



A < B

Comparatives:

Coordinate and dependent, with either clausal or directly phrasal standards

Laura Vela Plo (laura.vela@ehu.eus)

University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU) - *HiTT* Linguistics

Degrees: Generative Perspectives (DeGP)

Leuven, June 2, 2023



Universidad
del País Vasco

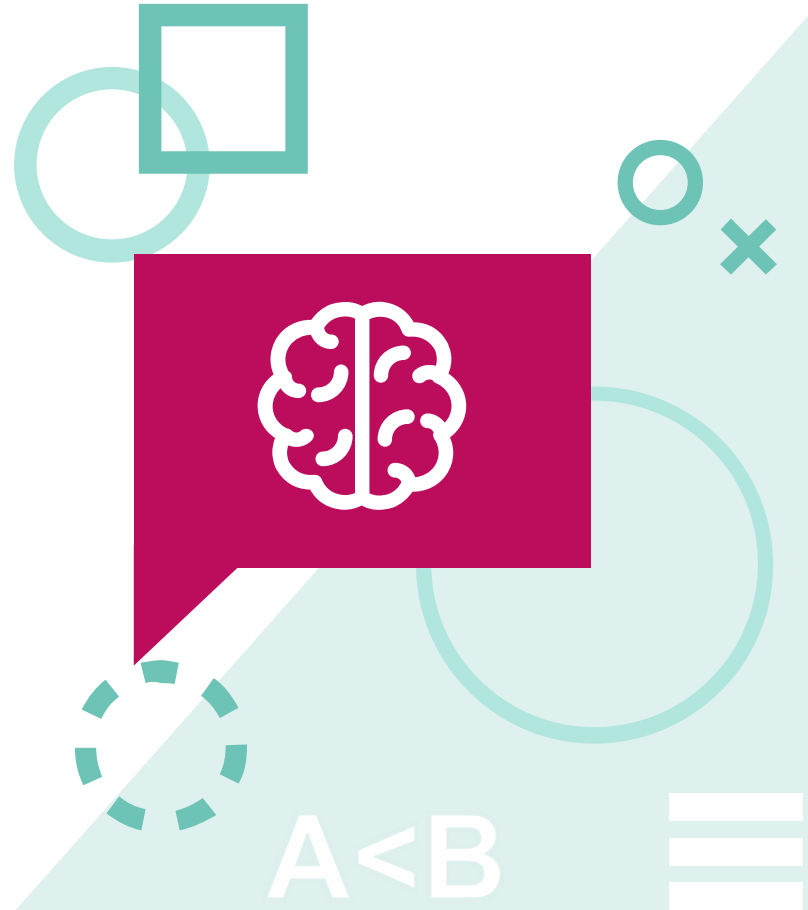
Euskal Herriko
Unibertsitatea

 hitt

Hizkuntzalaritza Teorikoko Taldea
Basque Research Group of Theoretical Linguistics

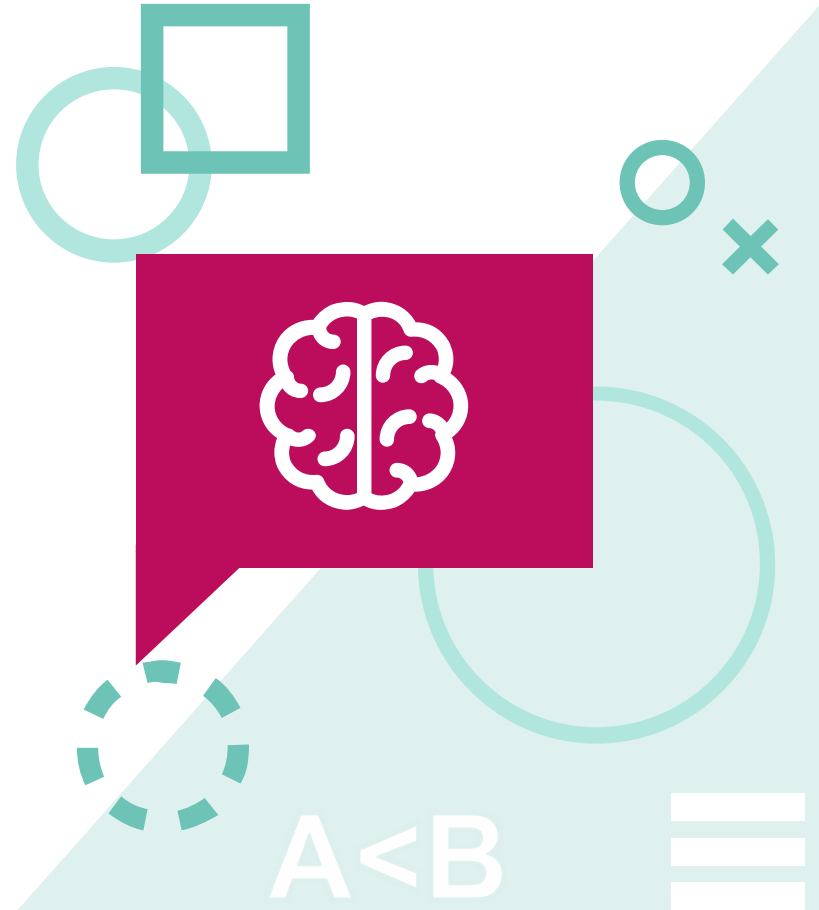
DRAWING COMPARISONS

- A fundamental cognitive operation



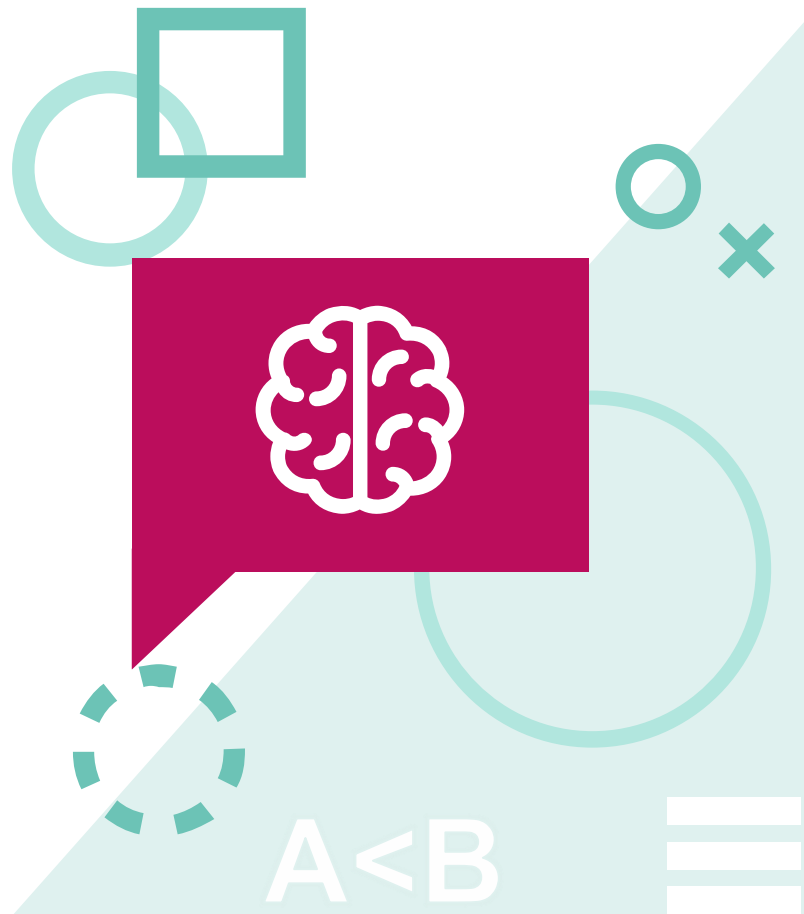
DRAWING COMPARISONS

- **A fundamental cognitive operation**
 - Essential to our understanding of the world and the description of experiences (Langacker 1987)



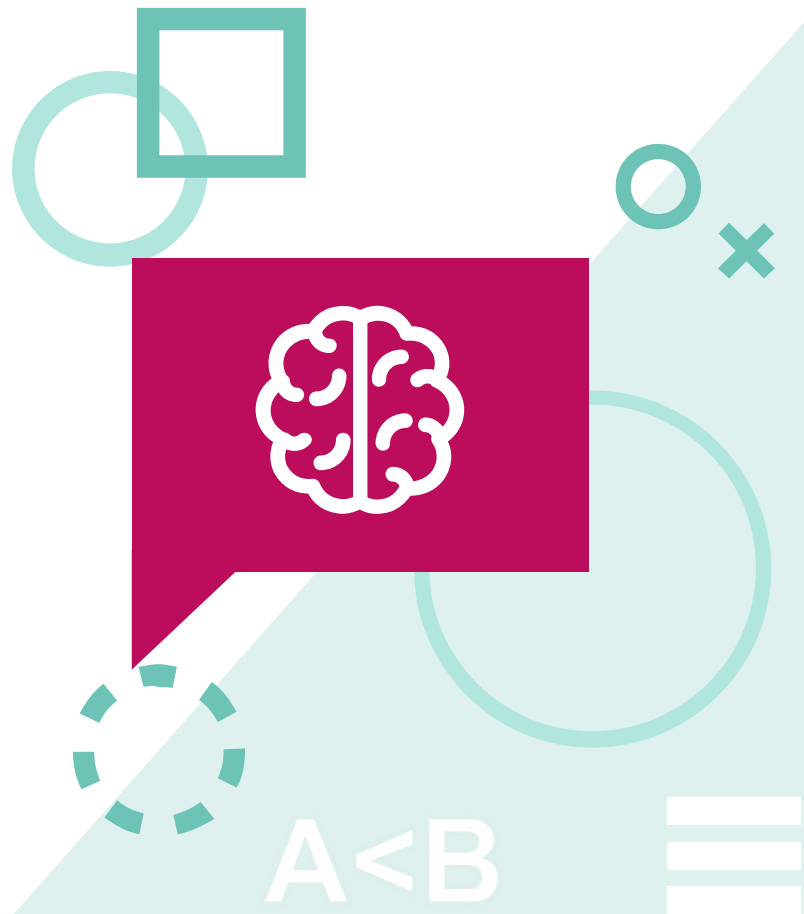
DRAWING COMPARISONS

- **A fundamental cognitive operation**
 - Essential to our understanding of the world and the description of experiences (Langacker 1987)
- **Great amount of cross-linguistic as well as intra-linguistic variation** (Stassen 1985, Beck, Oda and Sugisaki 2004, Kennedy 2007)



DRAWING COMPARISONS

- **A fundamental cognitive operation**
 - Essential to our understanding of the world and the description of experiences (Langacker 1987)
- **Great amount of cross-linguistic as well as intra-linguistic variation** (Stassen 1985, Beck, Oda and Sugisaki 2004, Kennedy 2007)
- Comparison constructions are still considered intriguing structures that show **apparently contradictory properties** and posit **a number of syntactic and semantic puzzles** (Sáez and Sánchez López 2013, Jäger 2019)



MAIN OBJECTIVES



Inter- and intra-linguistic variation

- To describe and to explain the **inter- and intra-linguistic variation and commonalities** displayed by comparatives by focusing particularly on **inequality comparatives** in Basque, Spanish and English.

MAIN OBJECTIVES



Inter- and intra-linguistic variation

- To describe and to explain the **inter- and intra-linguistic variation and commonalities** displayed by comparatives by focusing particularly on **inequality comparatives** in Basque, Spanish and English.



Syntactic and semantic analysis

- To provide a **coherent syntactic and semantic analysis** that accounts for the constraints that restrict the variation manifested by comparatives in these three languages.

MAIN OBJECTIVES



Inter- and intra-linguistic variation

- To describe and to explain the **inter- and intra-linguistic variation and commonalities** displayed by comparatives by focusing particularly on **inequality comparatives** in Basque, Spanish and English.



Syntactic and semantic analysis

- To provide a **coherent syntactic and semantic analysis** that accounts for the constraints that restrict the variation manifested by comparatives in these three languages.
- To offer a **formal diagnosis protocol** that allows us to distinguish the underlying structure of the major comparative subclasses.

MAIN OBJECTIVES



Inter- and intra-linguistic variation

- To describe and to explain the **inter- and intra-linguistic variation and commonalities** displayed by comparatives by focusing particularly on **inequality comparatives** in Basque, Spanish and English.



Syntactic and semantic analysis

- To provide a **coherent syntactic and semantic analysis** that accounts for the constraints that restrict the variation manifested by comparatives in these three languages.
- To offer a **formal diagnosis protocol** that allows us to distinguish the underlying structure of the major comparative subclasses.

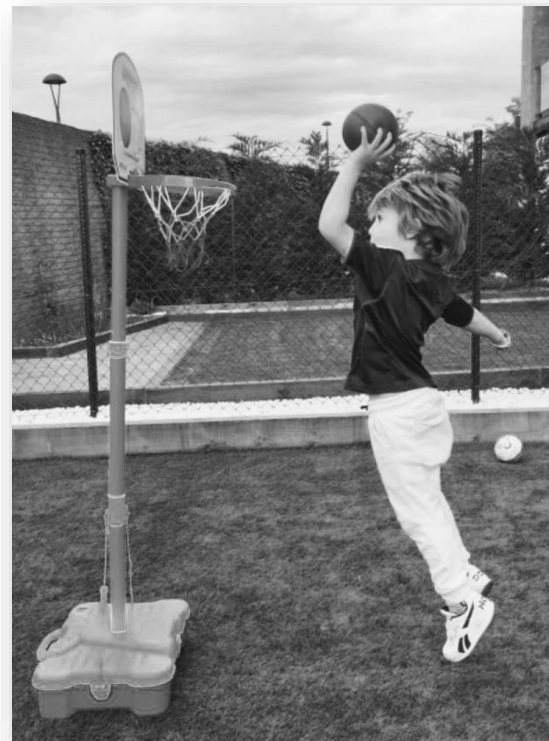


Long-standing questions

- To shed some light on **four long-standing questions** in the literature on comparative constructions by means of examining previous syntactic and semantic analyses, and checking their predictions against data from Basque, English and Spanish comparatives.

THE OBJECT OF STUDY

(1) ENGLISH: Zeian is stronger than I thought.



THE OBJECT OF STUDY

		comparative cluster	standard cluster	
		base + compar. marker	standard marker	standard of comparison
(1) ENGLISH:	Zeian is	strong-er	than	I thought.

THE OBJECT OF STUDY

		comparative cluster	standard cluster	
		base + compar. marker	standard marker	standard of comparison
(1) ENGLISH:	Zeian is	strong-er	than	I thought.
(2) SPANISH:	Zeian es	más fuerte	de	lo que pensaba.

THE OBJECT OF STUDY

		comparative cluster	standard cluster	
		base + compar. marker	standard marker	standard of comparison
(1) ENGLISH:	Zeian is	strong-er	than	I thought.
(2) SPANISH:	Zeian es	más fuerte más fuerte	de que	lo que pensaba. Zuriñe.

THE OBJECT OF STUDY

		comparative cluster	standard cluster	
		base + compar. marker	standard marker	standard of comparison
(1) ENGLISH:	Zeian is	strong-er	than	I thought.
(2) SPANISH:	Zeian es	más fuerte más fuerte	de que	lo que pensaba. Zuriñe.
(3) BASQUE:	Zeian	standard cluster espero nuen baino	comparative cluster indartsu-ago-a	da.

ROADMAP

1.

MAIN THEORETICAL DEBATES

Long-standing debates on the syntax and semantics of comparatives

2.

CONTRIBUTION TO MAIN DEBATES



LINKAGE DEBATE

SIZE DEBATE

(SUB)DELETION DEBATE



ELLIPSIS DEBATE

Syntactic and semantic analysis

3.

ADVANTAGES OF THE PROPOSAL

4.

CONCLUSIONS

Concluding remarks

1. Main theoretical debates



LINKAGE DEBATE



SIZE DEBATE



(SUB)DELETION DEBATE



ELLIPSIS DEBATE

1. LINKAGE DEBATE



- Is there a coordinate or a dependent (subordinate) relation between the compared strings?

1. LINKAGE DEBATE



- Is there a coordinate or a dependent (subordinate) relation between the compared strings?

Prima facie contradictory properties:

1. LINKAGE DEBATE



- Is there a coordinate or a dependent (subordinate) relation between the compared strings?

Prima facie contradictory properties:

A) Comparatives with Gapping (a hallmark property of coordinate clauses):

(4) Aitor likes Mutriku more [than **Marina ~~likes~~ Málaga**].

(5) Aitor likes Mutriku **and** Marina ~~likes~~ Málaga.

1. LINKAGE DEBATE



- Is there a coordinate or a dependent (subordinate) relation between the compared strings?

Prima facie contradictory properties:

A) Comparatives with Gapping (a hallmark property of coordinate clauses):

(4) Aitor likes Mutriku more [than **Marina ~~likes~~ Málaga**].

(5) Aitor likes Mutriku **and** Marina ~~likes~~ Málaga.

B) Comparatives with center-embedded standards (a hallmark property of dependent constituents):

(6) More people [than **I was expecting**] wanted Bilbao Basket to win that match.

1. LINKAGE DEBATE



Uniform approaches:

Two-way approaches:

1. LINKAGE DEBATE



Uniform approaches:

DEPENDENT HYPOTHESIS

All comparative structures
involve a dependent
standard cluster.

(Bresnan 1973, Chomsky 1977,
Brucart 2003, a.o.)

Two-way approaches:

1. LINKAGE DEBATE



Uniform approaches:

DEPENDENT HYPOTHESIS

All comparative structures involve a dependent standard cluster.

(Bresnan 1973, Chomsky 1977, Brucart 2003, a.o.)

COORDINATE HYPOTHESIS

All comparative structures involve an underlying coordinate structure that connects the compared strings.

Two-way approaches:

1. LINKAGE DEBATE



Uniform approaches:

DEPENDENT HYPOTHESIS

All comparative structures involve a dependent standard cluster.

(Bresnan 1973, Chomsky 1977, Brucart 2003, a.o.)

COORDINATE HYPOTHESIS

All comparative structures involve an underlying coordinate structure that connects the compared strings.

Two-way approaches:

HYBRID HYPOTHESIS

Comparatives have a mixed structure and show the hallmark properties of both coordinate and dependent elements.

(Lechner 2004, Jäger 2019)

1. LINKAGE DEBATE



Uniform approaches:

DEPENDENT HYPOTHESIS

All comparative structures involve a dependent standard cluster.

(Bresnan 1973, Chomsky 1977, Brucart 2003, a.o.)

COORDINATE HYPOTHESIS

All comparative structures involve an underlying coordinate structure that connects the compared strings.

Two-way approaches:

HYBRID HYPOTHESIS

Comparatives have a mixed structure and show the hallmark properties of both coordinate and dependent elements.

(Lechner 2004, Jäger 2019)

SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

Two different classes of comparatives can be distinguished by means of syntactic tests.

(Hankamer 1973, Pinkham 1982, Napoli 1983, Sáez 1992, a.o.)

1. LINKAGE DEBATE



Uniform approaches:

DEPENDENT HYPOTHESIS

All comparative structures involve a dependent standard cluster.

(Bresnan 1973, Chomsky 1977, Brucart 2003, a.o.)

COORDINATE HYPOTHESIS

All comparative structures involve an underlying coordinate structure that connects the compared strings.

Two-way approaches:

HYBRID HYPOTHESIS

Comparatives have a mixed structure and show the hallmark properties of both coordinate and dependent elements.

(Lechner 2004, Jäger 2019)

SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

Two different classes of comparatives can be distinguished by means of syntactic tests.

(Hankamer 1973, Pinkham 1982, Napoli 1983, Sáez 1992, a.o.)

2. SIZE DEBATE



- What is the underlying size of the standard?
- Can standard markers select for both clausal and phrasal standards?

2. SIZE DEBATE



- What is the underlying size of the standard?
- Can standard markers select for both clausal and phrasal standards?

Does the standard always involve a clause?

(7) Her boss makes more money **than** [she does].

2. SIZE DEBATE



- What is the underlying size of the standard?
- Can standard markers select for both clausal and phrasal standards?

Does the standard always involve a clause?

(7) Her boss makes more money **than** [she does].

Or can it also involve a non-clausal constituent?

(8) Her boss makes more money **than** [her].

(9) More women **than** [men] attended the event.

Two possible ways to analyse comparatives with surface-phrasal standards:

(10) More women **than** [men] attended the event.

2. SIZE DEBATE



2. SIZE DEBATE



Two possible ways to analyse comparatives with surface-phrasal standards:

(10) More women **than** [men] attended the event.

REDUCTIONIST ANALYSIS

All comparatives involve a directly-clausal standard. Comparatives with surface-phrasal standards involve a reduced clause (Bresnan 1973, Chomsky 1977, Heim 1985, *inter alia*).

(10a) More women **than** [_{CP} men attended the event] attended the event.

2. SIZE DEBATE



Two possible ways to analyse comparatives with surface-phrasal standards:

(10) More women **than** [men] attended the event.

REDUCTIONIST ANALYSIS

All comparatives involve a directly-clausal standard. Comparatives with surface-phrasal standards involve a reduced clause (Bresnan 1973, Chomsky 1977, Heim 1985, *inter alia*).

(10a) More women **than** [_{CP} men attended the event] attended the event.

DIRECT ANALYSIS

All comparatives with a surface-phrasal standard involve a directly-phrasal standard (Pinkham 1982, Hoeksema 1983, Napoli 1983, a.o.).

(10b) More women **than** [_{XP} men] attended the event.

2. SIZE DEBATE



Two possible ways to analyse comparatives with surface-phrasal standards:

(10) More women **than** [men] attended the event.

REDUCTIONIST ANALYSIS

All comparatives involve a directly-clausal standard. Comparatives with surface-phrasal standards involve a reduced clause (Bresnan 1973, Chomsky 1977, Heim 1985, *inter alia*).

(10a) More women **than** [_{CP} men attended the event] attended the event.

DIRECT ANALYSIS

All comparatives with a surface-phrasal standard involve a directly-phrasal standard (Pinkham 1982, Hoeksema 1983, Napoli 1983, a.o.).

(10b) More women **than** [_{XP} men] attended the event.

3. (SUB)DELETION DEBATE



- What is the nature and mechanisms responsible for Comparative Deletion and Comparative Subdeletion?
- Why are these processes obligatory?

3. (SUB)DELETION DEBATE



- What is the nature and mechanisms responsible for Comparative Deletion and Comparative Subdeletion?
- Why are these processes obligatory?

Two obligatory deletion processes in comparatives:

(11) **Comparative Deletion:**

- a. *Amelia bought more books than **we expected** many books.
- b. Amelia bought more books than **we expected** _ .

3. (SUB)DELETION DEBATE



- What is the nature and mechanisms responsible for Comparative Deletion and Comparative Subdeletion?
- Why are these processes obligatory?

Two obligatory deletion processes in comparatives:

(11) **Comparative Deletion:**

- a. *Amelia bought more books than **we expected** many books.
- b. Amelia bought more books than **we expected** _ .

(12) **Comparative Subdeletion:**

- a. *More women than **thirty men** attended the meeting.
- b. More women than _ **men** attended the meeting.

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



- What is the mechanism or mechanisms responsible for Comparative Ellipsis (i.e. the silencing of one or several constituents in clausal standards of comparison)?

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



- What is the mechanism or mechanisms responsible for Comparative Ellipsis (i.e. the silencing of one or several constituents in clausal standards of comparison)?

COORDINATE-LIKE ELLIPSIS OPERATIONS IN THE STANDARD

Gapping: in coordinates and comparatives

(13) Aitor likes Mutriku more **than** Marina likes Málaga.

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



- What is the mechanism or mechanisms responsible for Comparative Ellipsis (i.e. the silencing of one or several constituents in clausal standards of comparison)?

COORDINATE-LIKE ELLIPSIS OPERATIONS IN THE STANDARD

Gapping: in coordinates and comparatives

(13) Aitor likes Mutriku more **than** Marina likes Málaga.

Right-Node-Raising: in coordinates and comparatives

(14) More people liked ~~the place~~ **than** disliked the place.

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



- What is the mechanism or mechanisms responsible for Comparative Ellipsis (i.e. the silencing of one or several constituents in clausal standards of comparison)?

COORDINATE-LIKE ELLIPSIS OPERATIONS IN THE STANDARD

Gapping: in coordinates and comparatives

(13) Aitor likes Mutriku more **than** Marina likes Málaga.

Right-Node-Raising: in coordinates and comparatives

(14) More people liked the place **than** disliked the place.

DEPENDENT-LIKE ELLIPSIS OPERATIONS

Antecedent Contained Deletion: only in dependent constituents

(15) More people **than** I was expecting people would come to the defence came to the defence.

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



COMPARATIVE ELLIPSIS

An *ad hoc* Comparative
Ellipsis deletion rule.

(Bresnan 1973,1975)

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



COMPARATIVE ELLIPSIS

An *ad hoc* Comparative
Ellipsis deletion rule.

(Bresnan 1973,1975)

CONJUNCTION REDUCTION

Just *Conjunction Reduction*
deletion operations.

(Lechner 2004)

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



COMPARATIVE ELLIPSIS

An *ad hoc* Comparative
Ellipsis deletion rule.

(Bresnan 1973,1975)

DEPENDENT ANALYSIS

Just ellipsis operations
attested in dependent
constituents.

CONJUNCTION REDUCTION

Just *Conjunction Reduction*
deletion operations.

(Lechner 2004)

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



COMPARATIVE ELLIPSIS

An *ad hoc* Comparative Ellipsis deletion rule.

(Bresnan 1973,1975)

DEPENDENT ANALYSIS

Just ellipsis operations attested in dependent constituents.

CONJUNCTION REDUCTION

Just *Conjunction Reduction* deletion operations.

(Lechner 2004)

SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

Conjunction Reduction as well as ellipsis operations attested in dependent constituents.

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



COMPARATIVE ELLIPSIS

An *ad hoc* Comparative Ellipsis deletion rule.

(Bresnan 1973,1975)

DEPENDENT ANALYSIS

Just ellipsis operations attested in dependent constituents.

CONJUNCTION REDUCTION

Just *Conjunction Reduction* deletion operations.

(Lechner 2004)

SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

Conjunction Reduction as well as ellipsis operations attested in dependent constituents.



2. Contribution to main debates

2. SIZE DEBATE



What is the underlying size of the standard?

(16) More women **than** [_{XP} **men**] attended the event.

2. SIZE DEBATE



What is the underlying size of the standard?

(16) More women **than** [_{XP} **men**] attended the event.

Most analyses of English, Basque and Spanish comparatives assume a **Reductionist analysis: all comparatives** involve a directly-clausal standard. Comparatives with surface-phrasal standards would involve a reduced clause (Bresnan 1973, Chomsky 1977, Brucart 2003, Bhatt and Takahashi 2011, Euskaltzaindia 1999, Goenaga 2008, *inter alia*).

2. SIZE DEBATE



What is the underlying size of the standard?

(16) More women **than** [_{XP} **men**] attended the event.

Most analyses of English, Basque and Spanish comparatives assume a **Reductionist analysis: all comparatives** involve a directly-clausal standard. Comparatives with surface-phrasal standards would involve a reduced clause (Bresnan 1973, Chomsky 1977, Brucart 2003, Bhatt and Takahashi 2011, Euskaltzaindia 1999, Goenaga 2008, *inter alia*).

- **NOT ALL comparatives involve an underlying clause** in the standard. Rather, some comparatives involve a **directly-phrasal standard of comparison**, such as surface-phrasal subcomparatives.

2. SIZE DEBATE



What is the underlying size of the standard?

(16) More women **than** [_{XP} **men**] attended the event.

Most analyses of English, Basque and Spanish comparatives assume a **Reductionist analysis**: **all comparatives** involve a directly-clausal standard. Comparatives with surface-phrasal standards would involve a reduced clause (Bresnan 1973, Chomsky 1977, Brucart 2003, Bhatt and Takahashi 2011, Euskaltzaindia 1999, Goenaga 2008, *inter alia*).

- **NOT ALL comparatives involve an underlying clause** in the standard. Rather, some comparatives involve a **directly-phrasal standard of comparison**, such as surface-phrasal subcomparatives.



DIRECT ANALYSIS

Some comparatives with surface-phrasal standards involve a directly-phrasal standard.

Subcomparatives with surface-phrasal standards

(16) a. More women than **men** attended the event.

(English)

b. Más mujeres que **hombres** asistieron al evento.

(Spanish)

MORE women THAN men attended the event

c. **Gizon** baino emakume gehiago bildu ziren ekitaldian.

(Basque)

man THAN woman MORE met did in.the.event

Subcomparatives with surface-phrasal standards

(16) a. More women than **men** attended the event.

(English)

b. Más mujeres que **hombres** asistieron al evento.
MORE women THAN men attended the event

(Spanish)

c. **Gizon** baino emakume gehiago bildu ziren ekitaldian.
man THAN woman MORE met did in.the.event

(Basque)

Subcomparatives with surface-phrasal standards

(16) a. More women than **men** attended the event.

(English)

b. Más mujeres que **hombres** asistieron al evento.

(Spanish)

MORE women THAN men attended the event

c. **Gizon** baino emakume gehiago bildu ziren ekitaldian.

(Basque)

man THAN woman MORE met did in.the.event

A (reduced) clausal analysis of the standards of comparison in (16a-c) is untenable.

Subcomparatives with surface-phrasal standards

(16) a. More women than **men** attended the event.

(English)

b. Más mujeres que **hombres** asistieron al evento.

(Spanish)

MORE women THAN men attended the event

c. **Gizon** baino emakume gehiago bildu ziren ekitaldian.

(Basque)

man THAN woman MORE met did in.the.event

These comparatives involve:

[A] A directly phrasal standard, not derived from a clausal source.

[A1] BNs (Basque)

[A2] *Ad hoc* reductionist analysis

[A3] Clausal expansion test

Subcomparatives with surface-phrasal standards

(16) a. More women than **men** attended the event.

(English)

b. Más mujeres que **hombres** asistieron al evento.

(Spanish)

MORE women THAN men attended the event

c. **Gizon** baino emakume gehiago bildu ziren ekitaldian.

(Basque)

man THAN woman MORE met did in.the.event

These comparatives involve:

[A] A directly phrasal standard, not derived from a clausal source.

[B] An underlying coordinate structure.

[A1] BNs (Basque)

[A2] *Ad hoc* reductionist analysis

[A3] Clausal expansion test

[B1] Parallelism requirement

[B2] Movement constraints

[B3] Shared constituents

[B4] Inmovable standards (Basque)

[A1] Bare nouns in the standard (Basque)

Basque clearly evidences the phrasal status of the standard in comparatives like (10), in which a single case marker surfaces for the whole comparative complex:

- (18) **Gizon** baino emakume gehiago-**k** jotzen dute egoera larritzat.
man THAN woman MORE-ERG considerAUX situation grave
'More-ERG women than men consider the situation grave.'

[A1] Bare nouns in the standard (Basque)

Basque clearly evidences the phrasal status of the standard in comparatives like (10), in which a single case marker surfaces for the whole comparative complex:

- (18) Gizon baino emakume gehiago-k jotzen dute egoera larritzat.
man THAN woman MORE-ERG considerAUX situation grave
'More-ERG women than men consider the situation grave.'

[A1] Bare nouns in the standard (Basque)

Basque clearly evidences the phrasal status of the standard in comparatives like (10), in which a single case marker surfaces for the whole comparative complex:

- (18) Gizon baino emakume gehiago-k jotzen dute egoera larritzat.
man THAN woman MORE-ERG considerAUX situation grave
'More-ERG women than men consider the situation grave.'

- In Basque, **bare nominals are banned from argumental positions** (cf. Laka 1993, Artiagoitia 1997, 2002).

- (19) Gizon*(-ek) jotzen dute egoera larritzat.
man -ERG consider AUX situation grave
Intended: 'Men consider the situation grave.'

[A1] Bare nouns in the standard (Basque)

- (18) [[**Gizon** baino] emakume gehiago-**k**] jotzen dute egoera larritzat.
[[man THAN] woman MORE-**ERG**] consider AUX situation grave
'More-**ERG** women than men consider the situation grave.'
- (20) [Gizon eta emakume asko-**k**] jotzen dute egoera larritzat.
[man AND woman MANY-**ERG**] consider AUX situation grave
'Many-**ERG** women and men consider the situation grave.'

[A1] Bare nouns in the standard (Basque)

(18) [[**Gizon** baino] emakume gehiago-**k**] jotzen dute egoera larritzat.
[[man THAN] woman MORE-ERG] consider AUX situation grave
'More-ERG women than men consider the situation grave.'

(20) [Gizon eta emakume asko-**k**] jotzen dute egoera larritzat.
[man AND woman MANY-ERG] consider AUX situation grave
'Many-ERG women and men consider the situation grave.'

- (21) a. [**Gizon-ek** baino], emakume gehiago-k lortu dute. (Clausal standard with ellipsis)
man-ERG THAN woman MORE-ERG achieved have
'More-ERG women than men-ERG have achieved that.'
- b. [~~Lortu~~—~~duten~~ **gizon-ek** baino] emakume gehi-ago-k lortu dute.
achieve have.EN man-ERG than woman MORE-ERG achieved have
'More-ERG women have achieved that than men-ERG have achieved that.'

[A2] Unattested ellipsis

A clausal analysis of SCs like (22)-(23) would involve an **otherwise non-attested type of ellipsis**, one that elides a **prepositional head without its complement**.

(22) The room was filled with more supporters than **opponents of Mao**.

(23) La sala estaba llena de más partidarios que **detractores de Mao**.
the room was full with MORE supporters THAN opponents of Mao

[A2] Unattested ellipsis

A clausal analysis of SCs like (22)-(23) would involve an **otherwise non-attested type of ellipsis**, one that elides a **prepositional head without its complement**.

(22) The room was filled with more supporters than **opponents of Mao**.

(22') The room was filled with more supporters than [_{IP} ~~the room was filled~~ [_{PP} ~~with~~ **opponents of Mao**]].

(23) La sala estaba llena de más partidarios que **detractores de Mao**.
the room was full with MORE supporters THAN opponents of Mao

(23') La sala estaba llena de más partidarios que [_{IP} ~~la sala estaba llena~~ [_{PP} ~~de~~ **detractores de Mao**]].
the room was full with MORE supporters THAN the room was full with opponents of Mao

[A2] Unattested ellipsis

A clausal analysis of SCs like (22)-(23) would involve an **otherwise non-attested type of ellipsis**, one that elides a **prepositional head without its complement**.

(22) The room was filled with more supporters than **opponents of Mao**.

(22') The room was filled with more supporters than [_{IP} ~~the room was filled~~ [_{PP} ~~with opponents of Mao~~]].

(23) La sala estaba llena de más partidarios que **detractores de Mao**.
the room was full with MORE supporters THAN opponents of Mao

(23') La sala estaba llena de más partidarios que [_{IP} ~~la sala estaba llena~~ [_{PP} ~~de detractores de Mao~~]].
the room was full with MORE supporters THAN the room was full with opponents of Mao

(22'') The room was filled [_{PP} with [more supporters [than opponents]] ...]

[A3] Clausal expansion test

The SCs under analysis do not pass the clausal expansion test.

(24) More women than **men {*did/*attended the event/*came yesterday}** attended the event.

(25) Más mujeres que **hombres (*estuvieron ayer)** asistieron al evento.
MORE women THAN men were yesterday attended the event
Intended: 'More women than men were yesterday attended the event.'

(26) **Gizon (*atzo etorri ziren)** baino emakume gehiago bildu ziren ekitaldian.
man yesterday come did THAN woman MORE met did in.the.event
Intended: 'More women than men came yesterday attended the event.'

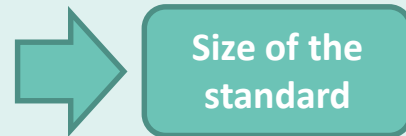
[A] Phrasal subcomparatives

[A] A phrasal standard (direct analysis): the standard of comparison does not derive from a clausal source in these English, Basque and Spanish subcomparatives.

[A1] Bare nouns in the standard

[A2] Unattested ellipsis

[A3] Clausal expansion test



[B] *Comparative coordination* in subcomparatives

It is well known that **clausal subcomparatives** show **coordination-like behaviour** (cf. Corver 1993, 2006 for English; Sáez 1999 for Spanish), for example, in allowing *Conjunction Reduction* ellipsis operations that are restricted to coordinate structures (i.e. disallowed in subordinate structures; Hendriks 1991).

- *Gapping*:

(27) John knows more Romance languages than **Pete ~~knows~~ Germanic languages**.
(Corver 1993:777)

(28) Jon sabe más lenguas románicas que **Pedro ~~sabe~~ lenguas germánicas**.

[B] *Comparative coordination* in subcomparatives

It is well known that **clausal subcomparatives** show **coordination-like behaviour** (cf. Corver 1993, 2006 for English; Sáez 1999 for Spanish), for example, in allowing *Conjunction Reduction* ellipsis operations that are restricted to coordinate structures (i.e. disallowed in subordinate structures; Hendriks 1991).

- *Gapping*:

(27) John knows more Romance languages than **Pete ~~knows~~ Germanic languages**.
(Corver 1993:777)

(28) Jon sabe más lenguas románicas que **Pedro ~~sabe~~ lenguas germánicas**.

Crucially, the coordination-like behaviour of SCs is not restricted to clausal SCs, but extends to phrasal SCs as well.

[B1] Parallelism in phrasal subcomparatives

- The ***parallelism*** or ***identity condition***: coordinate structures impose some kind of parallelism restriction over the conjuncts (cf. Williams 1978, Munn 1993, 2000, Hornstein & Nunes 2002, *inter alia*).

[B1] Parallelism in phrasal subcomparatives

- The ***parallelism*** or ***identity condition***: coordinate structures impose some kind of parallelism restriction over the conjuncts (*cf.* Williams 1978, Munn 1993, 2000, Hornstein & Nunes 2002, *inter alia*).
- Phrasal subcomparatives involve **parallel constituents to the right and left of the standard marker** (*cf.* Napoli 1983):

- (29) a. More **women** *than* **men** attended the event.
b. Más **mujeres** *que* **hombres** asistieron al evento.
c. **Gizon** *baino* **emakume** gehiago bildu ziren ekitaldian.

[B2] Coordinate Structure Constraint & ATB movement

Phrasal subcomparatives only allow extraction if it is *across-the-board* (ATB in the terminology of Williams 1978). Compare (*cf.* Napoli 1983 for English; Sáez 1999: 1147-8 for Spanish):

- (30) a. ***Nancy Reagan**, I've seen more pictures of Ronald Reagan than **books about** _ .
b. **Nancy Reagan**, I've seen more pictures of _ than **books about** _ .

The same restriction on asymmetric extraction applies to **Basque** and **Spanish** phrasal SCs (discussion period).

[B3] Shared constituents

- A **single PP complement** can be shared by the two nominals connected by the standard marker in phrasal subcomparatives with complement-taking nouns.

(31) La sala estaba llena de más **partidarios** que **detractores** **de Mao**.
the room was full with MORE supporters THAN opponents of Mao
'The room was filled with more supporters than opponents of Mao.'

[B3] Shared constituents

- A **single PP complement** can be shared by the two nominals connected by the standard marker in phrasal subcomparatives with complement-taking nouns.

(31) La sala estaba llena de más **partidarios** que **detractores** **de Mao**.
the room was full with MORE supporters THAN opponents of Mao
'The room was filled with more supporters than opponents of Mao.'

- This behaviour regarding shared PPs is identical to that of **common phrasal coordination** (cf. Sáez 1999: 1148).

(32) The room was filled with many **supporters** and **opponents** **of Mao**.

(33) *Conozco **partidarios** considerados como **detractores** **de Mao**.
know supporters considered as detractors of Mao
'*?I know supporters considered detractors *of Mao*.'

[B4] Inmovable standards (Basque)

- Basque displays a very flexible word order and it is generally grouped as a free word order language, with linearisation depending largely on information structure (de Rijk 1969).

(34) a. Ni-k [zu-k baino] bi litro ardo gehiago edan ditut.
me-ERG **you-ERG THAN** two litre wine many.ER drink AUX
'I have drunk two litres of wine more [**than you**].'

b. Ni-k t_i bi litro ardo gehiago edan ditut [zu-k baino]_i.
me-ERG two litre wine many.ER drink AUX **you-ERG THAN**

[B4] Inmovable standards (Basque)

- Basque displays a very flexible word order and it is generally grouped as a free word order language, with linearisation depending largely on information structure (de Rijk 1969).

(34) a. Ni-k [zu-k baino] bi litro ardo gehiago edan ditut.
me-ERG **you-ERG THAN** two litre wine many.ER drink AUX
'I have drunk two litres of wine more [**than you**].'

b. Ni-k t_i bi litro ardo gehiago edan ditut [zu-k baino]_i.
me-ERG two litre wine many.ER drink AUX **you-ERG THAN**

c. Ni-k [zu-k ~~edan~~—dituzun baino] bi litro ardo gehiago edan ditut.
me-ERG **you-ERG drink** AUX **THAN** two litre wine many.ER drink AUX
'I have drunk two litres of wine more [**than you have**].'

[B4] Inmovable standards (Basque)

- Basque displays a very flexible word order and it is generally grouped as a free word order language, with linearisation depending largely on information structure (de Rijk 1969).

(34) a. Ni-k [zu-k baino] bi litro ardo gehiago edan ditut.
me-ERG **you-ERG THAN** two litre wine many.ER drink AUX
'I have drunk two litres of wine more **[than you]**.'

b. Ni-k t_i bi litro ardo gehiago edan ditut [zu-k baino]_i.
me-ERG two litre wine many.ER drink AUX **you-ERG THAN**

c. Ni-k [zu-k ~~edan~~ **dituzun** baino] bi litro ardo gehiago edan ditut.
me-ERG **you-ERG drink** AUX **THAN** two litre wine many.ER drink AUX
'I have drunk two litres of wine more **[than you have]**.'

- Despite its freedom of word order, however, **movement of the standard cluster is banned in Basque surface-phrasal SCs with BNs**, unlike in surface-phrasal comparatives with case-marked DPs.

[B4] Inmovable standards (Basque)

- Despite its freedom of word order, however, movement of the standard cluster is banned in Basque surface-phrasal SCs with BNs, unlike in surface-phrasal comparatives with case-marked DPs.

(35) a/b Ni-k [zu-k baino]_i bi litro ardo gehiago edan ditut [zu-k baino]_i.
me-ERG you-ERG THAN two litre wine many.ER drink AUX
'I have drunk two litres of wine more [than you].'

(36) a. [Gizon baino] emakume gehiago-k jotzen dute egoera larritzat.
man THAN woman MORE-ERG consider AUX situation grave
'More women than men consider the situation grave.'

[B4] Inmovable standards (Basque)

- Despite its freedom of word order, however, movement of the standard cluster is banned in Basque surface-phrasal SCs with BNs, unlike in surface-phrasal comparatives with case-marked DPs.

(35) a/b Ni-k [zu-k baino]_i bi litro ardo gehiago edan ditut [zu-k baino]_i.
me-ERG you-ERG THAN two litre wine many.ER drink AUX
'I have drunk two litres of wine more [than you].'

(36) a. [Gizon baino] emakume gehiago-k jotzen dute egoera larritzat.
man THAN woman MORE-ERG consider AUX situation grave
'More women than men consider the situation grave.'

b. Emakume gehiago-k jotzen dute egoera larritzat [gizon*(ek) baino].
woman MORE-ERG consider AUX situation grave man-ERG THAN

[B4] Inmovable standards (Basque)

- Despite its freedom of word order, however, movement of the standard cluster is banned in Basque surface-phrasal SCs with BNs, unlike in surface-phrasal comparatives with case-marked DPs.

(35) a/b Ni-k [zu-k baino]_i bi litro ardo gehiago edan ditut [zu-k baino]_i.
me-ERG you-ERG THAN two litre wine many.ER drink AUX
'I have drunk two litres of wine more [than you].'

(36) a. [Gizon baino] emakume gehiago-k jotzen dute egoera larritzat.
man THAN woman MORE-ERG consider AUX situation grave
'More women than men consider the situation grave.'

b. Emakume gehiago-k jotzen dute egoera larritzat [gizon*(ek) baino].
woman MORE-ERG consider AUX situation grave man-ERG THAN

c. [~~Egoera-larritzat jotzen duten~~ gizon-ek baino] emakume gehiago-k jotzen dute egoera larritzat.

(Clausal standard with ellipsis)

Subcomparatives with surface-phrasal standards

(37) a. More women than **men** attended the event.

(English)

b. Más mujeres que **hombres** asistieron al evento.

(Spanish)

MORE women THAN men attended the event

c. **Gizon** baino emakume gehiago bildu ziren ekitaldian.

(Basque)

man THAN woman MORE met did in.the.event

These comparatives involve:

[A] A directly phrasal standard, not derived from a clausal source.

[B] An underlying coordinate structure.

[A1] BNs (Basque)

[A2] *Ad hoc* reductionist analysis

[A3] Clausal expansion test

[B1] Parallelism requirement

[B2] Movement constraints

[B3] Shared constituents

[B4] Inmovable standards (Basque)

1. LINKAGE DEBATE



Is there a coordinate or a dependent (subordinate) relation between the compared strings?

1. LINKAGE DEBATE



Uniform approaches:

DEPENDENT HYPOTHESIS

All comparative structures involve a dependent standard cluster.

(Bresnan 1973, Chomsky 1977, Brucart 2003, a.o.)

COORDINATE HYPOTHESIS

All comparative structures involve an underlying coordinate structure that connects the compared strings.

Two-way approaches:

HYBRID HYPOTHESIS

Comparatives have a mixed structure and show the hallmark properties of both coordinate and dependent elements.

(Lechner 2004, Jäger 2019)

SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

Two different classes of comparatives can be distinguished by means of **syntactic tests**.

(Hankamer 1973, Pinkham 1982, Napoli 1983, Sáez 1992, a.o.)

Coordination-like property #1: Gapping

Availability of *Conjunction Reduction* ellipsis operations: *Gapping*, which is restricted to coordinated structures and comparatives:

- (40) *A Jed le gustó Banja Luka *cuando a* Svenja _ Sarajevo. [SUB]
to Jed himliked Banja Luka when to Svenja _ Sarajevo.
'*Jed liked Banja Luka *when Svenja liked* Sarajevo.'
- (41) A Jed le gustó Banja Luka y a Svenja _ Sarajevo. [&]
to Jed himliked Banja Luka and to Svenja _ Sarajevo.
'Jed liked Banja Luka and Svenja ~~liked~~ Sarajevo.'

Coordination-like property #1: Gapping

Availability of *Conjunction Reduction* ellipsis operations: *Gapping*, which is restricted to coordinated structures and comparatives:

- (40) *A Jed le gustó Banja Luka *cuando* a Svenja _ Sarajevo. [SUB]
to Jed himliked Banja Luka when to Svenja _ Sarajevo.
'*Jed liked Banja Luka *when* Svenja ~~liked~~ Sarajevo.'

- (41) A Jed le gustó Banja Luka y a Svenja _ Sarajevo. [&]
to Jed himliked Banja Luka and to Svenja _ Sarajevo.
'Jed liked Banja Luka and Svenja ~~liked~~ Sarajevo.'

- (42) *Gapping* in *que-comparatives* (not in *de-comparatives*):

A Jed le gustó más Banja Luka {*que*/**de*} a Svenja _ Sarajevo. [>]
to Jed him liked MORE Banja Luka THAN to Svenja _ Sarajevo
'Jed liked Banja Luka more *than*_{que} Svenja ~~liked~~ Sarajevo.'

Coord. property #2: RNR

Availability of *Conjunction Reduction* ellipsis operations: *Right-Node-Raising (RNR)*, restricted to coordinated structures and comparatives:

- (43) *A muchas personas les gustó_ cuando a otras les disgustó, el lugar. [SUB]
to many people them liked when to others them disliked the place.
'*Many people liked ~~the place~~ when others disliked the place.'
- (44) A muchas personas les gustó_ pero a otras les disgustó, el lugar. [&]
to many people them liked the place but to others them disliked the place.
'Many people liked ~~the place~~ but others disliked the place.'

Coord. property #2: RNR

Availability of *Conjunction Reduction* ellipsis operations: *Right-Node-Raising (RNR)*, restricted to coordinated structures and comparatives:

- (43) *A muchas personas les gustó_ cuando a otras les disgustó, el lugar. [SUB]
to many people them liked when to others them disliked the place.
'*Many people liked the place when others disliked the place.'
- (44) A muchas personas les gustó_ pero a otras les disgustó, el lugar. [&]
to many people them liked the place but to others them disliked the place.
'Many people liked the place but others disliked the place.'
- (45) **RNR in *que*-comparatives:**
A más personas les gustó _ {que/*de} les disgustó, el lugar. [>]
to MORE people them liked THAN them disliked the place
'More people liked the place than_{que} disliked the place.'

Coord. property #4: CSC

Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967): no element contained in a conjunct may be moved out of that conjunct...

...with the exception of *across-the-board (ATB) movement* (cf. Corver 1990 for English comparatives):

(49) *¿[De qué filósofo]_i ha leído Marina más ensayos de Frege **que** novelas **t_i**?
of what philosopher has read Marina MORE essays of Frege THAN novels
'*Of what philosopher has Marina read more essays of Frege than_{que} novels t_i?'

(50) ¿[De qué filósofo]_i ha leído Marina más ensayos **t_i** **que** novelas **t_i**?
of what philosopher has read Marina MORE essays QUE novels
'Of what philosopher has Marina read more essays t_i than_{que} novels t_i?'

Coord. property #4: CSC

Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967): no element contained in a conjunct may be moved out of that conjunct...

...with the exception of *across-the-board (ATB) movement* (cf. Corver 1990 for English comparatives):

(49) *¿[De qué filósofo]_i ha leído Marina más ensayos de Frege **que** novelas **t_i**?
of what philosopher has read Marina MORE essays of Frege THAN novels
'*Of what philosopher has Marina read more essays of Frege than_{que} novels t_i?'

(50) ¿[De qué filósofo]_i ha leído Marina más ensayos **t_i** **que** novelas **t_i**?
of what philosopher has read Marina MORE essays QUE novels
'Of what philosopher has Marina read more essays t_i than_{que} novels t_i?'

Spanish *de* comparatives do not impose such a restriction on asymmetric extraction:

(51) ¿**Dónde_i** compró Juan aún más libros **t_i de** cuantos Luis compró **en Madrid**?
where bought Juan even MORE books DE how.many Luis bought in Madrid
'Where_i did Juan buy even more books t_i than_{de} how many Luis bought in Madrid?' (Lit.)

Subordination-like property #1: center-embedding

Center-embedding (Kwon & Polinsky 2008, Belyaev 2015; Corver 2006 for English comparatives):

(52)*Krzys, *and Jed was preparing dinner*, fell asleep. [&]

(53) Krzys, *while Jed was preparing dinner*, fell asleep. [SUB]

Subordination-like property #1: center-embedding

Center-embedding (Kwon & Polinsky 2008, Belyaev 2015; Corver 2006 for English comparatives):

(52)*Krzys, *and Jed was preparing dinner*, fell asleep. [&]

(53) Krzys, *while Jed was preparing dinner*, fell asleep. [SUB]

(54) Más gente **de la** **que me dijiste** conoce a Johannes. [>]

MORE people THAN D.fem.sg that to.me told knows to Johannes

'More people *than_{de} you told me* know Johannes.'

Subordination-like property #1: center-embedding

Center-embedding (Kwon & Polinsky 2008, Belyaev 2015; Corver 2006 for English comparatives):

(52)*Krzys, *and Jed was preparing dinner*, fell asleep. [&]

(53) Krzys, *while Jed was preparing dinner*, fell asleep. [SUB]

(54) Más gente **de la** **que me dijiste** conoce a Johannes. [>]

MORE people THAN D.fem.sg that to.me told knows to Johannes

‘More people *than_{de} you told me* know Johannes.’

Not possible in *que*-comparatives:

(55)*A más personas **que les disgustó Sarajevo** les gustó Banja Luka. [>]

to MORE people QUE them disliked Sarajevo them liked Banja Luka

*‘More people *than_{que} disliked Sarajevo* liked Banja Luka.’

Subord. property #2: cataphora

Cataphora (English examples from Roberts 1988: 57; see also Haspelmath 1995)

(56) While he_i sat Fred_i ate. [SUB]

(57) *He_i sat and Fred_i ate. [&]

Subord. property #2: cataphora

Cataphora (English examples from Roberts 1988: 57; see also Haspelmath 1995)

(56) While he_i sat Fred_i ate. [SUB]

(57) *He_i sat and Fred_i ate. [&]

(58)*Más partidarios de él_i *que detractores de Jorge_i* se presentaron a la reunión. [>]
MORE supporters of him QUE detractors of Jorge them showed.up at the meeting
'*More supporters of him_i *than_{que} detractors of Jorge_i* showed up at the meeting.'

Subord. property #2: cataphora

Cataphora (English examples from Roberts 1988: 57; see also Haspelmath 1995)

(56) While he_i sat Fred_i ate. [SUB]

(57) *He_i sat and Fred_i ate. [&]

(58)*Más partidarios de él_i *que detractores* de Jorge_i se presentaron a la reunión. [>]
MORE supporters of him QUE detractors of Jorge them showed.up at the meeting
'*More supporters of him_i *than_{que} detractors of Jorge_i* showed up at the meeting.'

(59) A más personas *de las que él_i esperaba* les gustó la camisa de Alejo_i. [>]
to MORE people DE the.F.P that he expected them liked the t-shirt of Alejo
'More people *than_{de} he_i expected* liked Alejo_i's t-shirt.'

Subord. property #3: finite complement clauses

Ellipsis of tensed clauses in the complement position of some mental state verbs, verbs of desire and verbs of communication such as *say* or *expect* is limited to subordinated contexts.

- (60) Todos los estudiantes que ~~esperaba que x estudiante viera~~ la película vieron la película. [SUB]
all the students that expected that x students would watch the film watched the film
'Every student that I expected ~~that x student would watch the film~~ watched the film.'
- (61) *La película era larga y ~~esperaba que la película fuera~~ larga. [&]
the film was long and expected that the film would be long
'*The film was long and I expected ~~the film would be long~~.'

Subord. property #3: finite complement clauses

Ellipsis of tensed clauses in the complement position of some mental state verbs, verbs of desire and verbs of communication such as *say* or *expect* is limited to subordinated contexts.

- (60) Todos los estudiantes que ~~esperaba que x estudiante viera~~ la película vieron la película. [SUB]
all the students that expected that x students would watch the film watched the film
'Every student that I expected ~~that x student would watch the film~~ watched the film.'
- (61) *La película era larga y ~~esperaba que la película fuera~~ larga. [&]
the film was long and expected that the film would be long
'*The film was long and I expected ~~the film would be long~~.'
- (62) La película era más larga **de lo que esperaba** ~~que la película fuera~~ larga. [>]
the film was MORE long THAN the.NEUT that expected that the film would be long
'The film was longer than_{de} **(what) I expected.**'

The standard shows *Antecedent-Contained Deletion* (ACD; an ellipsis operation that is restricted to embedded contexts such as Relative Clauses; cf. Kennedy 1997):

Subord. property #3: finite complement clauses

Ellipsis of tensed clauses in the complement position of some mental state verbs, verbs of desire and verbs of communication such as *say* or *expect* is limited to subordinated contexts.

(60) Todos los estudiantes que ~~esperaba que x estudiante viera~~ la película vieron la película. [SUB]
all the students that expected that x students would watch the film watched the film
'Every student that I expected that x student would watch the film watched the film.'

(61) *La película era larga y ~~esperaba que la película fuera~~ larga. [&]
the film was long and expected that the film would be long
'*The film was long and I expected the film would be long.'



(62) La película era más larga **de lo que esperaba** ~~que la película fuera~~ larga. [>]
the film was MORE long THAN the.NEUT that expected that the film would be long
'The film was longer than_{de} (what) I expected.'

(63) *La película era más larga **que esperaba**.
the film was MORE long that expected
Intended: 'The film was longer than_{que} I expected.'



The standard shows *Antecedent-Contained Deletion* (ACD; an ellipsis operation that is restricted to embedded contexts such as *Relative Clauses*; cf. Kennedy 1997):

[>]

	Dependent comparatives			Coordinate comparatives		
	ENGL	SPA	BASQ	ENGL	SPA	BASQ
Center-embedding	✓	✓	✓			
Cataphoric references	✓	✓	✓			
Deletion of finite complement clauses	✓	✓	✓			

 = used for the first time
 = previously employed tests

	Dependent comparatives			Coordinate comparatives		
	ENGL	SPA	BASQ	ENGL	SPA	BASQ
Center-embedding	✓	✓	✓			
Cataphoric references	✓	✓	✓			
Deletion of finite complement clauses	✓	✓	✓			
Gapping				✓	✓	
Right Node Raising				✓	✓	
Shared complements or modifiers				✓	✓	✓
Coordinate Structure Constraint				✓	✓	✓

 = used for the first time
 = previously employed tests

1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

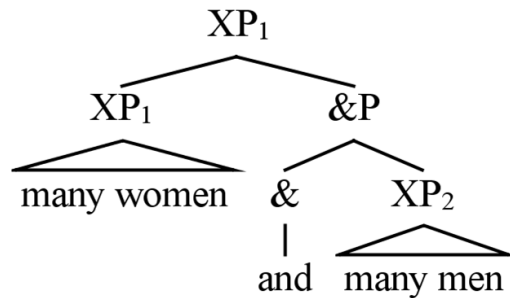
COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

(65) a. **More women** **than men** came to the march.

b. **Más mujeres** **que hombres** fueron a la manifestación.

c. **Gizon baino emakume gehiagok** parte hartu zuten manifestazioan.

(66) Many women and men (...)



1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

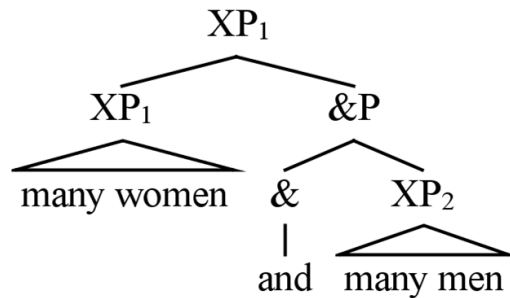
COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

(65) a. **More women** **than men** came to the march.

b. **Más mujeres** **que hombres** fueron a la manifestación.

c. **Gizon baino emakume gehiagok** parte hartu zuten manifestazioan.

(66) Many women and men (...)



- Syntactically, I follow Munn's (1993) *adjunct analysis of coordination*.

1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

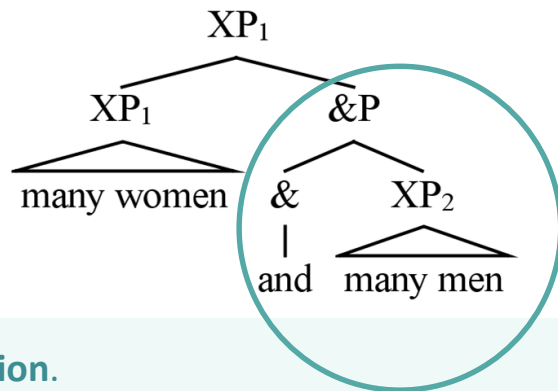
COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

(65) a. **More women** **than men** came to the march.

b. **Más mujeres** **que hombres** fueron a la manifestación.

c. **Gizon baino emakume gehiagok** parte hartu zuten manifestazioan.

(66) Many women and men (...)



- Syntactically, I follow Munn's (1993) *adjunct analysis of coordination*.

1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

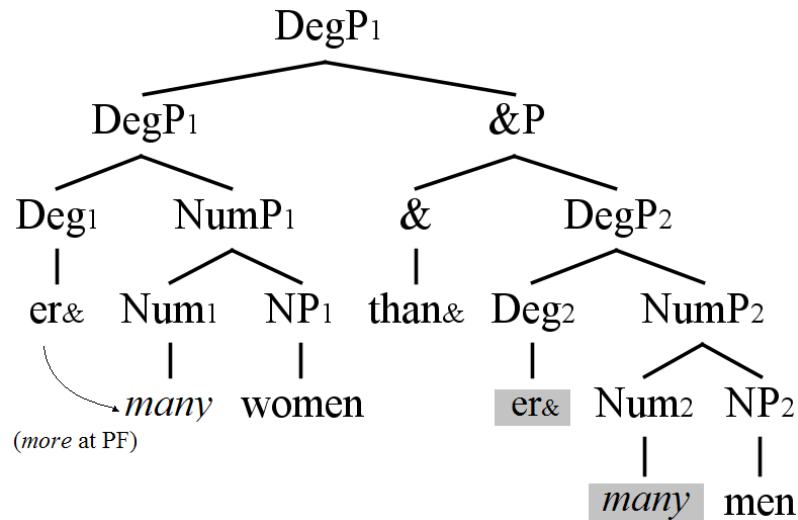
My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

(65) a. **More** women **than** men came to the march.

b. **Más** mujeres **que** hombres fueron a la manifestación.

c. **Gizon baino** emakume gehiagok parte hartu zuten manifestazioan.



1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

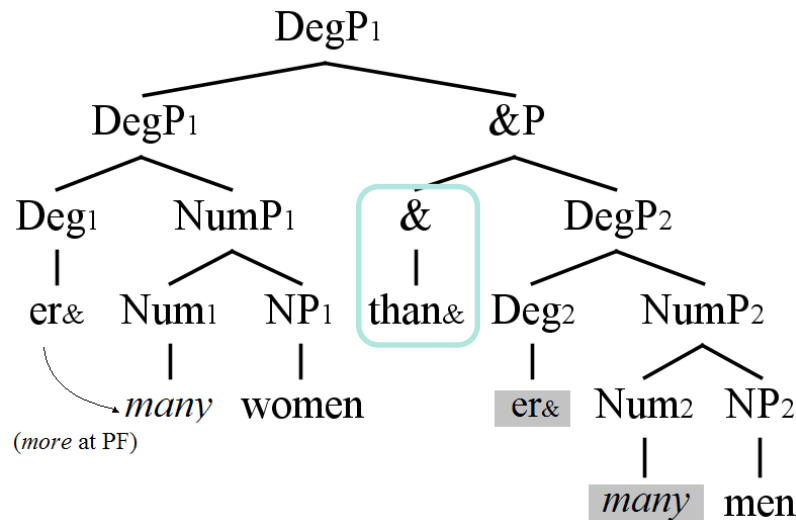
My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

(65) a. **More** women **than** men came to the march.

b. **Más** mujeres **que** hombres fueron a la manifestación.

c. **Gizon baino** emakume gehiagok parte hartu zuten manifestazioan.



1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

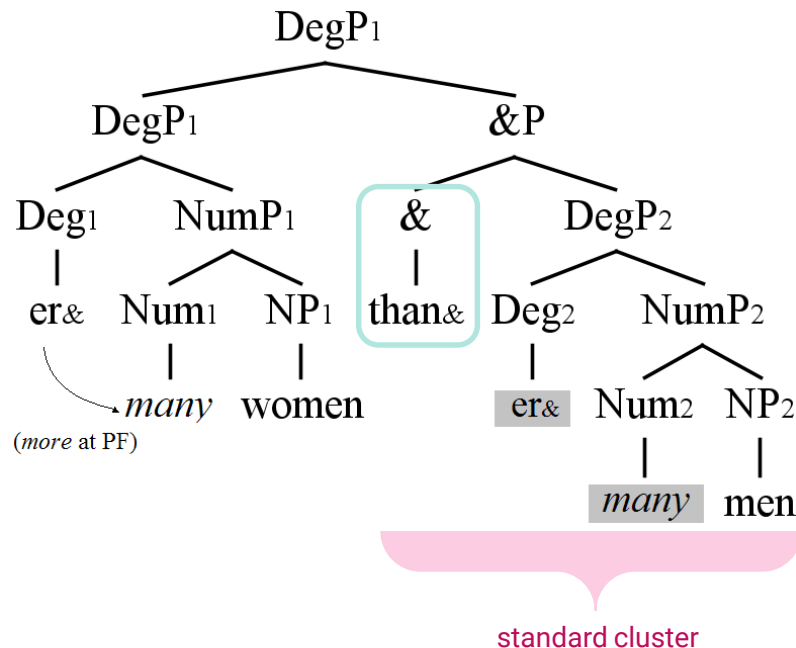
My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

(65) a. **More** women **than** men came to the march.

b. **Más** mujeres **que** hombres fueron a la manifestación.

c. **Gizon baino** emakume gehiagok parte hartu zuten manifestazioan.



1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

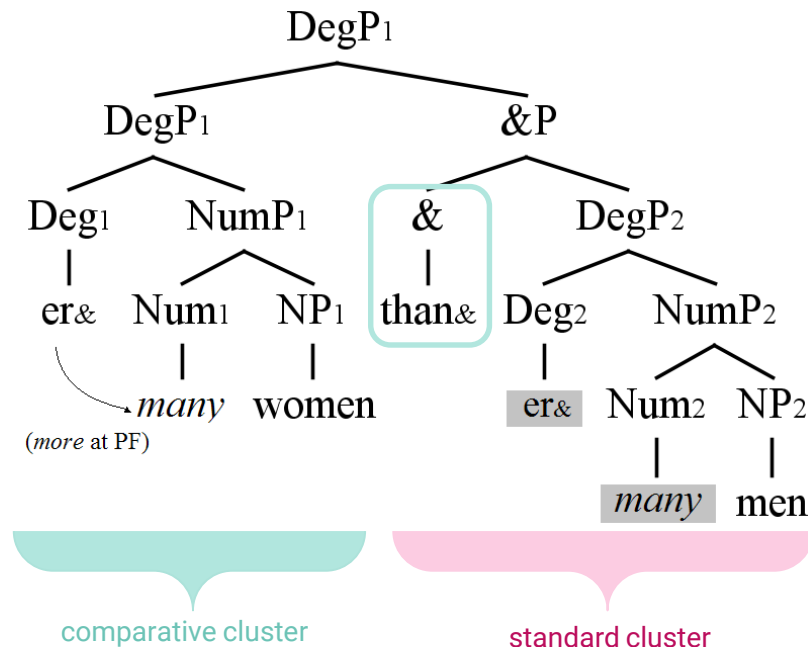
My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

(65) a. **More** women **than** men came to the march.

b. **Más** mujeres **que** hombres fueron a la manifestación.

c. **Gizon baino** emakume gehiagok parte hartu zuten manifestazioan.



1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

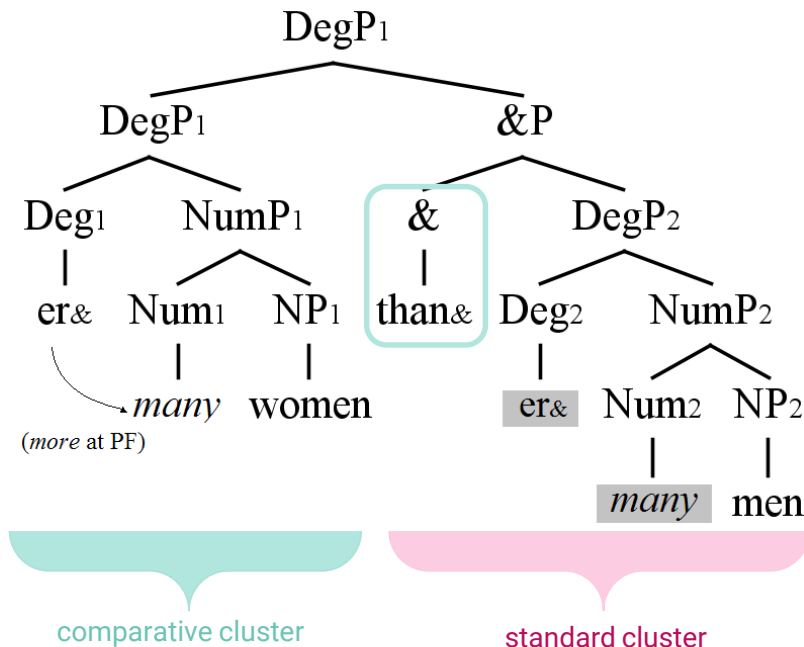
My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

(65) a. **More women** **than men** came to the march.

b. **Más mujeres** **que hombres** fueron a la manifestación.

c. **Gizon baino emakume gehiagok** parte hartu zuten manifestazioan.



- -er + many = **more** at PF (Bresnan 1975).
- **Phrasal subcomparatives involve coordination of two DegPs** (cf. Vela-Plo 2018a, 2018b)

COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

Semantically, I consider that the quantificational ***A-not-A* analysis of comparison** (Seuren 1973, Larson 1988, Schwarzschild 2008, Mathusansky 2011) accounts best for the data.

- **Existential quantification over degrees ($\exists d$)**
- **Coordination (&)** of the compared elements
- **Negation (\neg)**

COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

Semantically, I consider that the quantificational ***A-not-A* analysis of comparison** (Seuren 1973, Larson 1988, Schwarzschild 2008, Mathusansky 2011) accounts best for the data.

- **Existential quantification over degrees ($\exists d$)**
- **Coordination (&)** of the compared elements
- **Negation (\neg)**

(67) Marek is taller than Jenny.

- (68) $\exists d [[\text{tall}(\text{Marek}) \geq d] \wedge \neg [\text{tall}(\text{Jenny}) \geq d]]$
- Marek is tall to an extent that Jenny is not.
 - There exists a degree d such that Marek is tall to at least that degree and it is not the case that Jenny is at least d tall.

COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

Semantically, I consider that the quantificational **A-not-A analysis of comparison** (Seuren 1973, Larson 1988, Schwarzschild 2008, Mathusansky 2011) accounts best for the data.

- **Existential quantification over degrees** ($\exists d$)
- **Coordination (&)** of the compared elements
- **Negation (\neg)**

(67) Marek is taller than Jenny.

- (68) $\exists d [[\text{tall}(\text{Marek}) \geq d] \wedge \neg [\text{tall}(\text{Jenny}) \geq d]]$
- Marek is tall to an extent that Jenny is not.
 - There exists a degree d such that Marek is tall to at least that degree and it is not the case that Jenny is at least d tall.

*More*_& introduces **existential Q over degrees** (this approach can explain the cases of scopal ambiguity discussed in Heim 2000):

$$(69) \llbracket more_{\&} \rrbracket_{\langle \langle d, t \rangle, t \rangle} = \lambda D_{\langle d, t \rangle} . \exists d [D(d)]$$

COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

Semantically, I consider that the quantificational **A-not-A analysis of comparison** (Seuren 1973, Larson 1988, Schwarzschild 2008, Mathusansky 2011) accounts best for the data.

- **Existential quantification over degrees** ($\exists d$)
- **Coordination (&)** of the compared elements
- **Negation** (\neg)

(67) Marek is taller than Jenny.

- (68) $\exists d [[\text{tall}(\text{Marek}) \geq d] \wedge \neg [\text{tall}(\text{Jenny}) \geq d]]$
- Marek is tall to an extent that Jenny is not.
 - There exists a degree d such that Marek is tall to at least that degree and it is not the case that Jenny is at least d tall.

*More*_& introduces **existential Q over degrees** (this approach can explain the cases of scopal ambiguity discussed in Heim 2000):

$$(69) \llbracket \text{more}_{\&} \rrbracket_{\langle \langle d, t \rangle, t \rangle} = \lambda D_{\langle d, t \rangle} . \exists d [D(d)]$$

The behaviour of *than*_& is similar to **and not** in that it involves **coordination of two alike categories** (Munn 1993) and **negation** (Seuren 1973).

$$(70) \llbracket \text{and} \rrbracket = \lambda Q_{\langle et, t \rangle} \lambda R_{\langle et, t \rangle} \lambda P_{\langle et \rangle} . R(P) \wedge Q(P)$$

(MEET operator \sqcap discussed in Partee & Rooth 1983; also Winter 2001, Coppock & Champollion 2017)

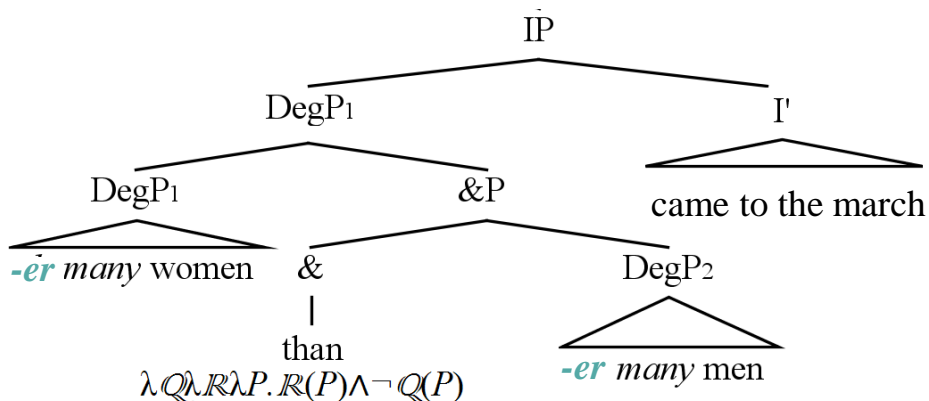
$$(71) \llbracket \text{than}_{\&} \rrbracket = \lambda Q_{\langle et, t \rangle} \lambda R_{\langle et, t \rangle} \lambda P_{\langle et \rangle} . R(P) \wedge \neg Q(P)$$

1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

(72) a. **More women** **than men** came to the march.

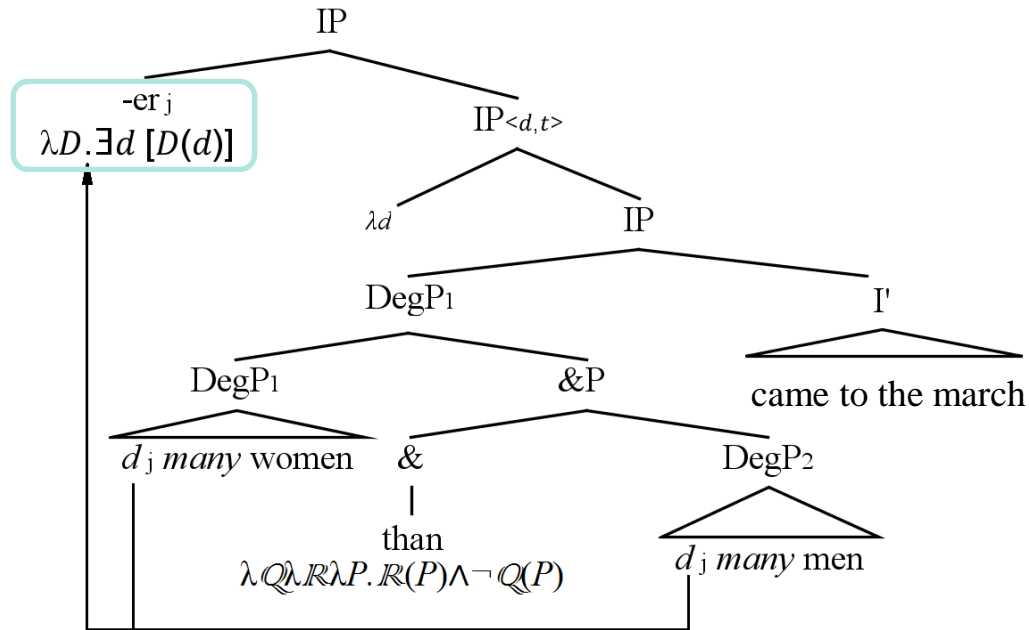


1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

(72) a. **More women** **than men** came to the march.

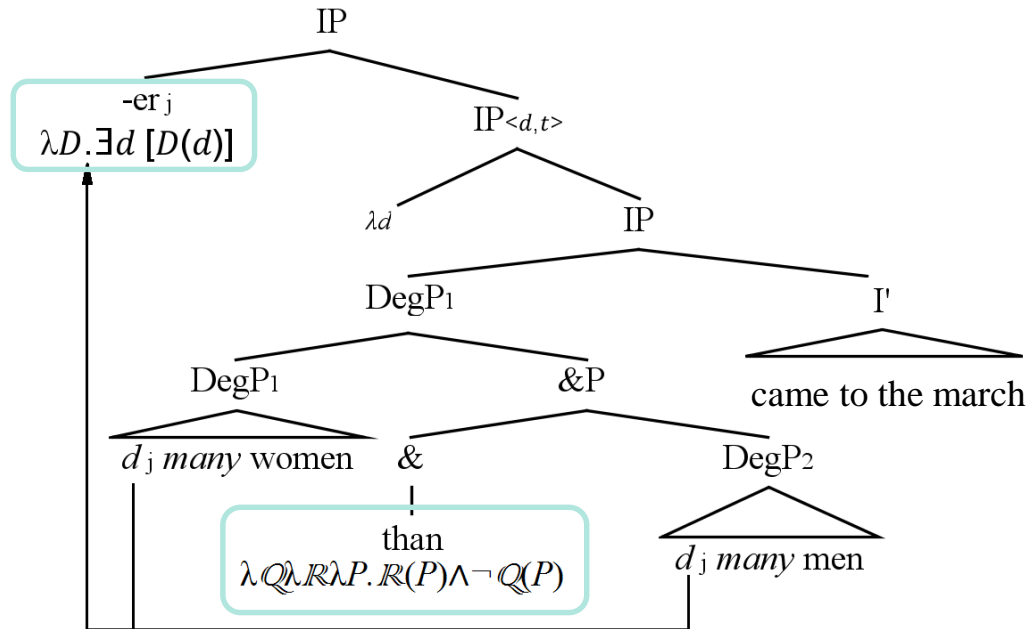


1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

COORDINATE COMPARATIVES

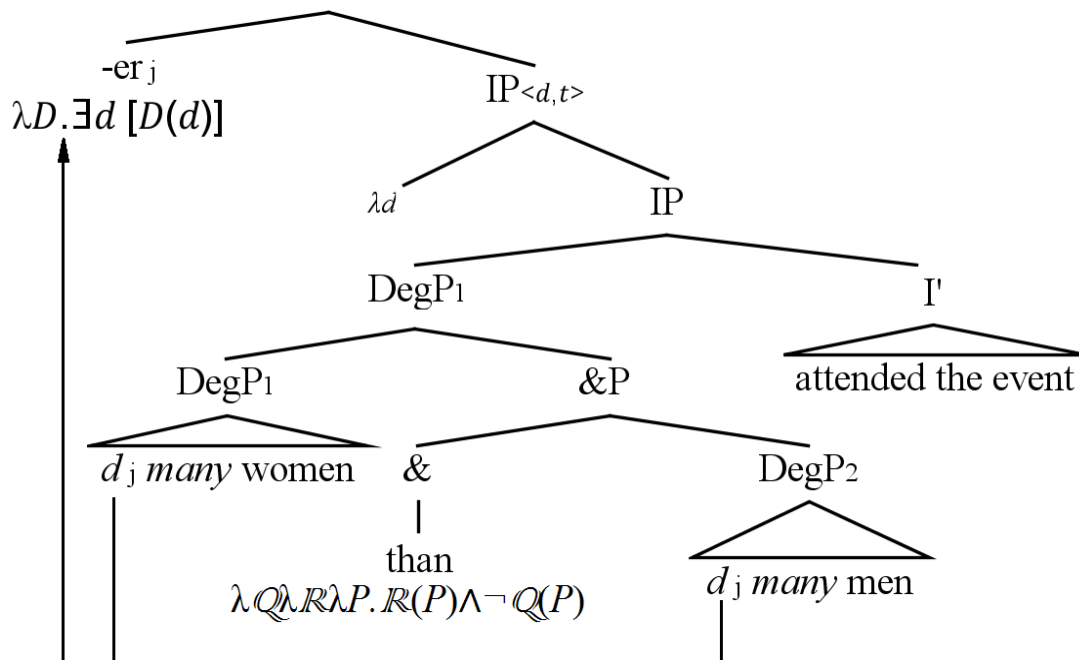
(72) a. **More women** **than men** came to the march.



Analysis: coordinating *more/than*_&

(72) More women than **men** attended the event.

(73)

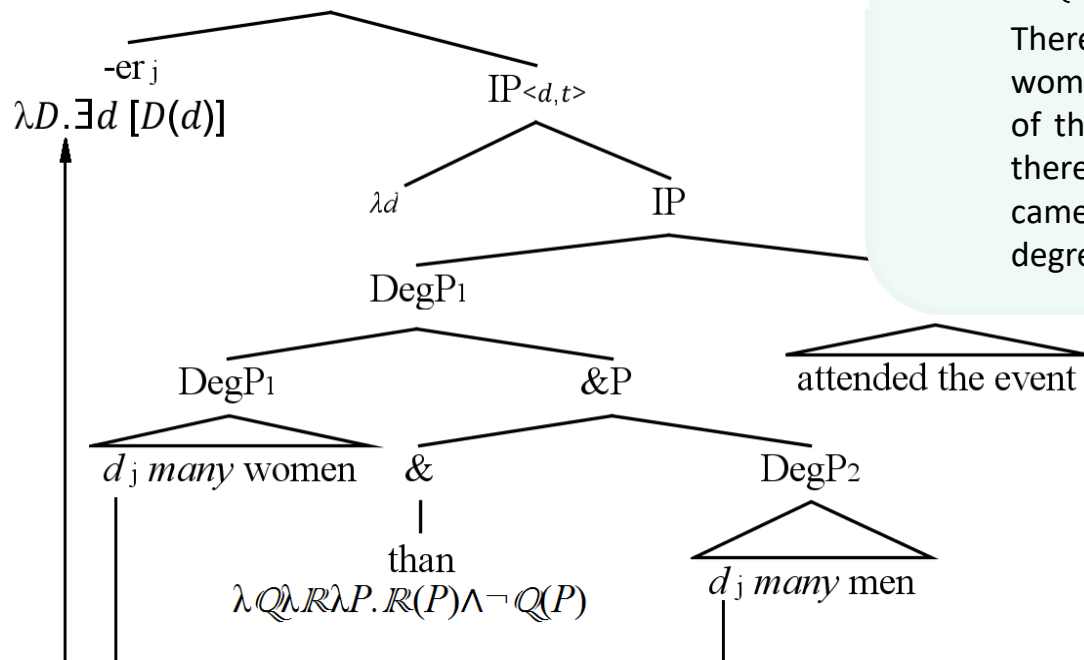


- I develop the insights presented in Corver (1993) for English clausal subcomparatives and expand its empirical ground to cover **English, Basque and Spanish phrasal subcomparatives**.
- Coordinating *more/than*_& involves symmetric ATB binding of two degree variables, one in each conjunct, by the \exists quantifier over degrees introduced by *more/-er*.

Analysis: coordinating *more/than*_&

(72) More women than **men** attended the event.

(73)



$$(74) \quad \exists d \left[\begin{array}{l} \exists y [women(y) \wedge come(y) \wedge |y| \geq d] \\ \wedge \neg \exists x [men(x) \wedge come(x) \wedge |x| \geq d] \end{array} \right]$$

There exists a degree d and there exist some women y that came such that the cardinality of the women reaches at least degree d and there do not exist some men x such that they came and their cardinality reaches at least degree d .

1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

DEPENDENT COMPARATIVES

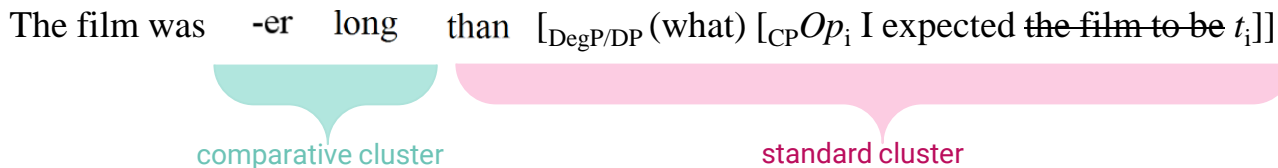
- (64) a. The film was **longer** **than** **(what) I expected**.
b. La película era **más larga** **de lo que esperaba**.
c. Filma **espero nuen(-a) baino luzeagoa** izan zen.

1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

DEPENDENT COMPARATIVES

- (64) a. The film was **longer** **than (what) I expected**.
b. La película era **más larga** **de lo que esperaba**.
c. Filma **espero nuen(-a)** **baino luzeagoa** izan zen.

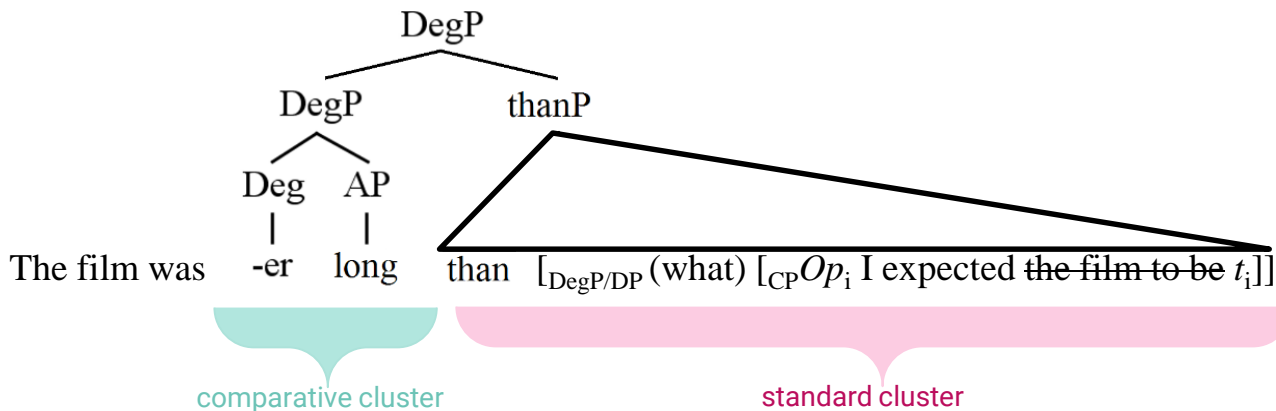


1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

DEPENDENT COMPARATIVES

- (64) a. The film was **longer** **than (what) I expected**.
b. La película era **más larga** **de lo que esperaba**.
c. Filma **espero nuen(-a)** **baino luzeagoa** izan zen.

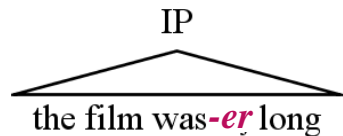


1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

DEPENDENT COMPARATIVES

(64) a. The film was **longer** **than (what) I expected**.

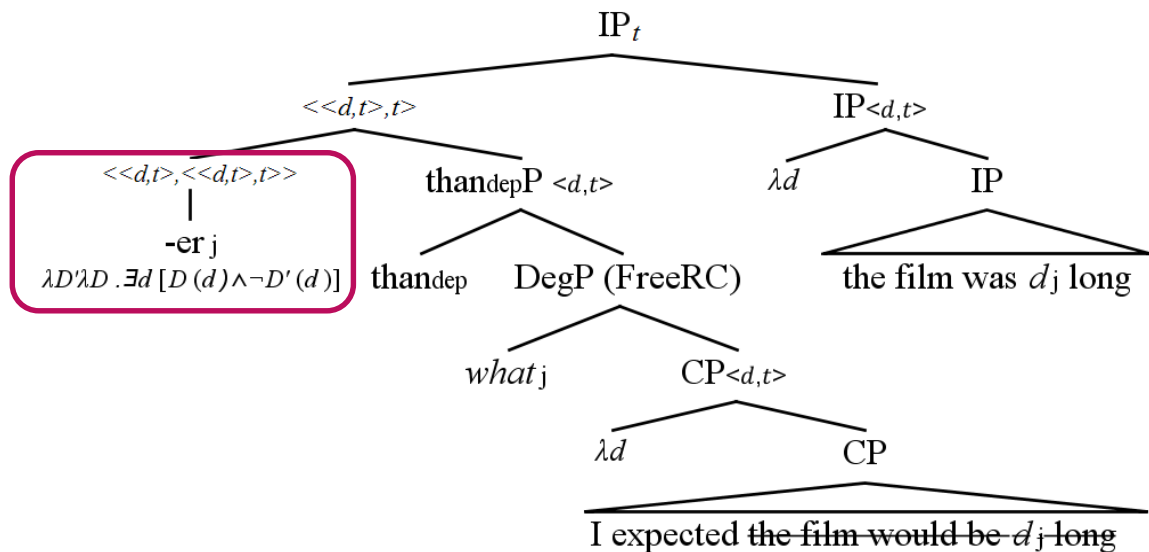


1. LINKAGE DEBATE: SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

My proposal for Basque, Spanish and English comparatives:

DEPENDENT COMPARATIVES

(64) a. The film was **longer** **than (what) I expected**.



1. LINKAGE DEBATE



Uniform approaches:

DEPENDENT HYPOTHESIS

COORDINATE HYPOTHESIS

Two-way approaches:

HYBRID HYPOTHESIS

SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

Two major classes of comparatives need to be distinguished (Hankamer 1973, Pinkham 1982, Napoli 1983, Sáez 1992, a.o.):

- **Coordinate comparatives**
- **Dependent comparatives**

Crucially, we can differentiate these two types by means of the **systematic application of a battery of syntactic tests** in Basque, Spanish and English.

TWO INDEPENDENT VARIABLES



LINKAGE TYPE

- Coordination
- Dependency



SIZE OF THE STANDARD

- Clausal
- Phrasal

SPANISH *QUE/DE* ALTERNATION

(75) La película era más larga **de** lo que esperaba.

“The film was longer **than** I expected.”

(76) Más personas trans **que** personas cis sufren discriminación.

“More trans people **than** cis people suffer from discrimination.”

TWO INDEPENDENT VARIABLES



LINKAGE TYPE

- Coordination
- Dependency



SIZE OF THE STANDARD

- Clausal
- Phrasal

		LINKAGE TYPE	
		COORDINATION	DEPENDENCY
SIZE	PHRASAL		
	CLAUSAL		

TWO INDEPENDENT VARIABLES



LINKAGE TYPE

- Coordination
- Dependency



SIZE OF THE STANDARD

- Clausal
- Phrasal

		LINKAGE TYPE	
		COORDINATION	DEPENDENCY
SIZE	PHRASAL	<p>[1] <i>que</i>&</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category: Coordinating Conjunction • Semantic restriction: selects for two phrases of the same semantic type 	
		Había más partidarios <i>que</i> & <i>detractores de Mao</i> en aquella sala.	
	CLAUSAL	<p>[2] <i>que</i>&</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category: Coordinating Conjunction • Semantic restriction: selects for two phrases of the same semantic type (the propositional type <i>t</i>) 	
		A Marina le gustan más los bizcochos <i>que</i> & <i>a Maider _ las pizzas</i> .	

TWO INDEPENDENT VARIABLES



LINKAGE TYPE

- Coordination
- Dependency



SIZE OF THE STANDARD

- Clausal
- Phrasal

		LINKAGE TYPE	
		COORDINATION	DEPENDENCY
SIZE	PHRASAL	<p>[1] <i>que</i>_{&}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category: Coordinating Conjunction • Semantic restriction: selects for two phrases of the same semantic type 	<p>[3] <i>de</i>_{dep}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category: Preposition • Syntactic restriction: selects for a phrasal standard (either a MeasP or a complex DP with degree abstraction) • Semantic restriction: selects for a degree predicate
		Había más partidarios <i>que</i> _{&} <i>detractores de Mao</i> en aquella sala.	El libro tiene más <i>de</i> _{dep} <i>cien páginas</i> . La película era más larga <i>de</i> _{dep} <i>lo que esperaba</i> .
	CLAUSAL	<p>[2] <i>que</i>_{&}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category: Coordinating Conjunction • Semantic restriction: selects for two phrases of the same semantic type (the propositional type <i>t</i>) 	
		A Marina le gustan más los bizcochos <i>que</i> _{&} <i>a Maider _ las pizzas</i> .	

TWO INDEPENDENT VARIABLES



LINKAGE TYPE

- Coordination
- Dependency



SIZE OF THE STANDARD

- Clausal
- Phrasal

		LINKAGE TYPE	
		COORDINATION	DEPENDENCY
SIZE	PHRASAL	<p>[1] <i>que</i>_{&}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category: Coordinating Conjunction • Semantic restriction: selects for two phrases of the same semantic type 	<p>[3] <i>de</i>_{dep}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category: Preposition • Syntactic restriction: selects for a phrasal standard (either a MeasP or a complex DP with degree abstraction) • Semantic restriction: selects for a degree predicate
		Había más partidarios <i>que</i> _{&} <i>detractores de Mao</i> en aquella sala.	El libro tiene más <i>de</i> _{dep} <i>cien páginas</i> . La película era más larga <i>de</i> _{dep} <i>lo que esperaba</i> .
	CLAUSAL	<p>[2] <i>que</i>_{&}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category: Coordinating Conjunction • Semantic restriction: selects for two phrases of the same semantic type (the propositional type <i>t</i>) 	<p>[4] <i>que</i>_{dep}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category: Subordinating conjunction • Syntactic restriction: selects for clausal standard (a CP) • Semantic restriction: selects for a degree predicate
		A Marina le gustan más los bizcochos <i>que</i> _{&} <i>a Maider _ las pizzas</i> .	Maitane compró más aguacates <i>que</i> _{dep} <i>libros me dijo Borja que leyó Oihana</i> .

TWO INDEPENDENT VARIABLES



LINKAGE TYPE

- Coordination
- Dependency



SIZE OF THE STANDARD

- Clausal
- Phrasal

		LINKAGE TYPE	
		COORDINATION	DEPENDENCY
SIZE	PHRASAL	<p>[1] <i>que</i>_{&}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category: Coordinating Conjunction • Semantic restriction: selects for two phrases of the same semantic type 	<p>[3] <i>de</i>_{dep}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category: Preposition • Syntactic restriction: selects for a phrasal standard (either a MeasP or a complex DP with degree abstraction) • Semantic restriction: selects for a degree predicate
		Había más partidarios <i>que</i> _{&} <i>detractores de Mao</i> en aquella sala.	El libro tiene más <i>de</i> _{dep} <i>cien páginas</i> . La película era más larga <i>de</i> _{dep} <i>lo que esperaba</i> .
	CLAUSAL	<p>[2] <i>que</i>_{&}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category: Coordinating Conjunction • Semantic restriction: selects for two phrases of the same semantic type (the propositional type <i>t</i>) 	<p>[4] <i>que</i>_{dep}</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Category: Subordinating conjunction • Syntactic restriction: selects for clausal standard (a CP) • Semantic restriction: selects for a degree predicate
		A Marina le gustan más los bizcochos <i>que</i> _{&} <i>a Maider _ las pizzas</i> .	Maitane compró más aguacates <i>que</i> _{dep} <i>libros me dijo Borja que leyó Oihana</i> . Q + V – S inversion

TWO INDEPENDENT VARIABLES



LINKAGE TYPE

- Coordination
- Dependency



SIZE OF THE STANDARD

- Clausal
- Phrasal

3. (SUB)DELETION DEBATE



(77) **Comparative (Sub)Deletion:** obligatory presence of a gap in the standard of comparison

- a. Amelia bought more books **than we expected** (*many books).
- b. More women **than** (*thirty) men attended the defence.

3. (SUB)DELETION DEBATE



(77) **Comparative (Sub)Deletion**: obligatory presence of a gap in the standard of comparison

- a. Amelia bought more books **than we expected** (*many books).
- b. More women **than** (*thirty) men attended the defence.

→ **Comparative (Sub)Deletion is not the result of an *ad hoc* deletion operation applying only to comparatives.**

SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

The obligatory gap in the standard of comparison is the result of:

3. (SUB)DELETION DEBATE



3. (SUB)DELETION DEBATE



SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

The obligatory gap in the standard of comparison is the result of:

- **Empty operator movement** with relative-like degree abstraction in **dependent comparatives** in English, Spanish and Basque:

(78)a. La película era más larga de *lo que Mari esperaba*.

b. ... [de_{dep} lo [$_{CP}$ **Op_i** que $_{[REL]}$ Mari esperaba ~~que la película fuera t_i~~]]

3. (SUB)DELETION DEBATE



SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

The obligatory gap in the standard of comparison is the result of:

- **Empty operator movement** with relative-like degree abstraction in **dependent comparatives** in English, Spanish and Basque:

(78)a. La película era más larga de *lo que Mari esperaba*.

b. ... [_{dep} lo [_{CP} **Op_i** que_[REL] Mari esperaba ~~que la película fuera t_i~~]]

(79) a. Filma Mari-k espero zuen(-a) baino luze-ago-a izan zen.
the.film Mari-ERG expected AUX.EN-DET THAN long-ER-SG be AUX

b. [[_{CP} **Op_i** Marik filma t_i izatea espero zuen] (-a)]] baino ...

3. (SUB)DELETION DEBATE



SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

The obligatory gap in the standard of comparison is the result of:

- **Empty operator movement** with relative-like degree abstraction in **dependent comparatives** in English, Spanish and Basque:

(78)a. La película era más larga de *lo que Mari esperaba*.

b. ... [_{dep} lo [_{CP} **Op_i** que_[REL] Mari esperaba ~~que la película fuera t_i~~]]

(79) a. Filma Mari-k espero zuen(-a) baino luze-ago-a izan zen.
the.film Mari-ERG expected AUX.EN-DET THAN long-ER-SG be AUX

b. [[_{CP} **Op_i** Marik filma t_i izatea espero zuen] (-a)]] baino ...

- What about **coordinate comparatives**?

3. (SUB)DELETION DEBATE



SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

The obligatory gap in the standard of comparison is the result of:

- **Empty operator movement** with relative-like degree abstraction in **dependent comparatives** in English, Spanish and Basque.
- NOVEL ANALYSIS:
ATB Quantifier Raising in English, Spanish and Basque **coordinate comparatives**, consisting in parallel **QR** of the quantificational Deg^o or DegP from both comparees and obligatory ellipsis of the second form.

3. (SUB)DELETION DEBATE



SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

The obligatory gap in the standard of comparison is the result of:

- **Empty operator movement** with relative-like degree abstraction in **dependent comparatives** in English, Spanish and Basque.
- NOVEL ANALYSIS:
ATB Quantifier Raising in English, Spanish and Basque **coordinate comparatives**, consisting in parallel **QR** of the quantificational Deg^o or DegP from both comparees and obligatory ellipsis of the second form.

(80)a. A Marina le gustan **más** las lasañas **que** a Maider _ las pizzas.

b. LF: *more*_i $\left[\begin{array}{l} [_{TP} \text{ Marina likes lasagnas } \textit{d-much}_i] \\ [_{\&P} \text{ than}_{\&/que} [_{TP} \text{ a Maider likes pizzas } \textit{d-much}_i]] \end{array} \right]$

3. (SUB)DELETION DEBATE



SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

The obligatory gap in the standard of comparison is the result of:

- **Empty operator movement** with relative-like degree abstraction in **dependent comparatives** in English, Spanish and Basque.
- NOVEL ANALYSIS:
ATB Quantifier Raising in English, Spanish and Basque **coordinate comparatives**, consisting in parallel **QR** of the quantificational Deg^o or DegP from both comparees and obligatory ellipsis of the second form.

(80)a. A Marina le gustan **más** las lasañas **que** a Maider _ las pizzas.

b. LF: *more*_i $\left[\begin{array}{l} [_{TP} \text{ Marina likes lasagnas } \textit{d-much}_i] \\ [_{\&P} \text{ than}_{\&/que} [_{TP} \text{ a Maider likes pizzas } \textit{d-much}_i]] \end{array} \right]$

Obligatory ellipsis in coordinates with shared quantifiers (Wilder 1994); bound variable interpretation:

(81) a. **Every student** is hungry **and** _ wants to eat lunch.

b. LF: *every student*_i $\left[\begin{array}{l} [_{TP} \text{ *}_i \text{ is hungry}] \\ [_{\&P} \text{ and}_{\&} [_{TP} \text{ *}_i \text{ wants to eat lunch}]] \end{array} \right]$

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



- What is the mechanism or mechanisms responsible for Comparative Ellipsis (i.e. the silencing of one or several constituents in clausal standards of comparison)?

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

- **DEPENDENT STRUCTURES: Antecedent Contained Deletion**

Dependent comparative:

(82) More students **than** ~~you told me x student would like the T. film~~
liked the Tarantino film.

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

- **DEPENDENT STRUCTURES: Antecedent Contained Deletion**

Dependent comparative:

(82) More students **than** ~~you told me x student would like the T. film~~ liked the Tarantino film.

Relative clauses:

(83) Every student **that** ~~you told me x student would like the T. film~~ liked the Tarantino film.

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

- **DEPENDENT STRUCTURES: Antecedent Contained Deletion**

Dependent comparative:

(82) More students **than** ~~you told me x student would like the T. film~~ liked the Tarantino film.

Relative clauses:

(83) Every student **that** ~~you told me x student would like the T. film~~ liked the Tarantino film.

- **COORDINATE STRUCTURES: Gapped CP** (Lechner 2004: 180)

Coordinate comparative:

(84) David is more eager to see the movies **than** ~~me~~.

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

- **DEPENDENT STRUCTURES: Antecedent Contained Deletion**

Dependent comparative:

(82) More students **than** ~~you told me~~ ~~x student would like the T. film~~ liked the Tarantino film.

Relative clauses:

(83) Every student **that** ~~you told me~~ ~~x student would like the T. film~~ liked the Tarantino film.

- **COORDINATE STRUCTURES: Gapped CP** (Lechner 2004: 180)

Coordinate comparative:

(84) David is more eager to see the movies **than** **me**.

Coordination:

(85) David is eager to see the movies **and** **me** too.

4. ELLIPSIS DEBATE



SPLIT HYPOTHESIS

- **DEPENDENT STRUCTURES: Antecedent Contained Deletion**

Dependent comparative:

(82) More students **than you told me** ~~x student would like the T. film~~ liked the Tarantino film.

Relative clauses:

(83) Every student **that you told me** ~~x student would like the T. film~~ liked the Tarantino film.

- **COORDINATE STRUCTURES: Gapped CP** (Lechner 2004: 180)

Coordinate comparative:

(84) David is more eager to see the movies **than me**.

Coordination:

(85) David is eager to see the movies **and me** too.

Comparative Ellipsis is not an *ad hoc* operation, but the result of **construction-independent ellipsis processes** attested in either dependent constructions or coordinate constructions.



3. Advantages of the proposal

Advantages of the proposal

The present proposal has the welcoming result of accounting for:

- ❑ Phrasal subcomparatives with **non-clausal standards** and a **coordination-like** behaviour.

Advantages of the proposal

The present proposal has the welcoming result of accounting for:

- ❑ Phrasal subcomparatives with **non-clausal standards** and a **coordination-like** behaviour.
- ❑ The existence of **clausal comparative coordination** is not unexpected, as coordinating conjunctions can link two alike strings at different levels (phrasal or clausal).

Advantages of the proposal

The present proposal has the welcoming result of accounting for:

- ❑ Phrasal subcomparatives with **non-clausal standards** and a **coordination-like** behaviour.
- ❑ The existence of **clausal comparative coordination** is not unexpected, as coordinating conjunctions can link two alike strings at different levels (phrasal or clausal).
- ❑ *Comparative (Sub)deletion*: not the result of *wh*-movement nor an *ad hoc* deletion rule. Rather, result of **multiple and symmetric quantifier raising** (ATB movement of an operator ranging over degrees). Same obligatory ellipsis attested in coordinate structures with **two variables** (one in each conjunct) **bound by a single quantifier** (*cf.* Wilder 1994).

- (86) a. **Few congressmen** admire Kennedy and _ are very junior.
[ellipsis → bound variable interpretation]
- b. **Few congressmen** admire Kennedy and **they** are very junior.
[pronoun → E-type reading; *cf.* Wilder (1994)]

Advantages of the proposal

- ❑ **Split approach, not hybrid/mixed properties:** No conflicting properties, but **coordination-like properties** in a subset of comparatives and **subordination-like properties** of a different subset of comparatives.

For instance, comparatives that display the hallmark properties of coordination do not permit center-embedding:

(87) Jed liked Banja Luka more **than** **Svenja** liked **Sarajevo**. (*Gapping*)

(88)*Jed liked more **than** **Svenja** _ **Sarajevo** Banja Luka. (**Gapping + center-embedding*)

Advantages of the proposal

- **Split approach, not hybrid/mixed properties:** No conflicting properties, but **coordination-like properties** in a subset of comparatives and **subordination-like properties** of a different subset of comparatives.

For instance, comparatives that display the hallmark properties of coordination do not permit center-embedding:

(87) Jed liked Banja Luka more **than** **Svenja** liked **Sarajevo**. (*Gapping*)

(88)*Jed liked more **than** **Svenja** _ **Sarajevo** Banja Luka. (**Gapping + center-embedding*)

(89) a. More people liked *than disliked* the place. (*RNR*)

b. *More people **than disliked** liked the place. (**RNR + center-embedding*)

Corver (2003) convincingly argues that English clausal subcomparatives present an underlying coordinate structure given that they display the hallmark characteristics of coordination. Now, note that this type of comparatives in particular does not allow centre-embedding either:

(90) a. *Fewer robbers **than thieves escaped** were captured by the police.

b. Fewer robbers were captured *than thieves escaped*. (Corver 1993: 779)

Advantages of the split approach

- ❑ **Not positing a construction-specific type of ellipsis (*Comparative Ellipsis*):**
 - *Conjunction Reduction* operations apply to coordinate structures and *comparative coordination*.
 - ACD in *comparative subordination*.

Advantages of the split approach

- ❑ **Not positing a construction-specific type of ellipsis (*Comparative Ellipsis*):**
 - *Conjunction Reduction* operations apply to coordinate structures and *comparative coordination*.
 - ACD in *comparative subordination*.
- ❑ **The use of different standard markers in languages like Spanish** (also Napoli & Nespor 1986 for Italian *che/di* alternation in inequality comparatives).
 - I take the fact that whenever a comparative shows coordinate-like properties, Spanish makes use of a ***más/que*_& comparative**, while ***más/de*_{dep} comparatives** display the characteristic features of dependent elements as strong evidence in favour of the split approach to *more/than*.

Advantages of the split approach

- ❑ **Not positing a construction-specific type of ellipsis (*Comparative Ellipsis*):**
 - *Conjunction Reduction* operations apply to coordinate structures and *comparative coordination*.
 - ACD in *comparative subordination*.
- ❑ **The use of different standard markers in languages like Spanish** (also Napoli & Nespor 1986 for Italian *che/di* alternation in inequality comparatives).
 - I take the fact that whenever a comparative shows coordinate-like properties, Spanish makes use of a ***más/que*_& comparative**, while ***más/de*_{dep} comparatives** display the characteristic features of dependent elements as strong evidence in favour of the split approach to *more/than*.
- ❑ The typologically prominent use of **coordinating conjunctions** (sometimes with a contrastive meaning) introducing the standard of comparison (Stassen 1985).
 - In fact, Basque ***baino*** ‘than’ has a second function as the adversative coordinator ‘**but**’ (Vela-Plo 2018b: 62-65):

(91) Hori ez da berria, zaharra **baino**.
that not is new old BUT
‘That is not new but old.’

(92) Oso aundiak ez dira **baño** arkaitza bezin gogorrak.
very big not are BUT rock as hard
‘They are not very big, but they are hard as a rock.’
(Olaizola, *Uztapide*, XX; Euskaltzaindia 2017)



4. Conclusion

Concluding remarks

- Novel supporting evidence from Basque for a **phrasal analysis with coordination of SCs** and for the *A-not-A* analysis of inequality comparatives.
- Shedding light on the long-standing debate about the **internal structure and semantic composition** of these understudied **phrasal subcomparatives** (cf. Bhatt & Takahashi 2011).
- Shedding light on the **long-standing debate about the coordinating/subordinating nature of comparatives** (Jäger 2019): *more/than* is ambiguous between a *more/than_{sub}* and *more/than_&*.
- **Systematization of the syntactic criteria** that distinguishes *more/than_&* from *more/than_{sub}* and a **fully compositional syntactic and semantic analysis**.
- The proposal that the **que-de alternation** in the standard of comparison in Spanish is related to the *comparative coordination/subordination* distinction, which may be masked in other languages.
- **Comparative Subdeletion** explained as the result of an ellipsis operation independently attested in common coordinate structures.
- Getting rid of the **construction-specific type of ellipsis** described as **Comparative Ellipsis**.

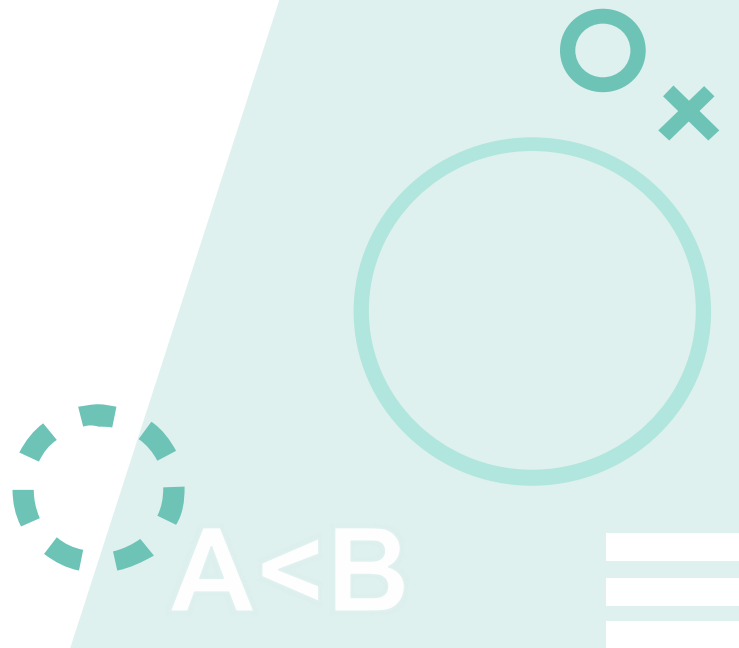
SELECTED REFERENCES

- Beck, Sigrid, Toshiko Oda, and Koji Sugisaki. 2004. Parametric variation in the semantics of comparison: Japanese vs. English. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*, 13, 289–344.
- Bhatt, Rajesh, and Shoichi Takahashi. 2011. Reduced and unreduced phrasal comparatives. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 29(3). 581–620.
- Bresnan, Joan W. 1973. Syntax of the comparative clause construction in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4(3). 275–343.
- Bresnan, Joan W. 1975. Comparative deletion and constraints on transformations. *Linguistic Analysis* 1(1). 25–74.
- Brucart, José María. 2003. Adición, sustracción y comparación: un análisis composicional de las construcciones aditivo-sustractivas del español. In Fernando Sánchez-Miret (ed.), *Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Lingüística y Filología Románica*, 1(1), 11–60. Verlag, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1977. On Wh-Movement. In Peter W. Culicover, Thomas Wasow and Adrian Akmajian (eds.), *Formal Syntax*, 71–132. New York: Academic Press.
- Euskaltzaindia. 1999. *Euskal Gramatika. Lehen Urratsak*–V. Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.
- Goenaga, Patxi. 2008a. Euskal neurri sintagmen azterketa baterako: zenbat x, zenbat xago, zenbat x gehiago. In Euskaltzaindia (ed.), *Jean Haritschelhar-i Omenaldia/IKER* 21, 211–240. Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.
- Hankamer, Jorge. 1973. Why there are two *than*'s in English. In Claudia Corum, and T. Cedric Smith-Stark (eds.), *Papers from the 9th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 179–191. Chicago, Illinois: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Heim, Irene. 1985. Notes on comparatives and related matters. University of Texas, Austin manuscript.
- Hoeksema, Jack. 1983. Negative polarity and the comparative. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 1(3). 403–434.
- Jäger, Agnes. 2019. The syntax of comparison constructions in diachronic and dialectal perspective. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 4(1): 70. 1–51.
- Kennedy, Christopher. 2007. Modes of comparison. In Malcolm Elliott (ed.), *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 43, 1(1). 141–165.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1987. *Foundations of cognitive grammar: Theoretical prerequisites* (Vol. 1). Stanford: Stanford university press.
- Lechner, Winfried. 2004. *Ellipsis in comparatives*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Napoli, Donna Jo. 1983. Comparative ellipsis: A phrase structure analysis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 14(4). 675–694.
- Picallo, M. Carme (ed.). 2014. *Linguistic variation in the minimalist framework*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Pinkham, Jesse. 1982. *The Formation of Comparative Clauses in French and English*. Indiana: Indiana University dissertation.
- Sáez, Luis, and Cristina Sánchez López. 2013. *Las construcciones comparativas*. Madrid: Visor.
- Sáez, Luis. 1992. Comparison and Coordination. In Joseba A. Lakarra and Jon Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), *Supplements of the Anuario Del Seminario de Filología Vasca "Julio de Urquijo"*, *Syntactic Theory and Basque Syntax*, 387–416. Donostia: Gipuzkoako Foro Aldundia.
- Stassen, Leon. 1985. *Comparison and Universal Grammar*. Oxford: Blackwell.

THANK YOU ESKERRIK ASKO MUCHAS GRACIAS

Acknowledgements: This research has been partially supported by the Predoctoral Scholarship Programme 2016-2020, Department of Education, Language Policy and Culture (Basque Government), the project VASTRUD (PGC2018-096870-B-I00), funded by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities (MiCIU) / Spanish Research Agency (AEI) and the European Regional Development Fund (FEDER, UE), the HiTT/ Formal Linguistics Research Group (IT769-13 & IT1396-19, Basque Government), the project VALAL (MINECO FFI2014-53675-P, Spanish Government) and UFI11/14 (University of the Basque Country, UPV/EHU).

The author would like to thank specially **Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria** and **Elena Castroviejo** for their support, as well as the faculty and students at the *Hizkuntzalaritza eta Euskal Ikasketak* Department and *Hizkuntzalaritza Teorikorako Taldea* (HiTT) Research Group at the University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU.



Extensions: *que/de* distinction in Spanish

The departure from the basic S-V-O order of Spanish and the S-V inversion in the clausal standard of this type of comparatives offer as a result the characteristic linear order of a construction involving movement of some operator to the left periphery of a clause in Spanish (cf. Torrego 1984, Uribe-Etxebarria 1992, Suñer 1994, Barbosa 2001, Mendia 2017):

- (i) Esta mesa es más larga que ancha es esa puerta.
this table is MORE long QUE wide is that door
'This table is longer than that door is wide.'
- (ii) En un mes, Maitane compró más aguacates que libros me dijo
in a month Maitane bought MORE avocados QUE books to me told
Borja que leyó Oihana.
Borja that read Oihana
Lit: 'In a month, Maitane bought more avocados than_{que} books told me Borja that read Oihana.'

Not subject to CSC:

- (iii) ¿[A quién]_i compró Janire más manzanas t_i que peras vendió Ivan a Sarai?
to whom bought Janire MORE apples QUE pears sold Ivan to Sarai
Lit: '[To whom]_i did Janire buy more apples t_i than_{que} pears sold Ivan to Sarai?'

TWO INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

LINKAGE TYPE

- Coordination
- Dependency



SIZE OF THE STANDARD

- Clausal
- Phrasal



Extensions: *que/de* distinction in Spanish

(iv) Spanish clausal subcomparatives with subject-verb inversion:

a. Esta mesa es más larga que *ancha es esa puerta*.
this table is MORE long QUE wide is that door
'This table is longer than that door is wide.'

b. Esta mesa es *más* larga [*que*_{dep} [*Op* *ancha*_i [_{WH} es esa puerta *t_i*]]

c. LF: *más*_i [*que*_{dep} [*Op* *ancha*_i [_{WH} es esa puerta *t_i*]] [*Esta mesa es d_i larga*]

TWO INDEPENDENT
VARIABLES



LINKAGE TYPE

- Coordination
- Dependency



SIZE OF THE STANDARD

- Clausal
- Phrasal

Extensions: *than-what* comparatives

- (57) John is taller than *what Mary told us that Bill is*. (Chomsky 1977: 87)
(58) It's a lot easier than *what I expected*. (Corpus of Contemporary American English; Davies 2008)
(59) I swear if you breathe a word I'll do worse than what I told you. (Ibid.)

“The *what* cannot occur in cases of Subdeletion: **longer than what it is wide, *as many apples as what we have cantaloupes. (...) *John writes more plays than what Bill does radical pamphlets.*”

(Bresnan 1975: 72)

- The present proposal accurately predicts the **ungrammaticality of *than-what* subcomparatives** in those dialects of English that allow the above comparatives because they involve **ATB QR and not degree abstraction**.
- The appearance of a standard-initial *wh*-word in some varieties of English argues in favour of a **degree free relative clause analysis of the standard in comparative subordination**.

- (60) It's a lot easier than *what I expected ~~it would be~~ easy*.

Extensions: *selection relation*

Instead of assuming that there is category selection and syntactic dependency between *-er* and *than*, the selection relation between comparative and standard markers is understood as an **agreement relationship**. Under the selection as agreement approach, the connection between *-er/than* or *más/que-de* is a condition on feature agreement, where the adjunction of the standard cluster is determined by feature compatibility between the head of the comparative DegP (i.e. *-er*, which possesses an $[_{uCOMP}]$ feature) and the head of the standard maker (e.g. *than* in English, which includes an $[_{iCOMP}]$ feature). This agreement approach to the selection restriction is able to derive the co-occurrence effects of comparative markers and standard clusters due to the necessary valuation of the uninterpretable features present in comparative markers, and avoids overgeneration:

Dependent comparatives:

- a. $-er_{dep}$ = $[uCOMP]$
- b. $than_{dep}$ = $[iCOMP]$

Coordinating comparatives:

- a. $-er_{\&}$ = $[uCOMP, u\&]$
- b. $than_{\&}$ = $[iCOMP, i\&]$