

FORCES AT THE INTERFACE OF GRADABILITY AND QUANTIFICATION

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VARIABILITY IN SUPERLATIVE MORPHOSYNTAX IN GERMANIC, ROMANCE AND GREEK

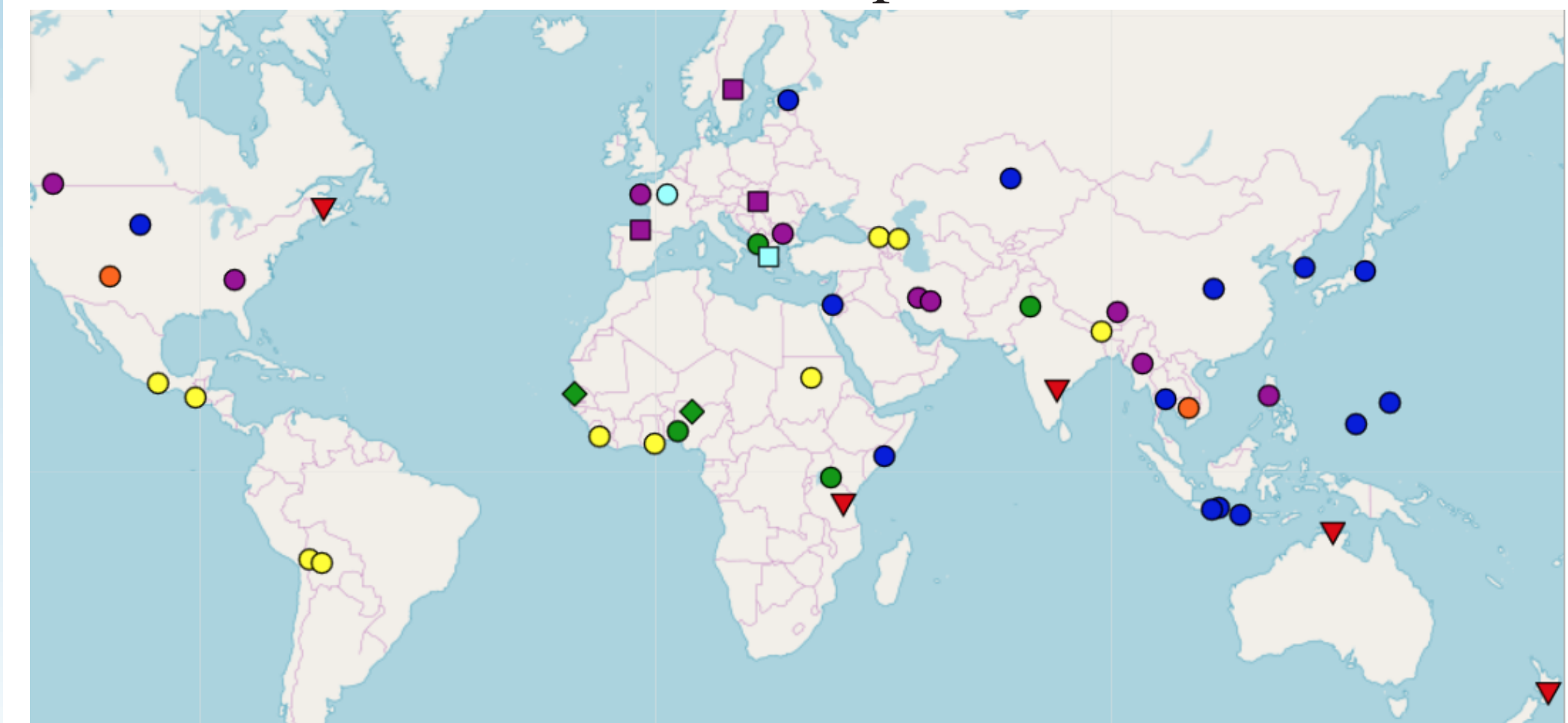
	English	German	Flemish Dutch	Swedish	Faroese	Icelandic	Romanian	French	Spanish	Greek
Quality/abs.	the yummiest cookies	die leckersten Kekse	de lekkerste koekjes	de godaste kakorna	tær lekrastu køkurnar	bestu køkurnar	cele mai bune prajituri	les cookies les plus délicieux	las galletas más ricas	ta kalutera biskota
Quality/rel.	the smallest waist	der schlankesten Taille	de dunste taille	smalast midja	minstu miðju	minnstá mittið	cel mai mic mijloc	la taille la plus fine	la cintura más delgada	tin mikoteri mesi
Quality/adv.	the fastest	am schnellsten	het hardst	snabbast	skjótast	hraðast	cel mai repede	le plus vite	más rápido	pio grígora
Quantity/rel.	the most cookies	am meisten Kekse	het meeste koekjes	flest kakor	flest smákøkur	mjást áv kakum	cele mai multe dulciuri	le plus de cookies	más galletas	ta perissótera biskota
Quantity/adv.	the most	am meisten	het meest	mest	mest	mest	cel mai mult	le plus	más	to perissotero
Quantity/prop.	most of the cookies	die meisten Kinder	de meeste kinderen	de flesta kakor(na)	tey flestu börnini	flestir krakkanna	celor mai multi copii	la plupart des enfants	la mayoría de los niños	sta perissótera paidiá

A UNIVERSAL

PROPORTIONAL IMPLIES RELATIVE

Regardless of superlative strategy, MANY+SPRL always has relative reading, rarely proportional.

Unattested: Proportional but not relative.



● M ● PERIPH ● CMPR+DEF ● CMPR ● CMPR+ALL ● CMPR+ANY
 PROP-REL: ● NO-YES ■ YES-YES ▼ NA-NA ◆ INDETERMINATE

PREVIOUS THEORIES

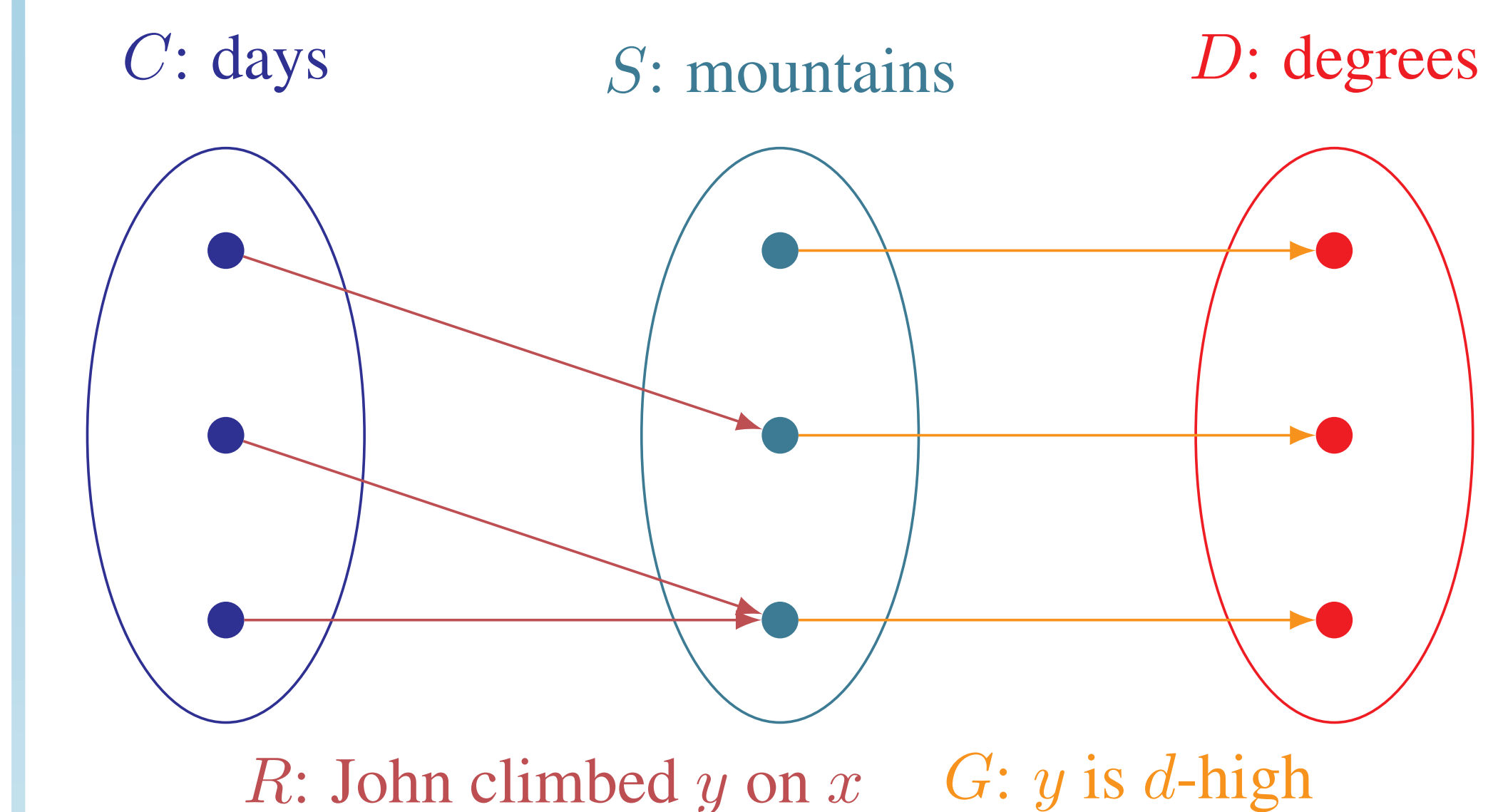
Proportional reading licensed by:

- **Separate lexical item** (traditional, e.g. Barwise & Cooper 1981; now Dobrovie-Sorin & Giurgea 2015).
- **DP-layer** (Boškovic & Gajewski 2008, building on Hackl 2000). Challenged by DP-languages without proportional readings e.g. French (Pancheva 2015).
- **Measure pseudopartitive** (Pancheva 2015): Relative MOST is underlyingly *the largest number* on individuating interpretation, proportional reading based on measure interpretation. Challenge from Mandarin *de*; also **largest of cookies* (Wilson 2016).

Agreement generalizations support Pancheva's insight.

OUR PROPOSAL

John climbed the highest mountain on Tuesday_F



On absolute readings, *R* is identity so $C = S$.

	<i>C</i>	<i>S</i>	$C = S?$	<i>G</i>
Quality/abs.	$\langle e, t \rangle$	$\langle e, t \rangle$	yes	$\langle e, d \rangle$
Quality/rel.	$\langle e, t \rangle$	$\langle e, t \rangle$	no	$\langle e, d \rangle$
Quality/adv.	$\langle e, t \rangle$	$\langle v, t \rangle$	no	$\langle v, d \rangle$
Quantity/rel.	$\langle e, t \rangle$	$\langle d, t \rangle$	no	$\langle d, d \rangle$
Quantity/adv.	$\langle e, t \rangle$	$\langle d, t \rangle$	no	$\langle d, d \rangle$
Quantity/prop.	$\langle e, t \rangle$	$\langle e, t \rangle$	yes	$\langle e, d \rangle$

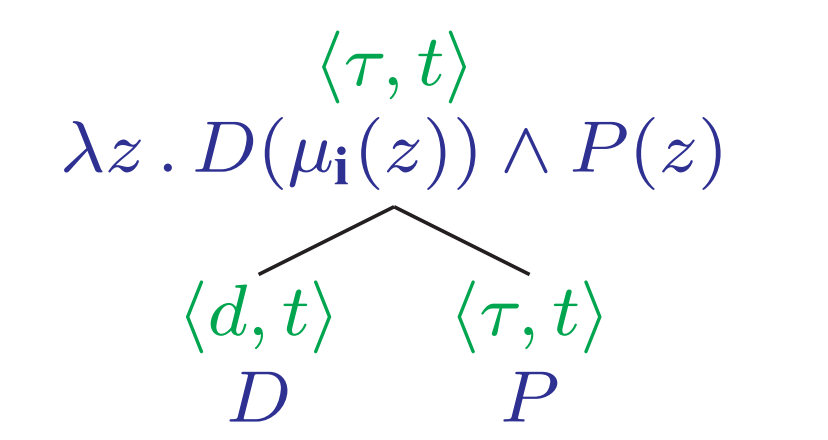
$-est \rightsquigarrow$
 $\lambda G_{\langle \tau, d \rangle} \lambda y_{\tau} . \partial(\mathbf{C}(\mathbf{x}) \wedge \mathbf{R}(\mathbf{x}, y)) \wedge \sup(\mathbf{x}, \mathbf{R} \circ G, \mathbf{C})$

- $\sup(x, G, C)$ means x is most G in C
- τ : e (individual), d (degree) or v (event).
- \mathbf{R} relates individuals in \mathbf{C} to things of type τ .
- \mathbf{C} must consist of individuals (type e); identified by focus/wh if not identified with \mathbf{S}

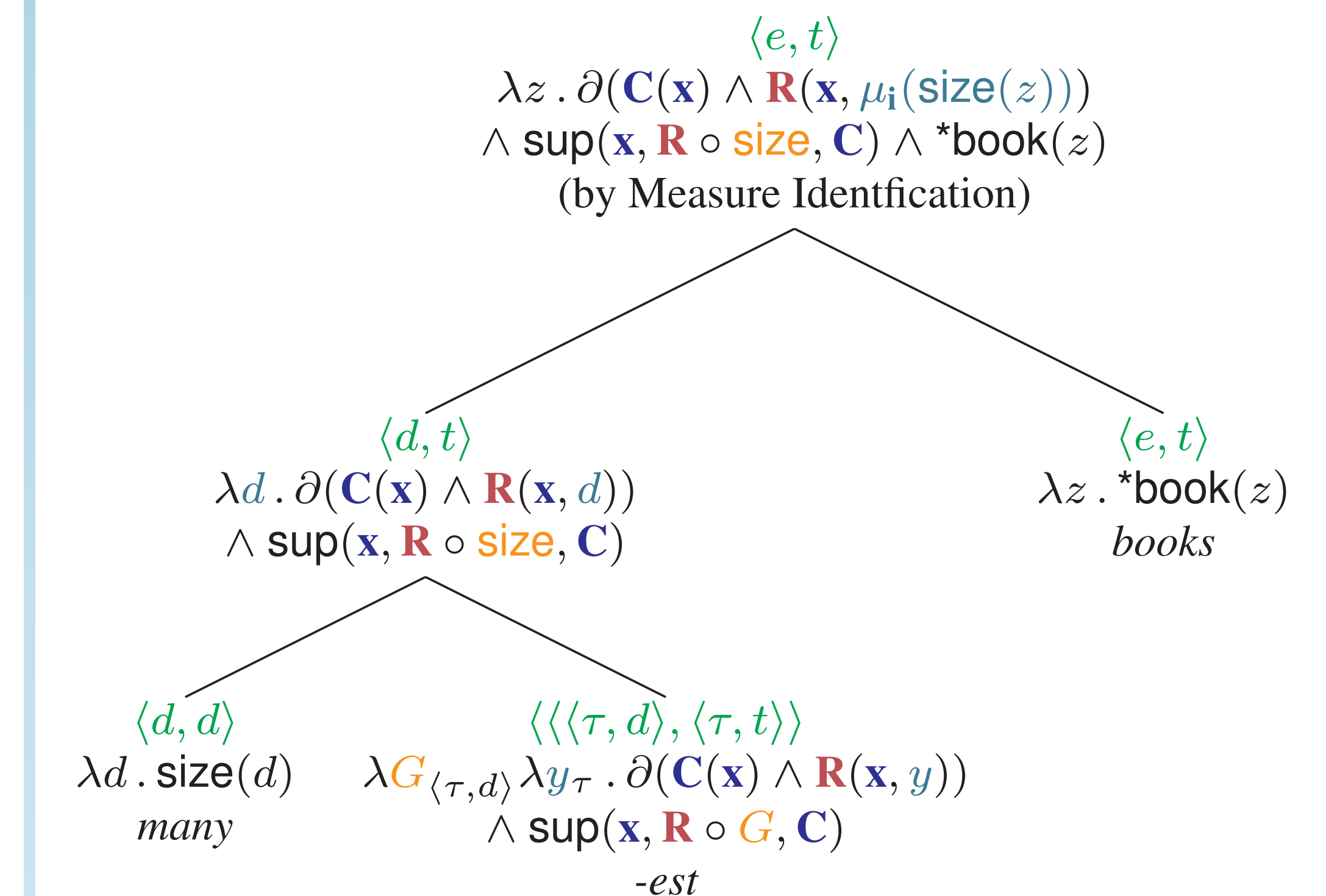
Target-Domain Hypothesis: Default agr. when $\tau \neq e$

SAMPLE DERIVATIONS

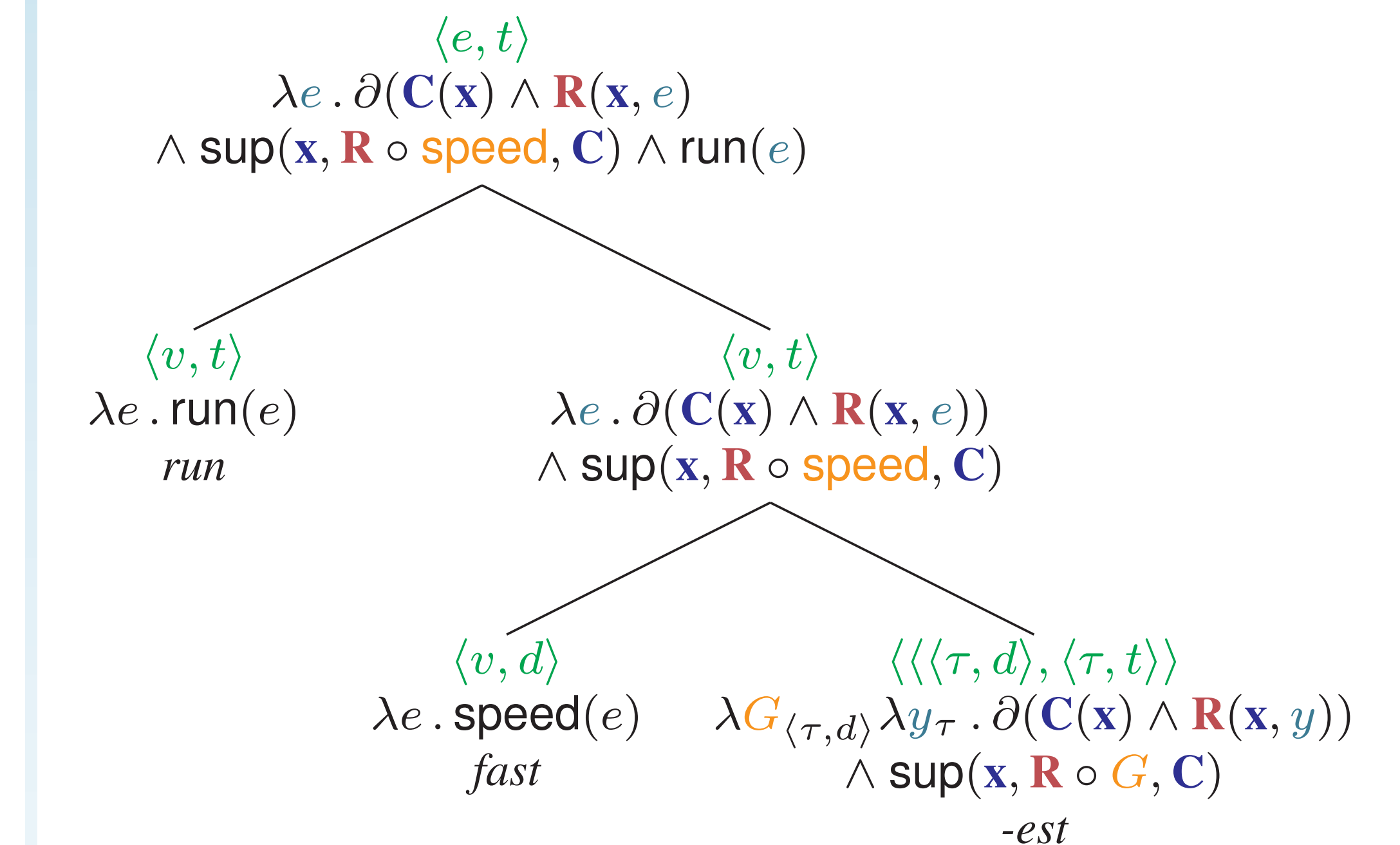
Measure Identification:



Adnominal quantity superlative on relative reading:



Adverbial superlative (relative reading only):



Adnominal quantity superlative on proportional reading:

- *many* measures numerosity of individual pluralities
- \mathbf{R} is identity, \mathbf{C} is a binary partition (Hoeksema 1983)
- Denotation of *most books*:
 $\lambda z . \partial(\mathbf{C}(z)) \wedge \sup(z, \text{numerosity}, \mathbf{C}) \wedge *book(z)$

These are marked options; hence the universal.

AGREEMENT GENERALIZATION I: NUMBER

- On a proportional reading, quantity superlatives never disagree in number with the modified noun.
- On a relative reading, the superlative may show default agreement, disagreeing with the noun.

Basque: Proportional reading exhibits number agreement (-ak) while relative reading does not.

- (1) Liburutegi horrek ditu liburu gehi-en-ak. (2) Liburutegi horrek ditu liburu gehi-en.
 library that.ERG has book much-SPRL-DEF.PL library that.ERG has book much-SPRL
 'That library has *most of* the books.' 'That library has *the most* books.' (Etxeberria 2005)

Further support: German, Flemish Dutch, Scandinavian (above).

AGREEMENT GENERALIZATION II: ADVERBIAL-RELATIVE CONNECTION

A relative reading of a quantity superlative may always be expressed with adverbial superlative morphosyntax.

Shown in table above:

- German *am meisten* ($am = an + dem$), Flemish Dutch *het meeste*
- Spanish bare *más* (also: Italian bare *più*)
- In Greek, adnominal quantity superlatives on relative readings match *quantity* adverbial superlatives.

Basque	Finnish	Hebrew
(i) Gurasoek sufritu dutu gehi-en. 'The parents suffered <i>the most</i> .'	(i) Turkin mukauduttava eniten. 'Turkey needs to adjust <i>the most</i> .'	(i) ani ohev-et ot-ax haxi harbe. 'I love you <i>the most</i> .'
(Hualde & de Urbina 2003: (2051))	(ii) Hans varmaan joi eniten kahvia. 'Hans drank <i>the most</i> coffee.'	(ii) ani dibar-ti im haxi harbe lakox-ot. 'I spoke with <i>the most</i> customers.'
(ii) See (2)		

REFERENCES AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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