

# Comparative morphemes are additive particles: English *-er/more* vs. Chinese *gèng*

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Incremental constructions within and across languages  
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For the manuscript of this project, please see

<https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/008122>

## What are morphemes like English *-er/more* doing?

- Many languages (e.g., English, French) require the use of a comparative morpheme in the comparative use of gradable adjectives:

- (1) a. Lucy is **tall**. Positive: **tall**  
b. Lucy is **taller** than Mary is. Comparative: **taller**
- (2) a. Lucy has **many** books. Positive: **many**  
b. Lucy has **more** books than Mary does. Comp.: **more**
- (3) **French data**
- a. Jean est **grand**.  
John be.3SG tall  
'John is tall.' Positive: **grand** 'tall'
- b. Jean est plus grand que Pierre.  
John be.3SG more tall what Peter.  
'John is taller than Peter.' Comp.: **plus+grand** 'taller'

## What are morphemes like English *-er/more* doing?

- However, many other languages (e.g., Chinese, Japanese) don't make a distinction between the comparative vs. non-comparative use:

### (4) Chinese data

a. Lèlè gāo ma?

Lèlè tall Q

'Is Lèlè tall?'

Positive: gāo 'tall'

b. Lèlè bǐ Mǐmǐ gāo ma?

Lèlè STDD Mǐmǐ taller Q

'Is Lèlè taller than Mǐmǐ?'

Comp.: gāo 'taller'

### (5) Japanese data

a. Rika-wa (se-ga) taka-i.

Rika-TOP back-NOM tall-PRES

'Rika is tall.'

Positive: taka- 'tall'

b. Rika-wa Makoto-yori (se-ga) taka-i.

Rika-TOP Makoto-STDD back-NOM tall-PRES

'Rika is taller than Makoto.'

Comp.: taka- 'taller'

# Research questions

- Does the meaning of comparison hinge on morphemes like *-er/more*?
- If not,
  - What lexical items are responsible for comparison?
  - Then what does *-er/more* do?
- How about languages like Chinese and Japanese?

# Take-home messages

- Does the meaning of comparison hinge on morphemes like *-er/more*?
  - No.
- What lexical items are responsible for comparison?
  - Gradable adjectives, which encode (strict or non-strict) inequalities
- What does *-er/more* do?
  - They are additive particles like *another*, denoting an increase anaphoric to a contextually salient base item.
- How about languages like Chinese and Japanese?
  - In these languages, gradable adjectives encode inequalities in a strict way, making the use of an *-er*-like morpheme unnecessary.
  - These languages have optional morphemes:  
Chinese *gèng* and Japanese *motto* work like additive particle *moreover*, indicating a threshold with enhanced positiveness for the positive use of gradable adjectives.

# Outline

- 1 Comparison and the meaning of gradable adjectives
- 2 Comparisons in English vs. Chinese
- 3 English *-er/more*
- 4 Chinese *gèng*
- 5 Concluding remarks

## Canonical analysis: *-er/more* performs comparison

- A gradable adjective relates a degree and an entity.

(6)  $\llbracket \text{tall} \rrbracket_{\langle d, et \rangle} \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \lambda d. \lambda x. \text{HEIGHT}(x) \geq d$  a relation between  $d$  and  $x$   
 $\leadsto$  the height of  $x$  reaches the degree  $d$ , i.e.,  $x$  is tall to degree  $d$

- Major non-comparative uses of gradable adjectives:

(7)  $\llbracket \text{Lucy is POS tall} \rrbracket \Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \geq d_{\text{POS}}^c$  Positive use  
(i.e., the height of Lucy reaches the contextual threshold of being tall.)

(8)  $\llbracket \text{Lucy is 5 feet 8 inches tall} \rrbracket \Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \geq 5'8''$  Measure

(9)  $\llbracket \text{how tall is Lucy} \rrbracket \Leftrightarrow \lambda d. \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \geq d$  Degree question

(e.g., Cresswell 1976, Hellan 1981, von Stechow 1984, Heim 1985, Kennedy 1999, Beck 2011)

## Canonical analysis: *-er/more* performs comparison

- **Comparative morpheme** *-er/more* performs comparison by expressing the relation ‘>’ between two degrees.

(10) a.  $\llbracket \text{-er} \rrbracket_{\langle \langle dt \rangle, \langle dt, t \rangle \rangle} \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \lambda D_1. \lambda D_2. \text{MAX}(D_2) > \text{MAX}(D_1)$   
( $\text{MAX} \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \lambda D. \lambda d [d \in D \wedge \forall d' [d' \in D \rightarrow d' \leq d]]$ )  
(see e.g., Beck 2011)

b.  $\llbracket \text{-er} \rrbracket_{\langle \langle dt \rangle, \langle dt, t \rangle \rangle} \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \lambda D_1. \lambda D_2. \exists d [d \in D_2 \wedge d \notin D_1]$   
(see e.g., Schwarzschild 2008)

(11)  $\llbracket \text{Lucy is taller than Mary is tall} \rrbracket \Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(L) > \text{HEIGHT}(M)$   
 $\underbrace{\hspace{10em}}$   
comparison standard

LF:  $[ \text{-er} [ \lambda d. \text{Mary is } d\text{-tall} ] ] [ \lambda d'. \text{Lucy is } d'\text{-tall} ]$

(i.e., lambda abstraction happens at both the matrix and the *than*-clause, leading to two sets of degrees)

- However, there are empirical challenges ...



## The use of *-er/more* is not always required for comparison

- All uses of gradable adjectives involve comparison, but the use of *-er/more* is not always required.

I.e., *-er/more* is not a necessary component of comparison.

(12) a.  $\llbracket \text{Lucy is POS tall} \rrbracket \Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \geq d_{\text{POS}}^c$

**Positive use**

b.  $\llbracket \text{Lucy is 5'8'' inches tall} \rrbracket \Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \geq 5'8''$  **Measure**

c.  $\llbracket \text{how tall is Lucy} \rrbracket \Leftrightarrow \lambda d. \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \geq d$  **Degree Q.**

d.  $\llbracket \text{Lucy is as tall as Bill (is)} \rrbracket \Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \geq \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Bill})$   
**Equative**

e.  $\llbracket \text{Lucy is taller than Mary (is)} \rrbracket \Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{L}) > \text{HEIGHT}(\text{M})$   
**Comparative**

## Minimal pairs

- Minimal pairs indicate that the use of *-er/more* does not bring comparison, but rather affects (i) what constitutes the comparison standard and/or (ii) the size of the differential.

- (13) a. Mary is not tall. Lucy is POS tall.  $\leadsto \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \geq d_{\text{POS}}^c$   
b. Mary is not tall. Lucy is taller.  $\leadsto \text{HEIGHT}(L) \geq \text{HEIGHT}(M)$
- (14) a. Compared to Mary, Lucy is tall. **Implicit comparison**  
 $\leadsto \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \geq d_{\text{POS}}^c$   
(i) Compared to 2-year-old toddlers, Lucy is tall.  
(ii) (Even) compared to professional basketball players, Lucy is tall.
- b. Compared to Mary, Lucy is taller. **Explicit comparison**  
 $\leadsto \text{HEIGHT}(L) \geq \text{HEIGHT}(M)$

(See Kennedy 2007 on crisp judgment)

# Antonyms

- The lexical meaning of gradable adjectives includes already inequalities, and antonyms encode inequalities of different directions.

- (15) a.  $\llbracket \text{tall} \rrbracket_{\langle d, et \rangle} \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \lambda d. \lambda x. \text{HEIGHT}(x) \geq d$   
b.  $\llbracket \text{short} \rrbracket_{\langle d, et \rangle} \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \lambda d. \lambda x. \text{HEIGHT}(x) \leq d$

## Interim summary

- The essence of comparison is to establish inequalities.
- The lexical semantics of gradable adjectives already contains inequalities.
- Naturally, expressing the meaning of comparison should essentially be based on the meaning of gradable adjectives, not necessarily involving *-er/more*.

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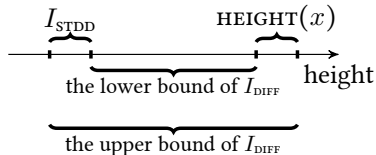
# English comparatives vs. Chinese comparatives

- (16) a. Lucy is taller than Mary is.  $\text{HEIGHT}(L) > \text{HEIGHT}(M)$   
b. Lèlè bǐ Mǐmǐ gāo.  
Lèlè STDD Mǐmǐ taller  
'Lèlè is taller than Mǐmǐ.'  $\text{HEIGHT}(L) > \text{HEIGHT}(M)$

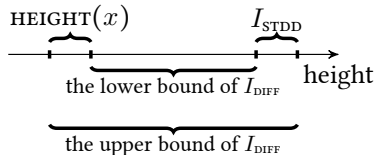
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Positive use  
b.  $\llbracket \text{Lucy is } 5'8'' \text{ inches tall} \rrbracket \Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \geq 5'8''$  Measure  
c.  $\llbracket \text{how tall is Lucy} \rrbracket \Leftrightarrow \lambda d. \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \geq d$  Degree Q.  
d.  $\llbracket \text{Lucy is as tall as Bill (is)} \rrbracket \Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \geq \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Bill})$   
Equative  
e.  $\llbracket \text{Lucy is taller than Mary (is)} \rrbracket \Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(L) > \text{HEIGHT}(M)$   
Comparative

- Our proposal on the meaning of gradable adjectives:
  - ▶ English gradable adjectives encode a **non-strict inequality**, and with the use of *-er/more*, comparatives express a strict inequality.
  - ▶ Chinese gradable adjectives directly encode a **strict inequality**.

# Lexical semantics of gradable adjective *tall/gāo*



The meaning of *tall/gāo*



The meaning of *short/ǎi*

$$(17) \quad \llbracket \text{tall} \rrbracket \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \lambda I_{\text{DIFF}}. \lambda I_{\text{STDD}}. \lambda x. \underbrace{I_{\text{DIFF}} \subseteq [0, +\infty)}_{\text{non-negative presup.}}. \text{HEIGHT}(x) \subseteq \iota I [I - I_{\text{STDD}} = I_{\text{DIFF}}] \quad \text{English}$$

(i.e., the height of  $x$  **reaches** the comparison standard,  $I_{\text{STDD}}$ .)

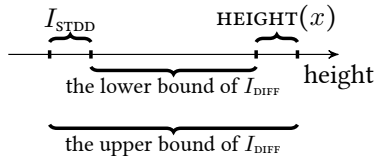
$\leadsto$  the difference between them,  $I_{\text{DIFF}}$ , is **non-negative**)

$$(18) \quad \llbracket \text{gāo} \rrbracket \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \lambda I_{\text{DIFF}}. \lambda I_{\text{STDD}}. \lambda x. \underbrace{I_{\text{DIFF}} \subseteq (0, +\infty)}_{\text{positive presup.}}. \text{HEIGHT}(x) \subseteq \iota I [I - I_{\text{STDD}} = I_{\text{DIFF}}] \quad \text{Chinese}$$

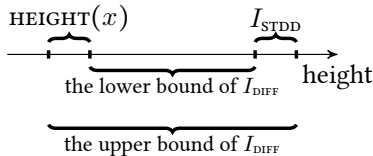
(i.e., the height of  $x$  **exceeds** the comparison standard,  $I_{\text{STDD}}$ .)

$\leadsto$  the difference between them,  $I_{\text{DIFF}}$ , is **positive**)

# Lexical semantics of gradable adjective *short/ǎi*



The meaning of *tall/gāo*



The meaning of *short/ǎi*

$$(19) \quad \llbracket \text{short} \rrbracket \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \lambda I_{\text{DIFF}}. \lambda I_{\text{STDD}}. \lambda x. \underbrace{I_{\text{DIFF}} \subseteq [0, +\infty)}_{\text{non-negative presup.}}. \text{HEIGHT}(x) \subseteq \iota I [I_{\text{STDD}} - I = I_{\text{DIFF}}] \quad \text{English}$$

(i.e., the height of  $x$  **does not exceed** the comparison standard,  $I_{\text{STDD}}$ .)

↪ the difference between them,  $I_{\text{DIFF}}$ , is **non-negative**)

$$(20) \quad \llbracket \text{ǎi} \rrbracket \stackrel{\text{def}}{=} \lambda I_{\text{DIFF}}. \lambda I_{\text{STDD}}. \lambda x. \underbrace{I_{\text{DIFF}} \subseteq (0, +\infty)}_{\text{positive presup.}}. \text{HEIGHT}(x) \subseteq \iota I [I_{\text{STDD}} - I = I_{\text{DIFF}}] \quad \text{Chinese}$$

(i.e., the height of  $x$  **is below / does not reach** the comparison standard,  $I_{\text{STDD}}$ .)

↪ the difference between them,  $I_{\text{DIFF}}$ , is **positive**)



# The positive use of gradable adjectives

- In the **positive** use,
  - ▶ the comparison **standard** is **the contextual threshold**
  - ▶ the **difference** cannot be specified by a numerical value, but can be modified by modifiers like *very*, *quite*, etc.

(21) [[Lucy is POS tall]] English

$$\Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \subseteq \iota I \left[ I - \underbrace{[d_{\text{POS}}^c, d_{\text{POS}}^c]}_{I_{\text{STDD}}} = \underbrace{[0, +\infty)}_{I_{\text{DIFF}}} \right]$$

$$\Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \subseteq [d_{\text{POS}}^c, +\infty)$$

(i.e., the height of Lucy **reaches** the contextual threshold of being tall)

(22) [[Lucy hěn POS gāo]] Chinese

$$\Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \subseteq \iota I \left[ I - \underbrace{[d_{\text{POS}}^c, d_{\text{POS}}^c]}_{I_{\text{STDD}}} = \underbrace{(0, +\infty)}_{I_{\text{DIFF}}} \right]$$

$$\Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \subseteq (d_{\text{POS}}^c, +\infty)$$

(i.e., the height of Lucy **exceeds** the contextual threshold of being tall)

# Measurement sentences

- In measurement sentences,
  - ▶ the comparison standard is the absolute zero point, i.e.,  $[0, 0]$
  - ▶ the difference is specified by a numerical value, e.g.,  $5'8''$ ,  $1.7m$ .

(23) [[Lucy is 5 feet 8 inches tall]]

English

$$\Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \subseteq \iota I [I - [0, 0] = [5'8'', +\infty) \cap [0, +\infty)]$$

$$\Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \subseteq [5'8'', +\infty)$$

(24) [[Lucy (yǒu) 1.7 m gāo]]

Chinese

$$\Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \subseteq \iota I [I - [0, 0] = [1.7m + \infty) \cap (0, +\infty)]$$

$$\Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \subseteq [1.7m, +\infty)$$

# Comparatives

- In comparatives,
  - the comparison **standard** is from the meaning of the *than*-clause (or context)
  - the **difference** can be optionally specified by a numerical value, e.g., 3'', 5cm.

$$(25) \quad \llbracket \text{Lucy is tall } \underbrace{\text{er}}_{(0, +\infty)} \underbrace{\text{than Mary is}}_{I_{\text{STDD}}} \rrbracket$$
$$\Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \subseteq \iota I [I - \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Mary}) = \underbrace{(0, +\infty)}_{\llbracket \text{er} \rrbracket} \cap [0, +\infty)]$$
$$\Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lucy}) \subseteq \iota I [I - \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Mary}) = (0, +\infty)]$$

$$(26) \quad \llbracket \text{Lèlè bǐ Mímǐ gāo} \rrbracket$$
$$\Leftrightarrow \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Lèlè}) \subseteq \iota I [I - \text{HEIGHT}(\text{Mímǐ}) = (0, +\infty)]$$

# Comparison in English vs. Chinese

- Within our proposed view, comparison is universally conducted by gradable adjectives
  - For languages that require the use of *-er* in comparatives (e.g., English): gradable adjectives encode a non-strict inequality (In terms of degrees: ‘ $\geq$ ’; in terms of intervals: ‘ $[0, +\infty)$ ’)
  - For languages that use the same form for the comparative and non-comparative uses (e.g., Chinese): gradable adjectives encode a strict inequality (In terms of degrees: ‘ $>$ ’; in terms of intervals: ‘ $(0, +\infty)$ ’)

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## Parallelism between *-er/more* and *another*

- *-er/more* has an **additive use** similar to *another* (see also Greenberg 2010 and Thomas 2010):

(27) Increase in the domain of entities: Additive use

- a. I ate an<sup>x</sup> apple. Then I ate another<sup>y</sup> (apple).
- b. A<sup>x</sup> girl, Sue, met another<sup>y</sup> girl, Mary.
- c. I ate two<sup>x</sup> bars of chocolate. Then I ate (a bit) more<sup>y</sup>.
- Labels in the diagram: "base item" (blue) and "increase" (red).



## More uses of *-er/more* and *another*

- *-er/more* and *another*

- ▶ denotes an increase in the domain of entities or scalar values
- ▶ presuppose there is a salient base that the increase is anaphoric to

(29) **Repetitive use of *-er/more* and *another***

- Lucy is becoming taller and taller and taller.
- Janice had a little lamb and another and another and another.

(30) **Accumulating increases along with a universal quantifier**

- Every year Mary wrote a more interesting book.
- Everyday there is another story to write.



# The anaphoricity of *-er/more*

- **Additivity** should be considered a phenomenon of **QUD-based anaphoricity**, indicating an extension of a previous salient answer in addressing the QUD
  - For the **additive use** in the domain of entities, *more / another* indicates an **increase from a part to a whole**.
  - For the **comparative use** in the domain of scalar values, *-er/more* indicates an **increase from a lower to a higher scalar value**.

## (31) Additive use of *more*

**Current question (CQ): What did you eat?**

- a. I ate two bars of chocolate. Then I ate (a bit) more.
- base item:  
a partial answer to the CQ
- increase
- b. #I didn't eat a bar of chocolate. Then I ate more.

(e.g., Roberts 1996/2012, Zeevat 2004, Zeevat and Jasinskaja 2007, Beaver and Clark 2009, Thomas 2011, Zhang and Ling 2021)

# The anaphoricity of *-er/more*

- **Additivity** should be considered a phenomenon of **QUD-based anaphoricity**, indicating an extension of a previous salient answer in addressing the QUD
  - ▶ For the **additive use** in the domain of entities, *more / another* indicates an **increase from a part to a whole**.
  - ▶ For the **comparative use** in the domain of scalar values, *-er/more* indicates an **increase from a lower to a higher scalar value**.

## (32) **Comparative use of *-er/more***

**Current question (CQ): How tall is Sue?**

Mary is not tall. Sue is tall **er** .

base item – a partial answer  
to the CQ: HEIGHT(Mary)

**er**  
increase

(e.g., Roberts 1996/2012, Zeevat 2004, Zeevat and Jasinskaja 2007, Beaver and Clark 2009, Thomas 2011, Zhang and Ling 2021)

# The semantics of English *-er/more*

- The semantics of English *-er/more* is **not responsible for comparison**.
- English *-er/more* is similar to *another* in being an **additive particle**, denoting an **increase on a discourse-salient base**.

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# The optional presence of *gèng* in Chinese comparatives

(33) Lèlè bǐ Mímǐ (*gèng*) gāo.  
Lèlè STDD Mímǐ MOREOVER tall  
'Lèlè is taller than Mímǐ.'

- The presence of *gèng* is **optional**.
  - ▶ Some scholars ([Liu 2010](#), [Chen 2023](#)) claim that the semantic contribution of *gèng* is similar to English *even*, and the above sentence means that Lèlè is even taller than Mímǐ, indicating that Mímǐ is already tall.
  - ▶ Others (e.g., [Guo 2022](#)) claim that there is no obvious meaning distinction between the sentence with vs. without *gèng*.

## What is special about *gèng*

- The use of *gèng* is incompatible with numerical differentials (see [Ma 2019](#), [Zhang 2023](#)).

(34) \* Lèlè bǐ Mímǐ **gèng** gāo wǔ límǐ.  
Lèlè STDD Mímǐ MOREOVER taller five cm  
Intended: ‘Lèlè is 5 cm taller than Mímǐ.’

- *gèng* also has an additive use:

(35) Jinqián mǎi-bú-dào yǒu-yì, **gèng** mǎi-bú-dào àiqíng  
money buy-NEG-get friendship MOREOVER buy-NEG-get love  
‘Money cannot buy friendship. Moreover, it cannot buy love.’ ~→  
Love exceeds friendship in being unable to be bought with money.

## More observations on Chinese *gèng*

- The use of *gèng* is reminiscent of **implicit comparison** and the use of *moreover*.

- (36) a. Lèlè bǐ Mǐmǐ **gèng** gāo.  
Lèlè STDD Mǐmǐ MOREOVER tall  
'Lèlè is taller than Mǐmǐ.'
- b. **Compared to Mǐmǐ, Lèlè is tall.** **Implicit comparison**  
↪ Lèlè's height reaches a threshold that Mǐmǐ's height doesn't.
- (37) a. Jīnqián mǎi-bú-dào yǒu-yì, **gèng** mǎi-bú-dào àiqíng  
money buy-NEG-get friendship MOREOVER buy-NEG-get love  
'Money cannot buy friendship. Moreover, it cannot buy love.'
- b. **Money cannot buy friendship. Moreover, it cannot buy love.**  
↪ The preciousness of love reaches a threshold that the preciousness of friendship doesn't.

## Chinese *gèng* is also an additive particle

- Our proposal:
  - ▶ With the use of *gèng*, the use of a gradable adjective is essentially a **positive use** (like the one in **implicit comparison**).
    - ★ Thus the use of *gèng* is never compatible with numerical differentials.
- $\llbracket \text{gèng} / \text{moreover} \rrbracket (p)$ 
  - ▶ asserts the prejacent  $p$
  - ▶ presupposes that the prejacent  $p$  and alternatives are associated with scalar values on a scale, and compared with alternatives,  $p$  **exceeds a positive level that alternatives don't**.

- (36) a. Lèlè bǐ Mǐmǐ **gèng** gāo.  
Lèlè STDD Mǐmǐ MOREOVER tall  
'Lèlè is taller than Mǐmǐ.'
- b. **Compared to Mǐmǐ, Lèlè is tall.** **Implicit comparison**  
 $\rightsquigarrow$  Lèlè's height reaches a threshold that Mǐmǐ's height doesn't.
- (37b) **Money cannot buy friendship. Moreover, it cannot buy love.**



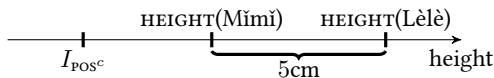
# Comparison can be compatible with various additive particles

- The use of *-er/more* in English **comparatives** is similar to the use of *another*.
- The use of **Chinese *gèng*** is similar to English *moreover*, making the **positive use** of a gradable adjective like **implicit comparison**.
- How about other particles?

## Chinese *gèng* vs. Chinese *hái*



[[Lèlè bǐ Mímǐ *gèng* gāo]]: Compared to Mímǐ, Lèlè is tall.



[[Lèlè bǐ Mímǐ *hái* gāo (5cm)]]: Lèlè is even (5 cm) taller than Mímǐ.

- Presumably, the semantics of Chinese *hái* is similar to English *even* (see [Greenberg 2018](#), [Zhang 2022](#) for a scalarity-based view on *even*).

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# Concluding remarks

- **Comparison / inequality** is universally conducted by **gradable adjectives**, which encode (strict or non-strict) inequalities.
  - **English gradable adjectives** encode a **non-strict** inequality.
  - **Chinese gradable adjectives** encode a **strict** inequality, making it unnecessary to use an *-er*-like morpheme in comparatives.
- **English morpheme *-er/more*** is an additive particle like *another*, denoting an **increase** anaphoric to a contextually salient base item.
- Languages like Chinese also have optional morphemes in comparatives.
  - In particular, **Chinese *gèng*** works like additive particle *moreover*, indicating a threshold with enhanced positiveness for the **positive use** of gradable adjectives.

# Thank you!

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For the manuscript of this project, please see

<https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/008122>

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