

Additivity, scalarity and the interactions between them: Beyond *also* and *even*

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Class 5:
Scalar-additives combined with comparatives – *noch* vs. *even*

Schedule

Class # 1: The landscape of additive, of scalar and of scalar additive particles

Class # 2: *Even*-like particles

Class # 3: *noch*-like particles: German *noch*
– discourse-based perspective

Class # 4: *noch*-like particles: English *more* / Hebrew *ad*
– degree-based perspective

compare the two perspectives

Class # 5: Two types of scalar-additives combined with comparatives

noch größer – even taller

Summary and outlook

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Plan for today

German *noch* ('still', 'in addition', ...) in comparison constructions

- (a) *Berta ist noch größer als Adam*
'Berta is even / still taller than Adam'

English *even* in comparison constructions

- (b) *Berta is even taller than Adam.*

even ≠ *noch* – why does (b) count as a translational equivalent of (a)

Questions / comments – relating to class 5 / the lecture

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Norm-relatedness / evaluativity

- (1) *Berta ist groß.* ==> Berta is taller than some contextual norm
'Berta is tall.'

► The positive form of a gradable adjective is norm-related

- (2) *Berta ist größer als Adam.* =/=> Adam ist groß, =/=> Berta ist groß
'Berta is taller than Adam.' 'Adam is tall.' 'Berta is tall.'

► The unmodified comparative form is **not** norm-related

- (3) *Berta ist auch größer als Adam.* =/=> Adam ist groß, =/=> Berta ist groß
'Berta is also taller than Adam.' 'Adam is tall.' 'Berta is tall.'

► The comparative form combined with *auch* ('also') is **not** norm-related

- (4) *Berta ist noch größer als Adam.* ==> Adam ist groß, ==> Berta ist groß
'Berta is NOCH taller than Adam.' 'Adam is tall.' 'Berta is tall.'

► The comparative form combined with *noch* ('still') is **norm-related**

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From the web

(5) (A company praising their new web pages)

a. *Unsere neuen Webseiten sind noch kundenorientierter und informativer.*

'Our new web pages are even/still more customer-friendly and informative'

==> The old web pages have been customer-friendly and informative.

norm-related

(6) a. *Der Betätigungsbereich für Physiotherapeuten ist im letzten Jahrzehnt größer geworden; er könnte aber durchaus noch größer sein.*

'The range of activities of physiotherapists increased in the last decade, but it could be even/still larger.'

NOT norm-related

b. (left and right brain hemisphere with females and males)

Das weibliche Gehirn ist kleiner als das männliche, also das männliche ist größer.

Das Gehirn eines ausgewachsenen Ochsens ist noch größer.

'The female brain is smaller than the male one, that is, the male one is bigger. The brain of a full-grown ox is even/still bigger.'

NOT norm-related

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Questions

- Why do comparative constructions with *noch* in some contexts appear norm-related? Why not in others?
- What is the meaning of *noch* in comparative constructions?
- How does this reading relate to the other readings of *noch*? (temporal, ...)

• *even ≠ noch*

– why does (4b) count as a translational equivalent of (4a)??

(7) a. *Berta ist noch größer als Adam.*

b. *Berta is even / still taller than Adam.*

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Temporal / marginality reading

(8) *Es regnet noch.*

'It is **still** raining.'

temporal / aspectual reading

(9) *Osnabrück liegt (gerade) noch in Niedersachsen.*

'Osnabrück is **still** in Lower Saxony.'

marginality reading

(10) *Berta ist noch größer als Adam.*

'Berta is **NOCH** taller than Adam.'

(but in a few month Adam will be taller)

temporal / aspectual reading

(11) *Berta ist (gerade)noch größer als Adam.*

'Berta is (just) **NOCH** taller than Adam.'

(but just by few centimeters.)

marginality reading

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Additive *noch*

(12) a. (Otto had a beer)

Otto hat noch einen SCHNAPS getrunken.

'Otto had a schnaps in addition.'

not accented

b. (Otto had a schnaps ...)

*Otto hat **NOCH** einen Schnaps getrunken.*

'Otto had another schnaps.'

accented

(13) a. (Adam is not small.)

*Aber Berta ist noch **GRÖßER**.*

'But Berta is **NOCH** taller.'

not accented

b. (Adam is tall.)

*Aber Berta ist **NOCH** größer.*

'But Berta is **NOCH** taller.'

accented

--> *noch*-comparatives are additive – what is added?

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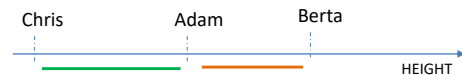
Additive *noch* in comparatives

- (i) occur following a sentence with the same comparative form
- (ii) occur following a sentence with the corresponding positive form
- (iii) occur out of the blue

(i) Comparative antecedent

- (14) *Adam ist größer als Chris. Berta ist noch größer (als Adam).*

'Adam is taller than Chris. Berta is still taller (than Adam)'



--> *noch*-comparatives add distances / (directed) scale segments:



similar to what Miashkur and Greenberg 2019 say about scalar additives in Russian

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Additive *noch* in comparatives

(ii) Positiv antecedent

- (15) *Adam ist groß. Berta ist NOCH größer (als Adam).*

'Adam is tall. Berta is NOCH taller (than Adam)'

Adam is tall --> Adam is taller than the norm (in this context)



--> as before: addition of segments

Norm-relatedness of the *noch*-comparative is only apparent

- In (15), the *noch*-comparative ==> Adam is tall, Berta is tall due to the norm-relatedness of the antecedent
- In (14), the *noch*-comparative =/=> Adam is tall, Berta is tall because the antecedent is not norm-related

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Additive *noch* in comparatives

(iii) No (overt) antecedent

- (16) *Berta ist NOCH größer als mein Neffe / als ich dachte / als vor drei Monaten...*

'Berta is NOCH taller (than my nephew / than I thought / than 3 month before ...)'

==> my nephew is tall, ==> Berta is tall

accommodation of a positive form antecedent *My nephew is tall.*

- (5) (A company praising their new web pages)

a. *Unsere neuen Webseiten sind noch kundenorientierter und informativer.*

'Our new web pages are even/still more customer-friendly and informative'

accommodation of *The old web pages have been customer-friendly and informative.*

--> norm-relatedness only apparent,

due to accommodation of a positive form antecedent

(theoretical decision ...)

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The meaning of additive *noch* in comparatives

- Gradable adjectives denote measure functions mapping individuals to degrees
- Comparatives denote relations between degrees:

$$[[\textit{Adam is taller than Chris}]] = 1 \text{ iff } \mu_{\text{height}}(\textit{adam}) > \mu_{\text{height}}(\textit{chris})$$

$$[[\textit{Adam is tall}]] = 1 \text{ iff } \mu_{\text{height}}(\textit{adam}) > \text{pos}_{\text{height}}$$

Kennedy (1999)

$[[\textit{Berta ist noch größer als Adam}]]$

asserts Berta is taller than Adam: $\mu_{\text{height}}(\textit{berta}) > \mu_{\text{height}}(\textit{adam})$

presupposes there is a previously mentioned antecedent p such that Adam is taller than some one/something else: $\mu_{\text{height}}(\textit{adam}) > d$

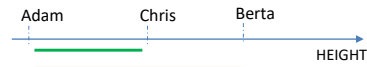
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Additive *noch* in comparatives: adding up height segments

- (17) a. *Adam ist größer als Chris. Berta ist noch größer (als Adam).*
'Adam is taller than Chris. Berta is still taller (than Adam)'



- b. # *Chris ist größer als Adam. Berta ist NOCH größer als Adam.*
'Chris is taller than Adam. Berta is still taller.'



- c. # *Adam ist größer als Chris. Berta ist noch größer als Fritz.*
'Adam is taller than Chris. Berta is still taller than Fritz'



--> height segment have to be non-overlapping and connected

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Additive *noch* in comparatives: comparing distances

König 1977 claims that what I called 'additive *noch* in comparatives' is in fact a particular marginality reading

(standard) marginality reading

- (11) a. *Berta ist (gerade)noch größer als Adam.*
'Berta is (just) NOCH taller than Adam.'

b. $[_{CP} \text{Berta } [_{VP} \text{ist } [_{DegP} \text{noch } [_{DegP} [_{AP} \text{größer}]] \text{ [als Adam]]}]]]$

c. $[_{degP} \dots] = \text{noch } (\lambda x. \text{taller-adam}(x))$

assertion $\lambda x. \text{taller-adam}(x)$

presupp. $\lambda x. \exists z. z \neq x \ \& \ \text{taller-adam}(z) \ \& \ (z <_{\text{marginal_in_being taller-adam}} x)$

"the positive distance from Adam to z exceeds the distance from Adam to Berta"



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Additive *noch* in comparatives: comparing distances

(standard) marginality reading (again)

- (11) a. *Berta ist (gerade)noch größer als Adam.*
'Berta is (just) NOCH taller than Adam.'

$[_{CP} \text{Berta } [_{VP} \text{ist } [_{DegP} \text{noch } [_{DegP} [_{AP} \text{größer}]] \text{ [als Adam]]}]]]$

presupp.: "the positive distance from Adam to z exceeds the distance from Adam to Berta"



comparative marginality reading

- (14) a. *Adam ist größer als Chris. Berta ist noch größer (als Adam / als Chris).*
'Adam is taller than Chris. Berta is still taller (than Adam)'

b. $[_{CP} \text{Berta } [_{VP} \text{ist } [_{DegP} [_{AP} \text{noch } [_{AP} \text{größer}]]] \text{ [als Adam]]}]]]$

c. $[_{AP} \dots] = \text{noch } (\lambda y \lambda x. x \text{ taller } y)$

assertion $\lambda y \lambda x. x \text{ taller } y$

presupp. $\lambda y \lambda x. \exists z. z \neq y \ \& \ (x \text{ taller } z) \ \& \ (z <_{\text{marginal_in_being such that x-is-taller } y})$

"the positive distance from z to Berta exceeds the distance from Adam to Berta"



► this does not look like 'adding segments' – maybe "additive *noch* in comparatives" is in fact a 2.order marginality reading, i.e. marginality with respect to distances

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Evaluative adjectives in additive *noch* comparatives

- (18) (about an art exhibition)
a. *Die Fotos sind NOCH beeindruckender als die Bilder.*
'The photos are NOCH more impressive than the paintings.'
=> The paintings are impressive (by accommodation)

- b. *Die Foto sind beeindruckender als die Bilder.*
'The photos are more impressive than the paintings.'
~> The paintings are not impressive. (implicature)

Why is (18b) not just neutral about the paintings?

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