Non-local allomorphy

- Current debate: what are the conditions on allomorphy?
- Embick (2010), Bobaljik (2012), Starke (2009): some sort of adjacency is required
- Counterexamples:
 - Tamil pronouns (Moskal & Smith 2016; but see Newell 2023)
 - Basque xe-comparatives
 - Many others (see Dolatian 2023 for an extreme case)

Basque data

	POS	CMPR	Xe-CMPR
much	asko	gehi-ago	gehi-xe-ago
good	on	hobe	hobe-xe-ago

Assuming the [CMPR [ADJ]] structure, presence of xe (a) doesn't intervene for stem allomorphy; (b) intervenes for zeroallomorphy of CMPR (in hobe-xe-ago).

Bobaljik's solution

Building on semantic similarity with a little more than, Bobaljik (2012) proposes the following structure

	CMPF	_۲ (1)	a.	$\sqrt{\text{GOOD}} \leftrightarrow \text{hobe } /$
			b.	$CMPR \leftrightarrow \emptyset / \sqrt{GOC}$
V	Хе	CMPR		

More comparative structure

Split Comparative Hypothesis (Caha, De Clercq & Vanden Wyngaerd 2019): there are two CMPR heads

Evidence comes from Czech [C2 [C1 [Adj

	POS	CMPR
red	červen-ý	červen-ějš-í
rich	bohat-ý	bohat-š-í
fast.ADV	rychl-e	rychl-ej-i
sharp (NEB)	ostr-ý	ostř-ø-í

Revisitng Basque *xe*-comparatives

Daniar Kasenov, antidanyar@protonmail.com

HSE University, Moscow Lomonosov State Univeristy



- 2001) Structure: [Adv [C2 [C1 [Adj]]
- Local Dislocation: swap Adv and C2
- LD does not occur in *hobe-ki* because empty allomorphs are pruned (Embick 2010)

Semantics

- Bobaljik has based his structure on semantic grounds
- This account will have to be combined with realistic semantics for the diminutive -xe-

Zhang's interval semantics

Zhang & Ling 2021 proposed a subtraction-based semantics for comparatives (with a silent operator MINUS)

- $\|\text{tall}\| = \lambda I_{dt} \cdot \lambda x_e$. $\text{HEIGHT}(x) \subseteq I$
- $\|-er/more\| = (0, +\infty)$
- $||\mathsf{MINUS}|| = \lambda I_{stdd} \cdot \lambda I_{diff} \cdot \iota I \cdot I I_{stdd} = I_{diff}$

For Zhang, MINUS is composed with standard of comparison and then with $\|-er\|$ to yield the interval (PRECISE-HEIGHT(soc), $+\infty$)

Semantic proposal

- Zhang and Ling's -er is C2, MINUS is C1
- $\|C1\| = \lambda P_{dt,et} \cdot \lambda I_{stdd} \cdot \lambda I_{diff} \lambda x \cdot P(\iota I \cdot I I_{stdd} = I_{diff}, x)$
- Diminutive is polymorphic
- $\|-xe\| = \lambda P_{dt,\tau} \cdot \lambda I_{dt} \cdot P(SMALL(I))$
- sufficiently small number

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A semantic account of split comparative is necessary

• SMALL: an interval with lower bound $a \rightarrow [a, a + r]$ where r = a

This semantics for diminutive can be composed with any scalar expression (if we make them interval-sensitive)

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