Double comparatives from a crosslinguistic perspective

Artemis Alexiadou

joint work with

Fenia Karkaletsou & Despina Oikonomou

What this talk is about

- Focus on double comparatives (DCs), (1), as they give a clearer perspective on the syntax and semantics of comparatives; DCs are typically seen as slips/errors:

(1)   more louder

- Cross-linguistic perspective: while DCs have been discussed in the diachrony of English and somewhat in Dutch, see e.g. Corver (2005), there is hardly any formal work on DCs in Greek; moroever, an analysis of the contribution of DCs does not seem to exist:

(2)   pio   kalitero

          more better

- Greek will be very telling about the structure of comparatives, as

    a) it has a similar diachronic development to that of English

    b) it has a synthetic and <u>two </u>analytic forms, which differ in a number of respects; importantly it has a specific structure related to the so-called evaluativity *inference* of comparatives, discussed in Rett (2008): gradable predicates are interpreted relative to a contextually provided standard of comparison

What this talk is about

- **Proposal: marked meaning and structural complexity**
  - Building on Corver (1997), Matushansky (2001), Solt (2010), analytic and synthetic comparatives do not have an identical structure; the more elements you see, the more complex the structure, Sauerland & Alexiadou (2020)
  - Analytic forms are not alike across languages:Greek has two types of analytic comparatives, only one of which is more structurally complex than the synthetic form, cf. Makri (2018, 2020)
  - More complex structures are evaluative see Rett (2008), Moracchini (2018)
  - DCs differ from regular Single Comparatives (SCs, synthetic and analytic)
  - DCs are structurally more complex than their SCs counterparts, contra Corver (2005); as a result, DCs are always *evaluative* as part of their meaning, i.e., DCs involve comparison among degrees which exceed the contextual standard

Roadmap

1. Introduce DCs
2. Discuss comparative formation in English and in Greek (from a diachronic and a synchronic perspective)
3. Distribution of DCs in English and in Greek
4. Introduce the evaluativity inference
5. Structure of SCs
6. Structure of DCs
7. Remarks on DCs in child language
8. Conclusion

Double comparatives

- Cuzzolin and Lehmann (2004: 1217), Bobaljik (2012: 72):

(3)   In languages that have both analytic and synthetic comparative it   is
       common to find double comparatives (DCs), i.e. analytic forms co-occuring
       with synthetic ones

- Note that DCs are defined as combining analytic and synthetic forms, but as we
  will see DCs can also involve doubling of the synthetic form
- Very common in Indo-European languages:

Some examples of DCs

(4)   magis fortior = fortior/magis fortis 'stronger'   *Late Latin*

        magis beatior = beatior/magis beatus 'happier'

                                                        (Hofmann & Szantyr 1965:166f.)

(5)   più migliore

        'more better'   *Italian* (Bobaljik 2012: 73)

Some examples of DCs

Middle Dutch

(6) Geven is *meer* salig*er* dan te ontfangen
     to-give is more blissful-er than to receive

                Corver (2005: 167)

Present Day Dutch

(7)   Ook zijn er natuurlijk de iets   *minder* leuk*ere* dingen.
       also are there naturally the somewhat less nice-er things.
       There are also, of course, things that are less nice.

                Corver (2005: 168)

Some examples of DCs

English

(8)   The Duke of Milan, and his *more* brave*er* daughter could controul
thee (Shakespeare, *Tempest*.)

(9)   How can I grow *more* tall*er* through exercises ?

(Corver 2005: 168-169)

Some examples of DCs

Medieval Greek

(10)   a.   pleon dinatoteros

              more stronger   Holton et al. (2019: 820)

Modern Greek

       b.   ine pio megaliteros gafatzis

              is   more bigger   blanderer

              He is   more greater blanderer

Some examples of DCs

In child language(s)

(11)   Rachel, 4; 8   a. that chair is more funner than any other chair

Brian, 6; 6   b. you can mostly hear us.. cause we are more closer than
                        them   (Gathercole 1985: 93)

(12)   (Le) plus mieux   *French*
                 the more better

(13)   se mehr besser   *German*

                 this more better

                             ((12)- (13) from CHILDES, courtesy of F. Martin)

What is being doubled?

- The analytic form can co-occur with the synthetic one as we have seen, but also the affixal part may be doubled:

(14)   o,ti   kali-<u>ter-o-ter-</u>o iparhi   *Greek*

               whatever betterer   exists

(15)   Ik vind TV veel leuker-der !   *Dutch*
         find TV much nicer-er   Corver (2005: 182)

(16)   biggerer

- Bobaljik (2012) states that we do **not** find *more more big* or its counterpart across languages

Focus on DCs in English and in Greek

- In both languages, they appear across diachronic stages and varieties:

- **English**:

 DCs are attested as far back as Old English (González-Díaz 2006, 2008)

 González-Díaz (2006: 640): DCs are indeed more emphatic structures than their simple (inflectional and periphrastic) counterparts

- **Greek**:

DCs, according to Markopoulos (2017), are attested as far back as Ancient Greek (AG); they seem to be more emphatic than SCs, Smyth (1920)

- As we will see, DCs appear in similar, if not identical, contexts in both languages

Comparative formation in English and in Greek: synchrony and diachrony

English: Synthetic via –er: *smart-er* vs. Analytic: *more* intelligent

Greek	Analytic	Synthetic
Comparative	**pio / perisotero** 'more' + adjective in positive: e.g. **pio** efkolos more easy$_{MASC}$	affixation via **-ter-**: e.g. efkolo-**ter**-os easier$_{MASC}$

While a lot has been written on what regulates the alternation in English, not much is known about the factors that regulate this in Greek. Bobaljik (2012) suggests that the alternation is relatively free. Karlaketsou (in preparation) shows that a variety of factors may play a role, e.g, length, stress shift; there are also adjectives that only have analytic forms

Comparative formation in English

- Kytö & Romaine (2000: 195): in Old English, comparative forms of adjectives were mostly marked by inflectional endings

- The periphrastic forms emerge in the 13th century, possibly as a result of Latin (and to a lesser extent French) influence

- The new periphrastic constructions also added one more variant to the system, the DC

- In Middle and Early Modern English periods, we have a 3-way distinction, inflectional (*happier*), periphrastic (*more happy*) and double (*more happier*)

Comparative formation in English

- By contrast, González-Díaz (2008: 19-20) suggests that periphrastic comparatives can be found in Old English, already in the 9th century; she states that DCs also go as far back as the same period. Analytic forms appear first in combination with participles that lack synthetic comparatives:

(17)   þæt hi syn sylfe   **ma gode** þonne oðre men (TOR.GREG.D.)

   "that they themselves are more good than other men"

(18)   hu miccle mae ł **swiþor bettra** is monn þonne scep forþon is alefed
   "how much [more advanced] and more better a man is than a sheep

   on restedagum god to doanne (TOR.FARM.RW.)

   because he is allowed to do good on Sabbath"

Comparative formation in English

- González-Díaz (2008: 30): three elements were involved in periphrastic comparatives in Old English

- *bet 'good', swiðor* 'stronger' and *ma* 'more', which became the prototypical analytic comparative marker

- Increase of periphrastic comparatives observed in Middle English are related to the presence of an analytic pattern in the grammar of English

Comparative formation in Greek

- *Synthetic: Affixal   -**ter**-:*   *oreo*   *oreo-ter-o*

  beautiful- NEUT   beutiful-CMPR-NEUT

  plati   *plati-ter-o*

  wide-NEUT   wide-COMPR-NEUT

  epiikes   *epiikes-ter-o*

  lenient-NEUT   more lenient-NEUT

Affix combines with the neuter adjectival stem   (Makri 2018)

- *Analytic:*

1. **pio** = historically comparative of the adverb poli = much

2. **periso-ter-o** = comparative form of *poli* 'much'/*periso* 'abundant'

Comparative formation in Greek

- Analytic comparatives in AG are built adverb via *malon* (=comparative form of much) + positive of certain adjectival classes, Smyth (1920), Markopoulos (2017):

(19) καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου   *τειχήρεις*   *τε*   *μᾶλλον* ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι.

     and from that-GEN   wall-MASC PART more   were the enemies

   And from that moment the enemies remained more inside the walls.

- DCs are also attested in AG; Smyth (1920) states that they produce a comic effect

(20)   a.   τίς γὰρ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν   *μᾶλλον ὀλβιώτερος*

           for who could become more happier…   (Arist. *Eccl.*, 1131)

     b.   κυν-τερ-ώτερ-ος

           dog-CMPR-CMPR   (Smyth 1920) lit. more doglike-er

- *pio* + positive is argued to have been introduced via contact from Venetian, Markopoulos (2015); *malon* seized to function as degree element and has an adverbial use in Modern Greek, meaning 'perhaps'

Factors infuencing the use of DCs in English

- González-Díaz (2006: 632ff.): several factors influence the use of DCs

i) DCs have a common trait: the element described by the double comparative form is compared to another element. This element possesses the compared adjective quality to a high degree:

(21)   halbe a more higher Founder to vs than he that first founded oure Howse
         (MESS.LET., cxxvii)

- Explanation in terms of emphasis

Factors infuencing the use DCs in English

ii) DCs are attested when the quality comparison is set by the context when the equality is established as given:

(22)   thaire eldres, and **wiser** thanne they; (...) but the yonge folkes now a dayes lust not to do there after, but they haue dyspite whanne they be blamed of thayre folye, and whanne they be **more wyser** thanne suche as be moche more cunning

- This comparative form denotes a high stand adjectival quality from which the double comparative scales upwards

Factors influencing the use of DCs in English

iii) Adverbial premodifiers: combine with degree adverbials and intensifiers

(23) **much** more gladdere

(24)   Who can remember that police dog coming here? Yeah? We'll he's still w ing but cos that dog is **a lot** older and **a lot more grump**ier. They can take the dog to the schools any more (BNC, FM7)

iv) no apparent reason

DCs in Greek: Corpus search

- i) Corpus of Modern Greek, ii) Corpus of Greek Texts and iii) Hellenic National Corpus

- 76 instances of DCs out of which the 53 instances appear in contexts which suggest that the scale of comparison is set at a relatively high threshold

DCs in Greek: Corpus search

1. 26/76 instances are *superlative constructions (e.g. ta pio tahitera 'the most faster')*

2. 15/76 involve EVEN (e.g. *akomi pio fthinotero 'even more cheaper'*)

3. 12/76 appear with an intensifier (e.g. MUCH) or in a context indicating *evaluativity*

4. Only for 22/76 DCs it is not clear from the context whether they are evaluative or not

DCs in Greek: Some examples

(25)   pio politimoteros   de ginete

         more valuable-CMPR neg becomes

(26)   a.   poli   pio asfalestero

                   much more safer

         b.   poli   perisotero kalitera

                   much more   better

(27)   a.   perisotero plisiesteres

                   more   closer

         b.   akoma pio profanesteri

                   even more obvious-er

What do DCs do?

- González-Díaz (2006: 640): ''double comparatives are indeed more emphatic structures than their simple counterparts (inflectional and periphrastic)''

- Holton & al. (2019: 821): ''the two types of comparative, synthetic and analytic, are sometimes combined for added **emphasis**''

- This can be extended to Dutch as several of the Present Day Dutch examples Corver (2005) cites contain intensifiers

- We claim that DCs are always evalutive

Evaluativity inference

- Rett (2008):

(28)   Athos is taller than Porthos is.

(29)   Arthos is more tall than Porthos is.

- (28) can mean: a. Porthos is shorter than Athos is. b. Porthos is less tall than Athos is

- However (29), gives rise to the inference that Athos and Porthos count as 'tall' in the context

- (29) has an *evaluativity inference*, by which gradable predicates are interpreted relative to a contextually provided standard of comparison

Evaluativity in Greek

(30)   a. O Nikos ine pio psilos/psiloteros apo ton Antoni.

Nikos is more tall than Antonis

√But both of them are short.

b. O Nikos ine perisotero psilos apo ton Antoni.

Nikos   is more taller than Antonis

#But both of them are short.

- In Greek, evaluativity arises only with *perisotero,* as observed also in Makri (2020)

DCs and evaluativity inference

Importantly, evaluativity is always present in DCs:

(30)   c. O Nikos ine pio psiloteros apo ton Antoni.

        Nikos   is more taller than Antonis

        #But both of them are short.

        d. *max(λd. tall(Nick,d)) > max($\lambda d'$.tall(Anton,d') $\wedge$ d' > Standard$_{tall}$*

- If DCs are always evaluative:
  - *how does that map onto the syntax?*
  - *how does the evaluative inference of the single analytic comparative emerge?*
  - *difference between pio vs. perisotero SCs in Greek?*
 - *why are there no instances of *more more?*

Approaches to the syntax of Compr

- Embick (2007): Although they are obviously different in form, the two types of comparative receive the same interpretation

- Therefore the starting point for a syntactic analysis of comparative/superlative formation is the assumption that there is a single syntactic structure underlying all comparatives of the relevant type

(31)

aP
├── DEG[CMPR]
└── a
    └── a
        ├── √
        └── a

29
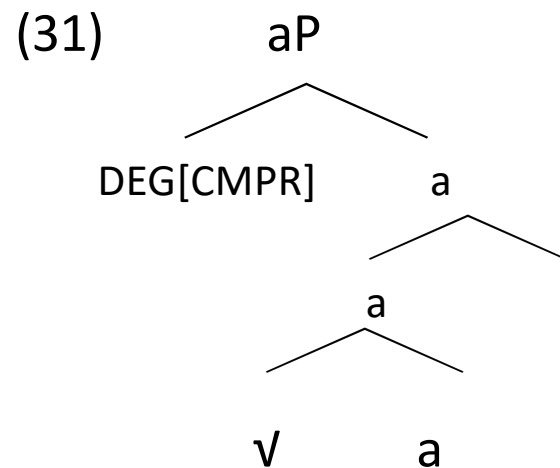
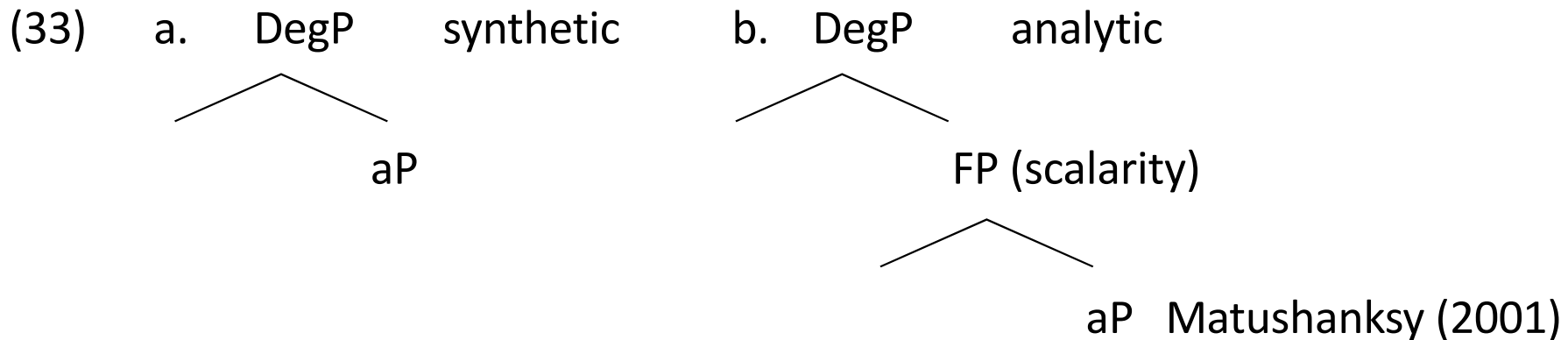# Approaches to the syntax of Compr

(32)　　　　　　ComprP
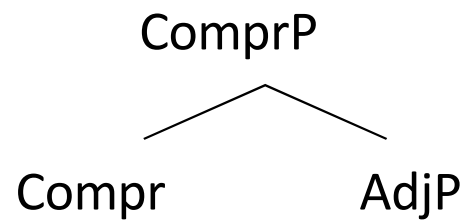
　　　　　Compr　　　AdjP　　　　　　　Bobaljik (2012)

It is not clear how to capture evaluativity and the differences between *pio* and *perisotero* in Greek

More complexity: extra layers

(33)   a.   DegP   synthetic   b. DegP   analytic

                aP   FP (scalarity)

                                                  aP   Matushanksy (2001)

- The reasoning behind (33) is based, among other things, on the so-called *scalarity* coercion: as non-scalar adjectives only form analytic forms, the two comparatives cannot have the same syntax. Differences in case patterns in Russian also point to a different syntax (genitive to the *than* phrase in (33a) but not in (33b)):

(34)   Becky's aunt is *Frencher/more French than Napoleon.

- A tool to explain preference for analytic forms for participles in English and Greek?

More complexity: much support

- Corver (1997): building on Bresnan (1973): *much +er = more*

(35)   [DegP –er [QP much [AP]]]

- According to Corver (1997), there are two items *much*: the dummy *much*, and the lexical *much*; the former lacks semantic content, it just realizes Q in the adjectival projection (35), while the latter can function as a predicative expression:

(36)   I so much enjoyed the party   (Corver 1997: 148)

More complexity: much support

Solt (2010): analytic comparatives differ from synthetic ones:

(37)   a.   Sue is [AP [DegP -er] smart]

        b.   Sue is [FP[QP[DegP -er] much] F0 [AP intelligent]]

According to Solt, *much* in its lexical semantics is essentially contentless, serving only as a carrier of degree morphology, which can be inserted as needed for morphological or syntactic reasons

More complexity: much support

- Adjectives of quantity (Q-adjectives) *many, few, much* and *little* are taken to denote predicates of scalar interval

- Degree modifiers (-er, too, POS, etc.) are restricted to combining with gradable terms (gradable adjectives and Q-adjectives)

- In order to occur in the extended noun phrase they must first compose with *much*, creating a QP that has more flexible selectional properties

much support in Greek

- Makri (2018: 88) shows that *perisotero* has a different distribution from *pio*, see also Merchant (2012):

- *Analytic*

1. *pio* = historically comparative of the adverb *poli* = 'much'

2. *perisotero* = comparative form of *poli* = 'much'/*perisos* = 'abundant'

First, note that periso-ter-o contains overt degree morphology:

(38)   periso-<u>ter</u>-o

         much-CMPR-

much support in Greek

- As discussed in Makri (2018), *pio* combines only with gradable adjectives and adverbs as well as predicative NPs that denote a gradable property:

(39)   pio eksipnos/pio nikoris/pio sihna

                  more intelligent/more tidy/more frequently   (Makri 2018: 90)

- On the basis of Solt's criteria, *pio* is a degree element, as it is restricted to combining with gradable terms
- Makri (2018: 103) suggests that *pio* corresponds to dummy *much*, while *perisotero* corresponds to lexical *much*

much support in Greek

- Makri (2018): *pio* is a Deg head which is in complementary distribution with *–ter-*; its selectional properties suggest that it is a head, see discussion in Doetjes (1997)

- However, as it has a comparative form *piotero*, it is not clear that it can be analyzed as a Deg head. Support for this comes from scalarity coercion cases, Matushanksy (2001), which are only analytic, e.g. *more French. pio* seems to lexicalize Q°, introducing scalarity with non-gradable elements:

(40)   na   gini   pio kurtina

      subj become-3SG   more curtain

much support in Greek

- Moreover, as shown in Merchant (2012), there are differences in case patterns, synthetic comparatives but **not *pio*** (and *perisotero*) comparatives can assign genitive to their *than* phrase. This is unexpected if *pio* is an allomorph of the Deg head:

(41)   a.   O pirgos tha ine psiloteros tu spitiu.
the tower will be taller the house-GEN

The tower will be taller than the house.

        b.   O Giannis ine pjo psilos { apo mena / *mu }.

the Giannis is more tall from me me-GEN

Giannis is taller than me.'

        c.   O Giannis exi perisotera periodika {apo mena/*mu}

the Giannis has more magazines from me/me-GEN

'Giannis has more magazines than I have.'

much support in Greek

- Makri (2018): *perisotero(s)* ('more' ADJ/ADV) is used in any type of comparative (the adjectival form is used in NP comparisons whereas the adverbial form in all other types):

(42)   a.   Zigizi *pio/ perisotero/ ligotero apo 20 kila. (VP)

                        It weighs more/less than 20kg.

           b.   O Janis ekane *pio/*perisotero/perisotera apo 3 lathi

                        The John made more/more/more-ADJ from 3 mistakes

                        John made more than 3 mistakes. (amount/NP)

Comparative structures in Greek

(43b) is not more complex than (43a), (43c) is:

(43)   a.   [DegP –ter [QP [eksipn]

                        CMPR   intelligent

        b.   [Deg   [QP pio]   eksipn]   Q-to-Deg°

As stated in Makri (2018: 102), in (43c) a quantity word is involved which is a modifier to the positive adjective:

        c.   [FP[QP[DegP -ter] periso/poli] F0 [AP eksipn]

                              CMPR   much   intelligent

NB. Makri (2018) offers a different decomposition of SCs and analyzes *pio* and *ter* as realizations of the C2 head in De Clerq & Vanden Wyngaerd (2017)

Comparative structures in Greek

Note that *pio* and *perisotero* can combine Makri (2018: 98):

(44)   pio perisotero

more more

- Is this a case of *more more*?
- No, as these are not elements of the same type

- The difference between English and Greek is that Greek has two forms that correspond to a simple structure, *pio* and *–ter-*, while both languages employ (43c), English with *more*, Greek with *perisotero*

Back to evaluativity

(28)   Athos is taller than Porthos is.

(29)   Arthos is more tall than Porthos is.

(28) can mean: a. Porthos is shorter than Athos is. b. Porthos is less tall than Athos is.

(29) gives rise to the inference that Athos and Porthos count as 'tall' in the context.

(29) has an *evaluativity inference*, by which gradable predicates are interpreted relative to a contextually provided standard of comparison

- DCs are always evaluative; *perisotero* comparatives are always evaluative in Greek

Back to evaluativity

- Rett (2008): the obligatoriness of evaluativity inferences results from a competition between 'marked', analytic, vs. 'unmarked', synthetic, degree constructions that are semantically equivalent

- Moracchini (2018): Markedness can be cashed out in terms of structural complexity once we adopt a decompositional analysis of degree expressions

- In English, a degree expression that contains *more* is more complex than a degree expression that only involves the comparative head *-er*

- Analytic comparatives are semantically equivalent to their synthetic counterparts due to the semantic vacuity of *much,* as argued in Solt (2010):

Back to evaluativity

- Analytic comparatives are more complex than synthetic ones, this explains the evaluativity inference with the former, Moracchini (2018)

- This holds in Greek with *perisotero*, but not with *pio:*

(45)   a.   Sue is [AP [DegP -er] smart]
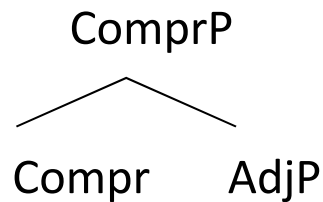   b.   Sue is [FP[QP[DegP -er] much] F0 [AP intelligent]]

- How about DCs?

DCs: previous approaches

- Some analyses that will not work:

1. Reinforcement of the comparative, Cuzzolin and Lehmann (2004: 1217), Bobaljik (2012: 72)

(46)   ComprP
                          /\
                   Compr   AdjP

- Merger is treated as a lowering operation in (46); reinforcement involves the redundant spell-out of the CMPR head in addition to the affixal exponent. This would limit reinforcement to affixal comparatives, excluding reinforcement of periphrastic constructions *more more

DCs: previous approaches

2.   Instances of the Comparative Criterion, Corver (2005: 171)

(47)   The Comparative Criterion
        a. Each X[+comparative] must be in a Spec-Head relation with a
        [+comparative] phrase YP.
        b. Each [+comparative] phrase YP must be in a Spec-Head relation with a
        X[+comparative].

(48)   [ComparP more [Compar' [Compar -er] [AP ....A....]]]

        (*e.g.* more loud-er), *er* itself does not encode the meaning property ,more ,

For Corver, double *–er* is a case of partial deletion:

(49)   [ComparP Spec [Compar' lang-er [AP lang-er]]](> langer-(d)er)

None of these analyses captures the interpretative component of DCs

much support and DCs

The analysis of *–er vs. more CMPR* predicts that the two should be able to combine:

(50)   Sue is [[FP [QP[COMPR -er] much] [AP [COMPR -er] smart]

- (50) is the most marked and complex structure explaining evaluativity; it also explains the *more more* restriction*,* as there is only one quantity adjective present

- Note that adopting (51), split COMPR , Caha (2016), De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd (2017), will not be able account for DCs:

(51)   [C2 [C1 [Q [a [√

in (51), e.g., smarter: -er spells out <C2>, and *smart* spells out the span <C1, Q, a, √> while *more* spells out the span <C2, C1> and *intelligent* spells out <Q, a, √>.

DCs and evaluativity

- What is the semantic contribution of the two comparatives?

Claim: the second comparative is different, the first comparative, is a true comparative

- What about the affixal DCs or DCs including *pio*?

(52)   O Nikos ine pio psiloteros apo ton Antoni.

       Nikos   is more taller than Antonis

      #But both of them are   short.

      b. *max(λd. tall(Nick,d)) > max(λd'.tall(Anton,d') ∧ d' > Standard$_{tall}$*

(53)   [$_{Comp1P}$ *pjo/-ter-* [$_{Comp2P}$ *-ter-*$_{DC}$ [$_{aP}$ a]]]

                      cf. Caha (2016), De Clerq & Vanden Wyngaerd (2017)

DCs and evaluativity

- Building on Rett's (2008) account of *evaluativity* , the embedded comparative morpheme *-ter-$_{DC}$* is reanalysed as an EVAL-operator which introduces a comparison with a contextual standard

- The matrix comparative operator contributes a regular comparative meaning (Rett 2008):

(54) $[\![ter_{DC}]\!]^c = \lambda D_{\langle d,t\rangle}.\lambda d.D(d) \wedge d > Standard_c$

- The case patterns support the proposed analysis, the higher marker, if it is *pio,* controls case:

(55)   ine <u>pio</u> psiloteros apo mena/*mu

        is   more taller   than me/me-GEN

        He is more taller than me

Analysis of DCs

- The present analysis is further supported by the interpretation we get with *ligotero 'fewer'*-DCs

- In most instances the two compared properties are of a relatively high degree:

(56)   nikise   o ligotero kaliteroς

       won-3SG the least better

       The least worse won

- Under the proposed analysis this intuition is derived by the meaning of *-ter-*$_{DC}$ in (54)

DCs and child language

(12)   (Le) plus mieux   *French* (13)   se mehr besser   *German*
        the more better   this more better

- Doetjes (1997) argues that *plus* is like English *more*; French synthetic formation is restricted to suppletive forms. German is supposed to lack analytic comparatives, *mehr* is used as a comparative adverbial, thus (13) is really surprising

- English: Graziano-King & Smith Cairns (2005); Gathercole (1985), DCs in production data:

(57) The kid's much more older than the baby. Rachel, 4;10, *Gathercole (1985: 93)*

- (57) contains an intensifier suggesting that children reazile the more complex evaluative structure in (50)

Conclusion

- Analytic and synthetic comparatives differ in structural complexity, but not all analytic comparatives are alike across languages, e.g., Greek *pio*
- Unlike English, Greek has a designated analytic structure for evaluativity, which is a more complex structure than the non-evaluative one
- DCs differ from regular SCs (synthetic and analytic)
- DCs are structurally more complex than their SCs counterparts, contra Corver (2005)
- DCs are always *evaluative* (in the sense of Rett 2008) as part of their meaning, i.e., DCs involve comparison among degrees which exceed the contextual standard
- A semantically marked structure has a more complex syntactic representation, Sauerland & Alexiadou (2020)

References

Bobaljik, J. D. 2012. *Universals in Comparative Morphology: Suppletion, Superlatives, and the Structure of Words*. Cambridge, MA: Mit Press.

Caha, Pavel. 2016. Explaining Bobaljik's root suppletion generalization as an instance of the adjacency condition (and beyond). Ms., Masarykova Univerzita, Brno. Corver, N. (1997). Much-Support as a Last Resort. *Linguistic Inquiry 28*(1), 119–164.

Corver, N. 2000. Degree adverbs as displaced predicates. *Rivista di Linguistica 12*(1), 155–191.

Cuzzolin, P. & C. Lehman. 2004 .Comparison and gradation. In Morphology, ed. by Geert E. Booij , Christian Lehmann , Joachim Mugdan und Stavros Skopeteas, Mouton de Gruyter.

De Clercq, K. and G. Vanden Wyngaerd (2017). *ABA revisited: Evidence from Czech and Latin degree morphology. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics 2*(1), 69.

Doetjes, J. S. 1997. Quantifiers and selection: On the distribution of quantifying expressions in French, Dutch and English. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Leiden.

Embick, D. 2007. Blocking effects and analytic/synthetic alternations. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25: 1-37

Gathercole, V. 1985. More and more and more about more. Journal of Experimental Child Psychology 40, 3–104.

Gónzalez-Diaz, V. 2006. O*n The Nature and Distribution of English Double Periphrastic Comparison. The Review of English Studies, 57(232), 623-664. doi:10.1093/res/hgl120*

González-Díaz, V. 2008. *English Adjective Comparison: A Historical Perspective. E. F. K. Koerner (Ed.), Amsterdam: John Benjamins.*

Graziano-King, J. & H. Smith Cairns .2005. Acquisition of English comparative adjectives. J. Child Lang. 32: 345–373.

Holton, D., G. Horrocks , M. Janssen , T. Lendari , I. Manolessou & N.Toufexis. 2019. *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*. Cambridge University Press.

Kytö, M, & S. Romaine. 2000. "Adjective Comparison and Standardisation Processes in American and British English from 1620 to the Present". *The Development of Standard English 1300–1800. Theories, Descriptions, Conflicts* ed. by Laura Wright, 171–198. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

References

Makri, M. 2018. *Aspects of comparative constructions*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of York.

Makri, M. 2020. How many more? Submitted to the proceedings of ICGL 14.

Markopoulos, T. 2015. Contact induced gramamticalization in older texts. In New Directions to Grammaticalization. John Benjamins.

Markopoulos, T. 2017. Analytic comparatives in Ancient Times. Paper presented at ICGL 13, London.

Matushansky, O. 2001. More of a good thing: Russian synthetic and analytic comparatives. In J. Toman (Ed.), *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics 10: The second Ann Arbor Meeting 2001*, Ann Arbor. Michigan Slavic Publications.

Merchant, J. 2012. The two phrasal comparatives of Greek. Ms. University of Chicago.

Moracchini, S. 2018. Evaluativity and structural competition. Proceedings of SALT 28: 727-746.

Rett, J. 2008. *Degree modification in natural language*. Phd, Rutgers University.

Sauerland, U. & A. Alexiadou. 2020. Generative grammar: a meaning first approach. Frontiers in Psychology. https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.571295/full

Smyth, H.W. 1920. *A Greek grammar for colleges*. American Book Company.

Solt, S. 2010. Much support and more. Proceedings of the Amsterdam Colloquium 2009, 446-455