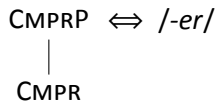
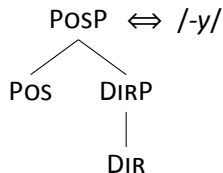
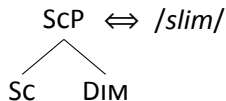
The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)



(26) Merge F and

- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

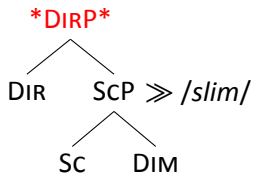
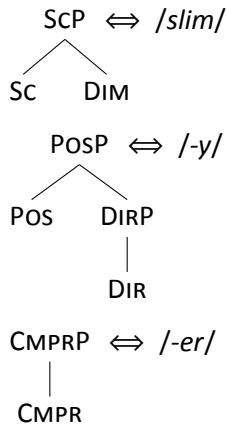
The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)



(26) **Merge F** and

- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)

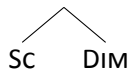


(26) Merge F and

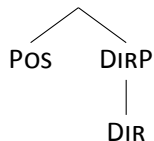
- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)

SCP \Leftrightarrow /*slim*/



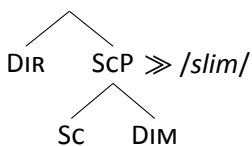
POSP \Leftrightarrow /-y/



CMPRP \Leftrightarrow /-er/



DIRP



(26) Merge F and

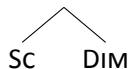
a. Spell out FP

b. If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)

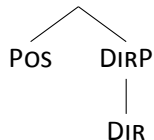
c. If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)

SCP \Leftrightarrow /*slim*/



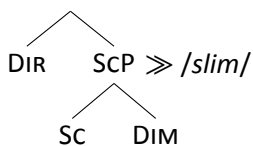
POSP \Leftrightarrow /-y/



CMPRP \Leftrightarrow /-er/

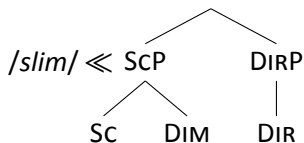
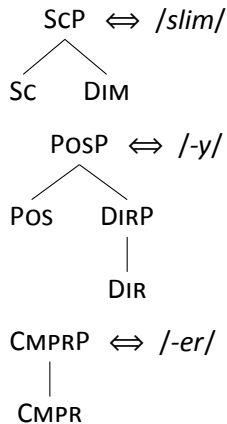


DIRP



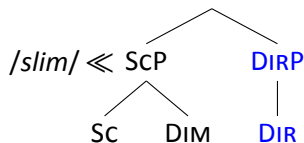
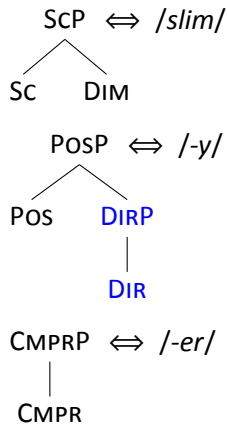
- (26) Merge F and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)**

The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)



- (26) Merge F and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
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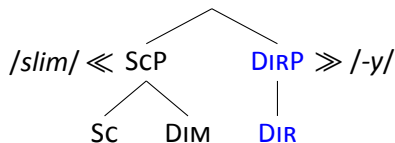
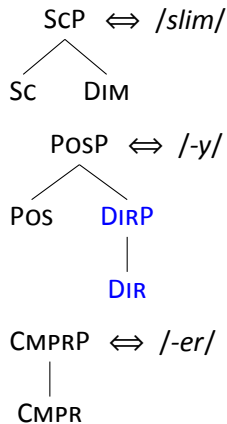
The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)



(26) Merge F and

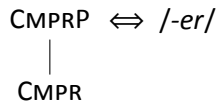
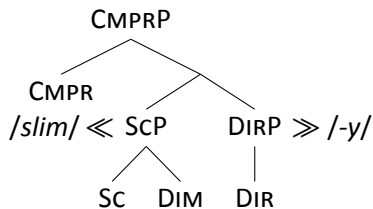
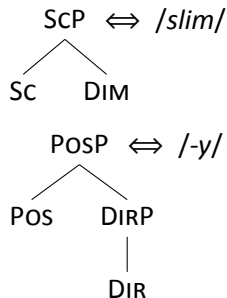
- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)



- (26) Merge F and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

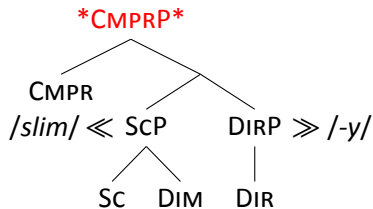
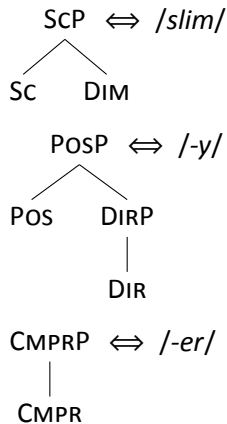
The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



(26) Merge F and

- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
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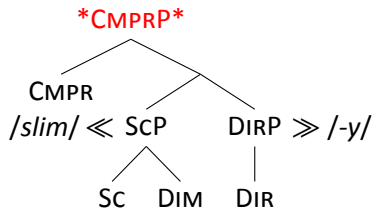
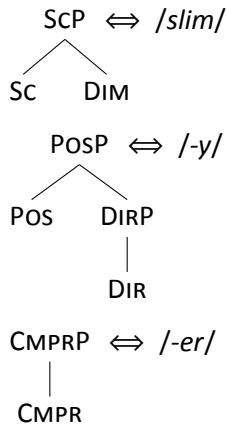
The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



(26) Merge F and

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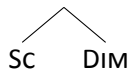
The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)



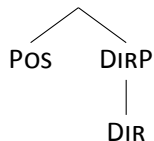
- (26) Merge F and
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The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)

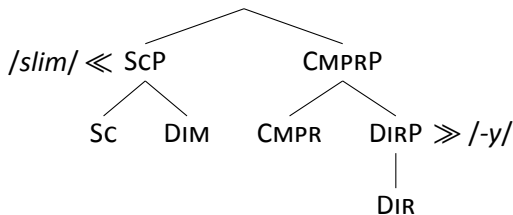
SCP \Leftrightarrow /*slim*/



POSP \Leftrightarrow /-y/



CMPRP \Leftrightarrow /-er/



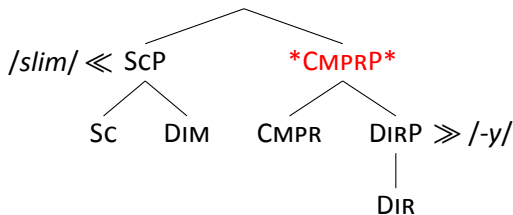
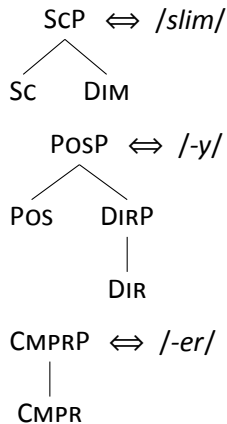
(26) Merge F and

a. Spell out FP

b. If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)

c. If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

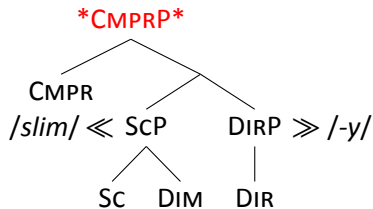
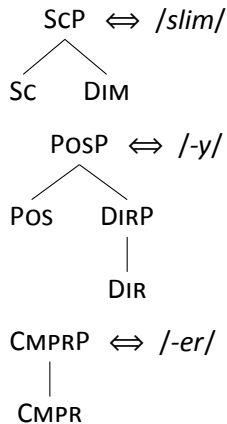
The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)



(26) Merge F and

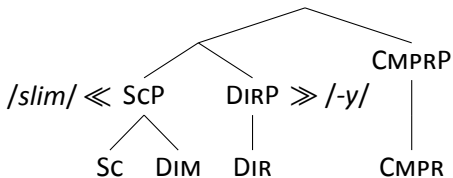
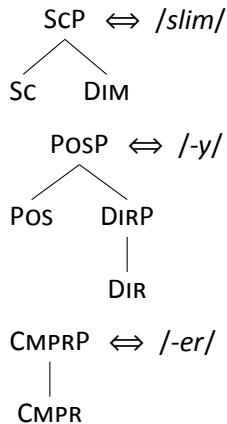
- Spell out FP
- If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y* — *slim-y-er*)



- (26) Merge F and
- Spell out FP
 - If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
 - If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)**

The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)

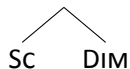


(26) Merge F and

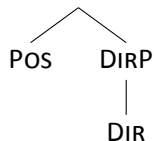
- a. Spell out FP
- b. If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- c. **If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)**

The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)

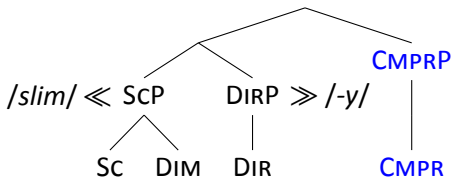
SCP \Leftrightarrow /*slim*/



POSP \Leftrightarrow /-y/



CMPRP \Leftrightarrow /-er/



(26) Merge F and

- a. **Spell out FP**
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The comparative of an S-root (*slim-y — slim-y-er*)

SCP \Leftrightarrow /*slim*/

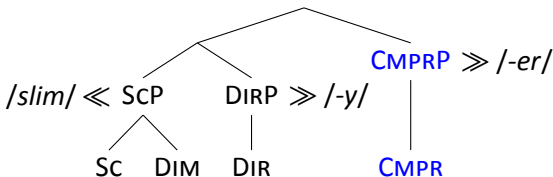
SC DIM

POSP \Leftrightarrow /-y/

POS DIRP
 |
 DIR

CMPRP \Leftrightarrow /-er/

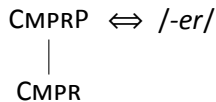
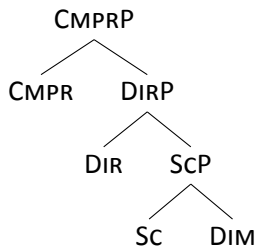
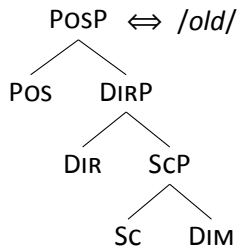
CMPRP



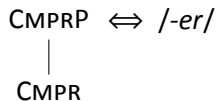
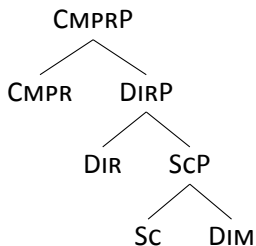
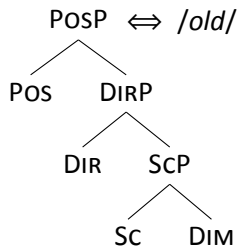
(26) Merge F and

- a. **Spell out FP**
- b. If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a)
- c. If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a)

The comparative of an XL-root (*old* — *old-er*)



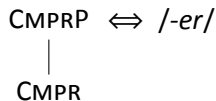
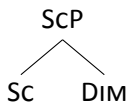
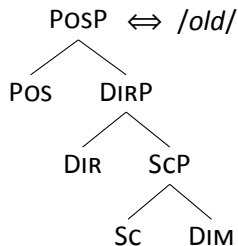
The comparative of an XL-root (*old* — *old-er*)



(27) Merge F

- a. Spell out FP
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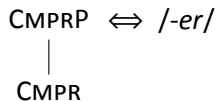
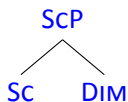
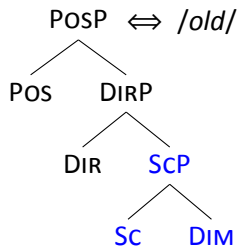
The comparative of an XL-root (*old* — *old-er*)



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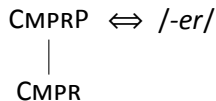
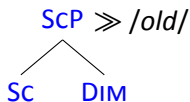
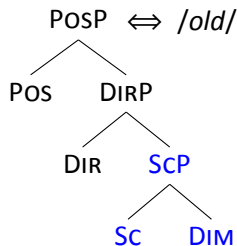
The comparative of an XL-root (*old* — *old-er*)



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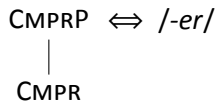
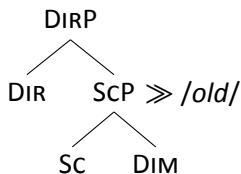
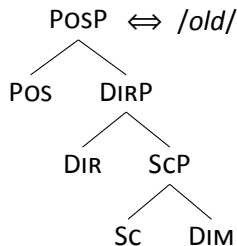
The comparative of an XL-root (*old* — *old-er*)



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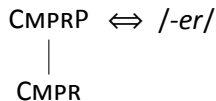
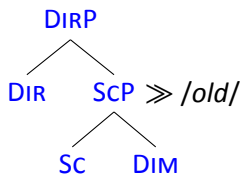
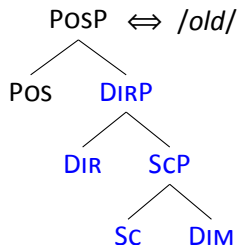
The comparative of an XL-root (*old* — *old-er*)



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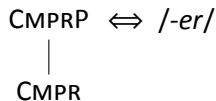
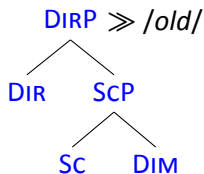
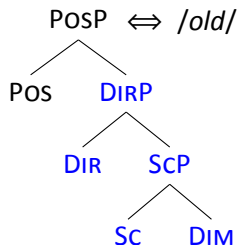
The comparative of an XL-root (*old* — *old-er*)



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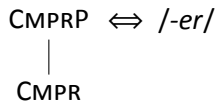
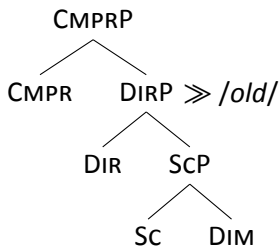
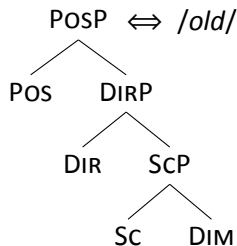
The comparative of an XL-root (*old* — *old-er*)



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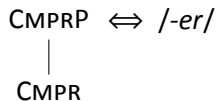
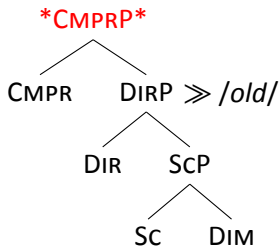
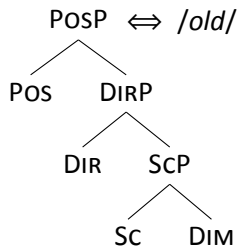
The comparative of an XL-root (*old* — *old-er*)



(27) Merge F

- Spell out FP
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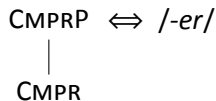
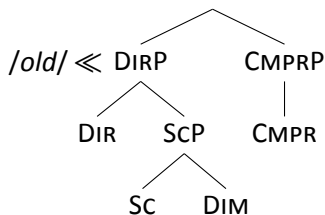
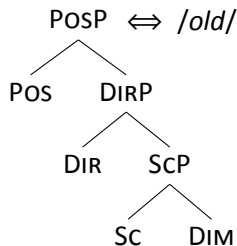
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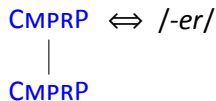
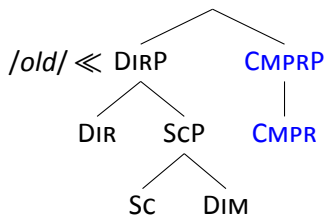
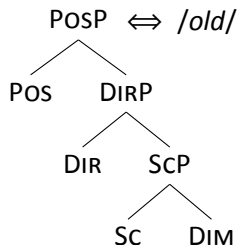
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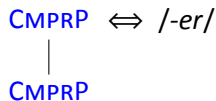
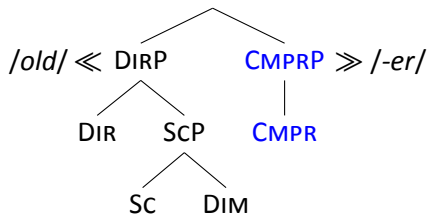
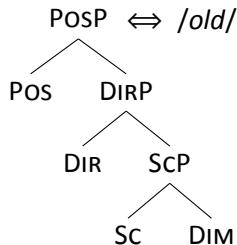
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The comparative of an XL-root (*old* — *old-er*)



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Summary

(28)

root	POS	CMPR
S-root	AUG	AUG

Summary

(28)

root	POS	CMPR
S-root	AUG	AUG
L-root	AUG	—

Summary

(28)

root	POS	CMPR
S-root	AUG	AUG
L-root	AUG	—
XL-root	—	—

Introduction

Comparatives: data

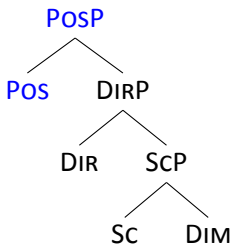
An informal analysis

The spellout algorithm Starke (2018)

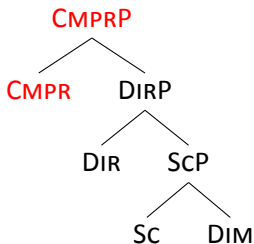
How to be POS

- ▶ In order to capture both containment and truncation, we need symmetric structures

(29)

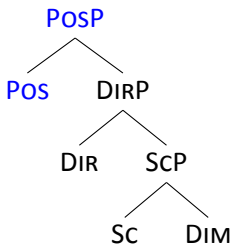


(30)

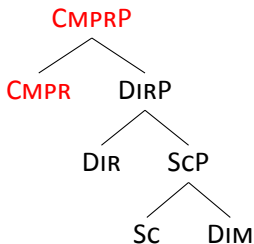


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(29)

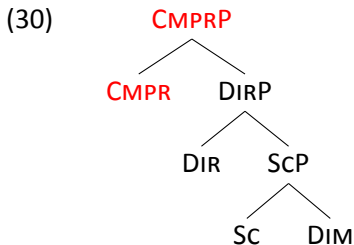
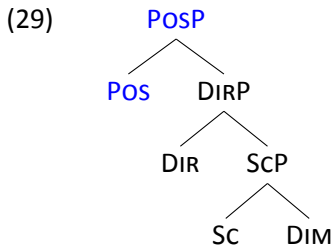


(30)



- ▶ POS turns a measure function (DIRP) into a predicate, and adds context-sensitivity

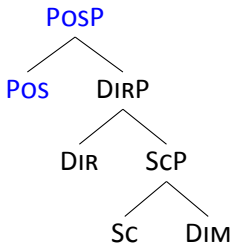
- ▶ In order to capture both containment and truncation, we need symmetric structures



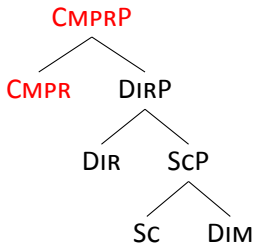
- ▶ POS turns a measure function (DIRP) into a predicate, and adds context-sensitivity
 - ▶ *tall* + POS = 'taller than some contextual standard'

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(29)

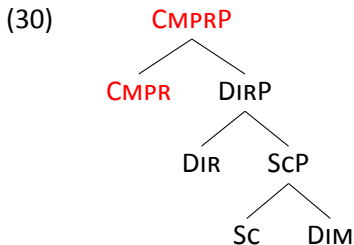
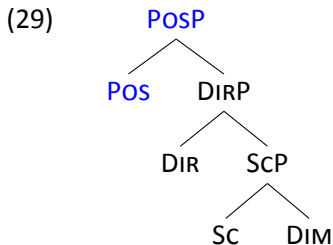


(30)



- ▶ POS turns a measure function (DIRP) into a predicate, and adds context-sensitivity
 - ▶ *tall* + POS = 'taller than some contextual standard'
- ▶ However, *-k* ≠ POS; *-k* is a marker that spells out either DIR only, or DIR+POS

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 - ▶ *tall* + POS = 'taller than some contextual standard'
- ▶ However, *-k* ≠ POS; *-k* is a marker that spells out either DIR only, or DIR+POS
- ▶ It is the syntactic heads that carry meaning, not the marker itself, which is ambiguous

Comparatives in Egyptian Arabic (Grano & Davis 2018)

(31)

POS	CMPR	gloss
		'long'

Comparatives in Egyptian Arabic (Grano & Davis 2018)

(31)

POS	CMPR	gloss
Tawiil	aTwal	'long'

Comparatives in Egyptian Arabic (Grano & Davis 2018)

(31)

POS	CMPR	gloss
Tawiiil	aTwal	'long'

Comparatives in Egyptian Arabic (Grano & Davis 2018)

(31)

	aCCaC	
POS	CMPR	gloss
Tawiiil	aTwal	'long'

Comparatives in Egyptian Arabic (Grano & Davis 2018)

(31)

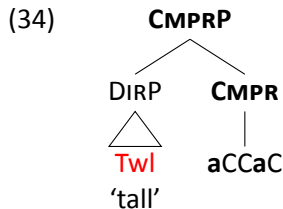
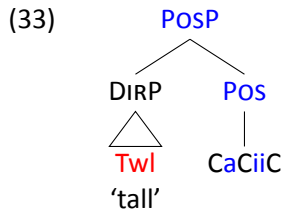
CaCiC	aCCaC	
POS	CMPR	gloss
<hr/>		
Tawil	aTwal	'long'

CaCiiC as the spellout of POS

- (32) a. **CMPR** = TwI 'tall' + aCCaC
b. **POS** = TwI 'tall' + CaCiiC

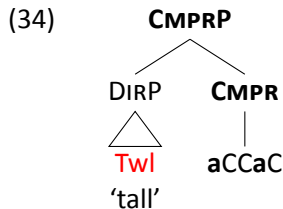
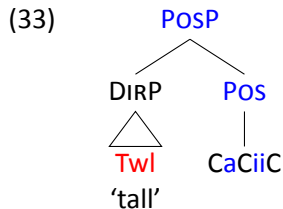
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CaCiiC as the spellout of POS

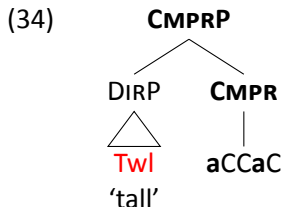
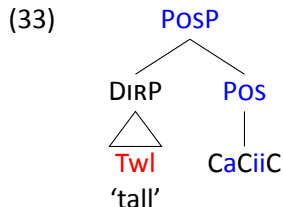
- (32) a. **CMPR** = Twl 'tall' + aCCaC
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- (35) Aħmad Tawiiil (awi) li-daragit innu yilmis is-saʔf.
Ahmad tall very to-degree that.he touches the-ceiling
'Ahmad is tall enough to touch the ceiling.'

CaCiiC as the spellout of POS

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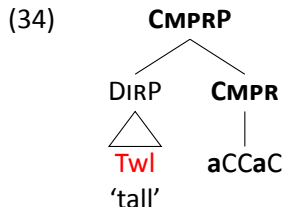
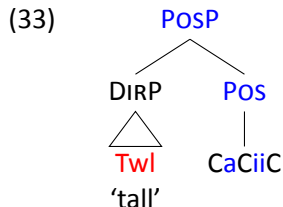


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► Grano and Davis: CaCiiC cannot mean POS

CaCiiC as the spellout of POS

- (32) a. **CMPR** = Twl 'tall' + aCCaC
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Ahmad tall very to-degree that.he touches the-ceiling
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- ▶ Grano and Davis: CaCiiC cannot mean POS
- ▶ Our conclusion: CaCiiC cannot mean *only* POS

Conclusions

(36)

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE		class
old	old	er	containment
slim-y	slim-y	er	containment
heav-y	heav	er	truncation

Conclusions

(36)

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE		class
old	old	er	containment
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- ▶ The theory presented here derives the three patterns.

Conclusions

(36)

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old	old	er	containment
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- ▶ The theory presented here derives the three patterns.
 - i Symmetric structures
 - ii Nanosyntax spellout (Starke 2018)
 - iii Differential root size (Caha et al. 2019)

Thank you!

References

- Bobaljik, Jonathan. 2012. *Universals in comparative morphology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Caha, Pavel, Karen De Clercq & Guido Vanden Wyngaerd. 2019. The fine structure of the comparative. *Studia Linguistica* .
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- Starke, Michal. 2018. Complex left branches, spellout, and prefixes. In Lena Baunaz, Karen De Clercq, Liliane Haegeman & Eric Lander (eds.), *Exploring nanosyntax*, 239–249. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The inverse truncation pattern

(37)

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE		class
old	old	er	containment
happ-y	happ	er	truncation
prett-y	prett-y	er	containment
cheek	cheek-y	er	inverse truncation

The inverse truncation pattern

(37)

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE		class
old	old	er	containment
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(38) The lexicalisation of POSP(39)

DIM	SC	DIR	POS
<i>XL-root</i>			
<i>L-root</i>		aug	
<i>S-root</i>		aug	
<i>!Root</i>			

The lexicalisation of CMRP

DIM	SC	DIR	CMRP
<i>XL-root</i>			<i>-(ej)š</i>
<i>L-root</i>			<i>-(ej)š</i>
<i>S-root</i>	<i>aug</i>		<i>-(ej)š</i>
<i>!Root</i>	<i>aug</i>		<i>-(ej)š</i>

Do the symmetric structures clash with suppletion?

(Bobaljik 2012)

- (40) *The Comparative-Superlative Generalization, part I (CSG1):*
If the comparative is suppletive, then the superlative is also suppletive.

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POSITIVE

AP



...

COMPARATIVE

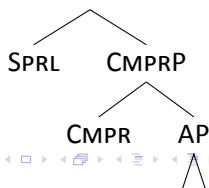
CMPRP



...

SUPERLATIVE

SPRLP



The precise content of the Containment Hypothesis

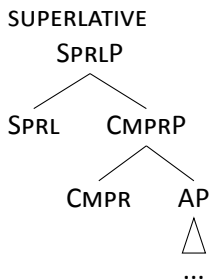
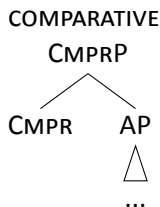
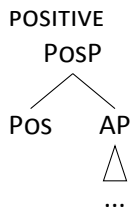
(41) *The Containment Hypothesis*

The representation of the superlative properly contains that of the comparative.

The precise content of the Containment Hypothesis

(41) *The Containment Hypothesis*

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Suppletion in Slovak

- (42) *Augment in the comparative leads to no suppletion*
If an adjective has an AUG in the comparative, it does not show suppletion

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sliz-k-ý	sliz-k-ejš-í	NAJ-sliz-k-ejš-í	'slim-y'
A-k-ý	B-k-ejš-í	NAJ-B-k-ejš-í	—

Arbitrariness

(43) Slovak minimal pairs

POSITIVE			DIMINUTIVE			COMPARATIVE			gloss		
root	AUG	AGR	root	DIM	ADJ	AGR	root	AUG		CMPR	AGR
krot	k	ý					krot		š	í	'tame'
brit	k	ý					brit	k	ejš	í	'sharp' (humor)

Arbitrariness

(43) Slovak minimal pairs

POSITIVE			DIMINUTIVE			COMPARATIVE			gloss		
root	AUG	AGR	root	DIM	ADJ	AGR	root	AUG	CMPR	AGR	
krot	k	ý					krot		š	í	'tame'
brit	k	ý					brit	k	ejš	í	'sharp' (humor)

(44) Czech minimal pairs

POSITIVE			DIMINUTIVE			COMPARATIVE			gloss		
root	AUG	AGR	root	DIM	AUG	AGR	root	ADJ	CMPR	AGR	
krot	k	ý					krot		š	í	'tame'
břit	k	ý					břit	k	š	í	'sharp' (humor)

Arbitrariness

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POSITIVE			DIMINUTIVE			COMPARATIVE			gloss		
root	AUG	AGR	root	DIM	ADJ	AGR	root	AUG	CMPR	AGR	
krot	k	ý					krot		š	í	'tame'
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břit	k	ý					břit		č	í	'sharp' (humor)

Arbitrariness

(43) Slovak minimal pairs

POSITIVE	DIMINUTIVE	COMPARATIVE	gloss
root AUG AGR	root DIM ADJ AGR	root AUG CMPR AGR	
krot k ý		krot š í	'tame'
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břit k ý		břit k š í	'sharp' (humor)
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(45) Truncation vs. containment light

Slovak ľah-k-AGR

Czech leh-k-AGR

Arbitrariness

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root AUG AGR	root DIM ADJ AGR	root AUG CMPR AGR	
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root AUG AGR	root DIM AUG AGR	root ADJ CMPR AGR	
krot k ý		krot š í	'tame'
břit k ý		břit k š í	'sharp' (humor)
břit k ý		břit č í	'sharp' (humor)

(45) Truncation vs. containment

	light	lighter	pattern
Slovak	lah-k-AGR	lah-š-AGR	truncation
Czech	leh-k-AGR		

Arbitrariness

(43) Slovak minimal pairs

POSITIVE	DIMINUTIVE	COMPARATIVE	gloss
root AUG AGR	root DIM ADJ AGR	root AUG CMPR AGR	
krot k ý		krot š í	'tame'
brit k ý		brit k ejš í	'sharp' (humor)

(44) Czech minimal pairs

POSITIVE	DIMINUTIVE	COMPARATIVE	gloss
root AUG AGR	root DIM AUG AGR	root ADJ CMPR AGR	
krot k ý		krot š í	'tame'
břit k ý		břit k š í	'sharp' (humor)
břit k ý		břit č í	'sharp' (humor)

(45) Truncation vs. containment

	light	lighter	pattern
Slovak	lah-k-AGR	lah-š-AGR	truncation
Czech	leh-k-AGR	leh-č-AGR	containment