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**ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ ICGL12**



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για την τεράστια προσφορά τους στην ελληνική γλωσσολογία  
και την αγάπη τους για την ελληνική γλώσσα*





## ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ ΕΚΔΟΤΩΝ

Το 12ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας (International Conference on Greek Linguistics/ICGL12) πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Κέντρο Νέου Ελληνισμού του Ελεύθερου Πανεπιστημίου του Βερολίνου (Centrum Modernes Griechenland, Freie Universität Berlin) στις 16-19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2015 με τη συμμετοχή περίπου τετρακοσίων συνέδρων απ' όλον τον κόσμο.

Την Επιστημονική Επιτροπή του ICGL12 στελέχωσαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου, Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος, Άρτεμις Αλεξιάδου, Δώρα Αλεξοπούλου, Γιάννης Ανδρουτσόπουλος, Αμαλία Αρβανίτη, Σταύρος Ασημακόπουλος, Αλεξάνδρα Γεωργακοπούλου, Κλεάνθης Γκρώμαν, Σαβίνα Ιατρίδου, Mark Janse, Brian Joseph, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Ναπολέον Κάτσος, Ευαγγελία Κορδώνη, Αμαλία Μόζερ, Ελένη Μπουτουλούση, Κική Νικηφορίδου, Αγγελική Ράλλη, Άννα Ρούσου, Αθηνά Σιούπη, Σταύρος Σκοπετέας, Κατερίνα Στάθη, Μελίτα Σταύρου, Αρχόντω Τερζή, Νίνα Τοπιντζή, Ιάνθη Τσιμπλή και Σταυρούλα Τσιπλάκου.

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Οι δύο τόμοι των πρακτικών του συνεδρίου είναι προϊόν της εργασίας της Εκδοτικής Επιτροπής στην οποία συμμετείχαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου, Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος, Άρτεμις Αλεξιάδου, Γιάννης Ανδρουτσόπουλος, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Σταύρος Σκοπετέας και Κατερίνα Στάθη.

Παρότι στο συνέδριο οι ανακοινώσεις είχαν ταξινομηθεί σύμφωνα με θεματικούς άξονες, τα κείμενα των ανακοινώσεων παρατίθενται σε αλφαβητική σειρά, σύμφωνα με το λατινικό αλφάβητο· εξαίρεση αποτελούν οι εναρκτήριες ομιλίες, οι οποίες βρίσκονται στην αρχή του πρώτου τόμου.

Η Οργανωτική Επιτροπή του ICGL12



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# OPOS IDENTITY COMPARATIVES IN GREEK: AN EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATION <sup>1</sup>

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## Περίληψη

Στόχος της παρούσας μελέτης είναι να δείξει, μέσα από τη μελέτη των συγκρίσεων ομοιότητας που εισάγονται με το όπως, ότι οι συγκρίσεις ομοιότητας έχουν την ίδια δομή με τις συγκρίσεις βαθμού. Διάφορα διαγνωστικά  $\bar{A}$ -μετακίνησης δείχνουν ότι οι όπως-συγκριτικές είναι ελεύθερες αναφορικές όπως οι συγκριτικές προτάσεις βαθμού (Chomsky 1977). Μία πειραματική μελέτη ακυρωσιμότητας υπονοημάτων δείχνει ότι οι όπως-συγκριτικές είναι αμφίσημες: δηλώνουν είδη ή βαθμούς. Κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο αποδεικνύονται όχι μόνο συντακτικά αλλά και σημασιολογικά παράλληλες με τις συγκριτικές προτάσεις βαθμού: οι τελευταίες δηλώνουν οντότητες ή βαθμούς. Αυτά τα αποτελέσματα επιβεβαιώνουν θεωρίες που αφορούν στη μορφο-σημασιολογική σχέση τρόπου, είδους και βαθμού.

*Keywords: free relatives, comparative constructions, identity comparatives, degree constructions*

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## 1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to explore the internal structure and meaning of identity comparatives in Greek and demonstrate that they pattern after scalar comparatives both syntactically and semantically. Based on Pancheva-Izvorski's (2000) analysis of inequality standard phrases as individual and degree free relatives, I provide novel evidence for her conjecture that identity comparatives involve kind free relatives. Furthermore, I show that identity comparatives in Greek are ambiguous between a kind and a degree reading depending on the comparative marker that selects them. This indicates that identity comparatives pattern after scalar comparatives both syntactically and semantically, and provides new evidence for a closer relation between kinds and degrees.

In this paper, I show that identity comparatives with *ὅπως* have the same syntactic structure and receive the same interpretation as scalar comparatives. §2 describes the theoretical background and §3 establishes that *ὅπως*-comparatives are definite free relatives hence they have the same syntactic structure as degree free relatives introduced by *than*. §4 argues for the existence of functional/degree adverbs in Greek and §5 provides novel experimental evidence that *ὅπως*-clauses receive a degree interpretation if they modify a scalar adjective. §6 concludes.

## 2. Basic Background

Scalar/Degree comparatives are constructions that involve a comparison of the degree to which individuals rank on the natural scale associated with a gradable expression (Pancheva-Izvorski 2000: 78). Depending on whether their position on the scale is graded or not, scalar comparatives can be further divided into equality and inequality comparatives:

- (1) Mary is as tall as Helen.      Equality Comparative
- (2) Mary is taller than Helen.      Inequality Comparative

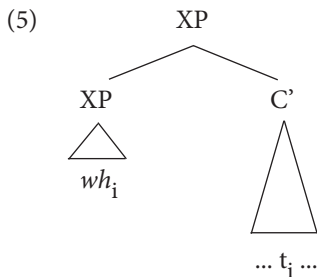
Identity comparatives are constructions where the items compared can be entities of any sort (not just degrees) and the issue is simply whether they are the same or different (Heim 1985):

- (3) a. Mary bought the same dress as Helen.  
 b. Mary bought a different dress than Helen.
- (4) Ο Νίκος είναι ψηλός όπως ο μπαμπάς του.  
 ‘Nikos is tall as his father is’

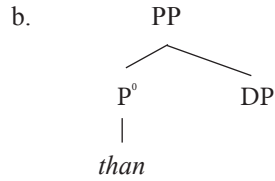
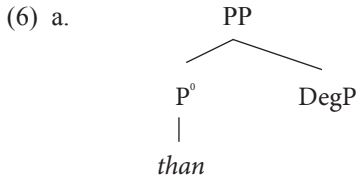
It is a well-established fact that comparative constructions involve *wh*-movement (Chomsky 1977) and that they are Free Relatives (FRs) (Donati 1997, Pancheva-Izvorski 2000). FRs can be distinguished from other (relative) constructions based on three criteria:

- a) they contain a *wh*-word, or a morphologically complex word with a *wh*-word as its root (*lexical property*);
- b) they contain a gap (*syntactic property*);
- c) they can always be replaced with truth-conditionally equivalent DPs or PPs (*semantic property*). (Caponigro 2003: 10)

In this paper, I adopt Pancheva-Izvorski’s (2000) analysis of FRs according to which the constituent that contains the *wh*-item internally merges as a sister to C’ and projects (5). Therefore, the relative clause has the same label as the *wh*-phrase. This ‘move-and-project’ mechanism accounts for the different (case) matching phenomena observed in FRs.

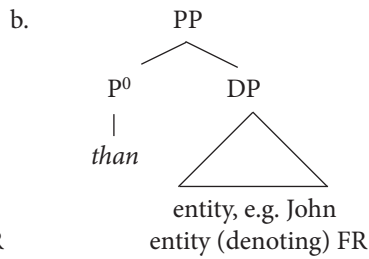
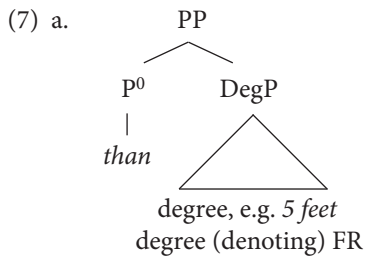


As far as comparatives are concerned, Pancheva-Izvorski (2000) proposes that *than* can combine with two types of nominal complements: DegPs and entity-denoting DPs, illustrated in (6-a) and (6-b) respectively.



(Pancheva-Izvorski 2000: 128)

The core of her proposal lies in that clausal comparatives *always* involve FRs: both the DegP and the DP can be a nominal phrase (phrasal comparatives) or a free relative (clausal comparatives).



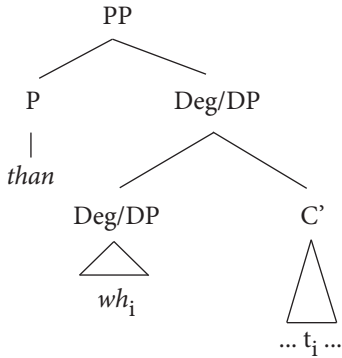
(Pancheva-Izvorski 2000: 131)

As far as *as*-relatives are concerned, which are the English equivalent of *ὅπως*-comparatives studied here, Pancheva-Izvorski (2000) proposes that they differ from scalar comparatives in that they involve abstraction over kinds instead of abstraction over individuals.

### 3. *Ὅπως*-comparatives have the same internal structure as scalar comparatives

In this section, I show that the internal structure of *ὅπως*-comparatives is parallel to the internal structure of scalar comparatives, see (8) on the next page. I demonstrate that *ὅπως*-comparatives are clausal comparatives (§3.1) and that they involve FRs (§3.2). In §3.3 I argue that, despite the apparent categorial difference between *ὅπως*-

(8)



comparatives and English comparatives (e.g. *than*-standard phrase,<sup>2</sup> where the FR is a definite DP that merges with the preposition *than*), *όπως*-FRs are definites with the only difference that they incorporate the preposition instead of being selected as its syntactic complement.

### 3.1 *Όπως*-comparatives are always clausal comparatives

Merchant (2009) introduces several criteria to distinguish phrasal from (reduced) clausal comparatives. *Όπως*-comparatives clearly pattern after clausal comparatives since:

- *Όπως* can be followed by more than one pivot:<sup>3</sup>

(9) Στο Γιάννη αρέσουν τ' αβγά όπως σε εσένα τα λαζάνια.  
'John likes eggs as you like lasagna.'

- the pivot may be in nominative case:

(10) Ο Γιάννης είναι ψηλός όπως ο Μιχάλης.  
'John is tall as Mike is.'

2 The Standard Phrase is the phrase that introduces the standard of the comparison. In (i)-(iii) the standard phrase is marked in bold:

- John is taller **than Mary**.
- Ο Γιάννης είναι ψηλότερος **από τη Μαρία**.  
'John is taller than Mary'
- Ο Γιάννης είναι ψηλότερος **απ' ότι (είναι) η Μαρία**.  
'John is taller than Mary (is).'

3 Pivot is the phrase that immediately follows the marker of the comparison, in our case the phrases that follow *όπως*.

- negative polarity items cannot be licensed by matrix negation:

(11) \*Δεν σε αγαπώ όπως κανείς.  
 ‘I don’t love you as anybody.’

Table 1 summarizes the aforementioned diagnostics.

	<i>Diagnostic</i>	<i>όπως-comparatives</i>	<i>clausal comparatives</i>
modified from Merchant (2009)	Accepts a non-oblique pivot?	Yes (9)	Yes
Merchant (2009)	Allows only one pivot?	No (10)	No
	Licenses negative concord from matrix clause?	No (11)	No

Table 1 | *Diagnostics of clausehood*

### 3.2 Όπως-comparatives are free-relatives

The fact that *όπως*-comparatives are always clausal (§2.1) and introduced by a *wh*-word calls for an investigation of whether *όπως*-comparatives are relative clauses like their English counterparts. Indeed, *όπως*-comparatives involve *wh*-movement as

- they observe the Complex Noun Phrase Constraint (Ross 1967). In (12) *όπως* cannot move out of the NP that has a clausal complement. If the NP is removed the sentence becomes grammatical:

(12) Η Μαρία είναι όμορφη όπως<sub>i</sub> ο Γιάννης πίστευε (\*τον ισχυρισμό του Βασίλη)  
 ότι ήταν  $t_i$  πριν 15 χρόνια.  
 ‘Maria is beautiful as John believed (\*Bill’s claim) that she was fifteen years ago.’

- extraction from a *wh*-island yields ungrammaticality:

(13) a. \*Ο Γιάννης είναι ψηλός όπως<sub>j</sub> [όποιος είναι με τα μαύρα γυαλιά  $t_j$ ]  
 ‘John is tall as is whoever with black glasses.’  
 b. Ο Γιάννης είναι ψηλός όπως ο άντρας με τα μαύρα γυαλιά.  
 ‘John is tall as is the man with the black glasses.’

- they are sensitive to adjunct (14) and negative islands (15):

- (14) \*Μιλάει όπως με εκνευρίζει [επειδή μιλάει ένας πολιτικός].  
‘He speaks as I get annoyed because a politician speaks.’
- (15) \*Η πόρτα είναι ψηλή όπως [δεν είναι το παράθυρο].  
‘The door is high as the window is not.’
- further embedding of the gap does not yield ungrammaticality:
- (16) Μιλάει όπως<sub>i</sub> πίστευε [t<sub>i</sub> ότι ισχυριζόταν ο Βασίλης [πως μιλάει t<sub>i</sub> ένας ψευδός]].  
‘He speaks as he believed that Bill claimed that a stutterer speaks.’
- they exhibit obligatory subject-verb inversion, like nominal FRs and interrogatives (Daskalaki 2008) (for an explanation of obligatory subject-verb inversion in Greek *wh*-constructions, see Kotzoglou (2003))

All *όπως*-clauses, (i) are introduced by a *wh*-item; (ii) leave a gap (marked with t<sub>i</sub>); and (iii) can be replaced by truth conditionally equivalent PPs<sup>4</sup>, thus they exhibit all the hallmark properties of FRs described by Caponigro (2003). Finally, they cannot be in the Subjunctive (17), a property that distinguishes FRs from other types of relatives (cf. Baker’s (1989) infinitival restriction on FRs).

- (17) Ο Γιάννης ήθελε να είναι ψηλός όπως<sub>i</sub> (\*να) είναι και ο μπαμπάς του t<sub>i</sub>.  
‘John wanted to be tall as is his father.’

According to the aforementioned diagnostics, *όπως*-comparatives clearly involve FRs like their English counterparts and Greek and English scalar comparatives.

### 3.3 *Όπως*-FRs are definite adverbial clauses

The analysis of the *wh*-item *όπως* ‘how(ever), as’ as a definite item is supported by the following:

- 1) the prefix *ο-* is morphologically identical to the definite determiner;
- 2) a similar morphological pattern is observed in Bulgarian (Rudin 1985);
- 3) Greek FR-adverbials semantically pattern after definites (Makri 2013);
- 4) FRs do not accept an overt determiner in contrast to *wh*-interrogatives (Philippaki-Warbuton & Stavrou 1986).

<sup>4</sup> Due to space limitations examples are not provided.

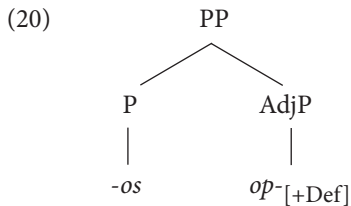


Given the analysis of FRs adopted in this paper, according to which the FR inherits all the properties of the *wh*-item that projects, it follows that FRs introduced by *όπως* are also definites, similarly to their (English) scalar counterparts.

However, *όπως*-FRs are not DPs or NPs like English *how(ever)*, *when(ever)*, *where(ever)*-FRs (Pearl & Caponigro 2009). *Όπως*-FRs are ungrammatical in DP positions such as the subject position of secondary predication (compare (18-a) to the minimally different (18-b)) and they are grammatical in positions confined to adverbials/prepositional phrases (19):

- (18) a. \*Θεωρώ *όπως* μαγειρεύει η Μαρία την τσιπούρα πολύ υγιεινό.  
 'I consider however Mary cooks the bream very healthy.'  
 b. Θεωρώ τον τρόπο με τον οποίο μαγειρεύει η Μαρία την τσιπούρα πολύ υγιεινό.  
 'I consider the way that Mary cooks the bream very healthy.'
- (19) Έφυγα *όπως* πρόλαβα.  
 'I left however I managed.'

Taking into account that *όπως* is a definite item; *όπως* is an adverbial and that adverbials are Adjectives with a P incorporated (Larson 1985, 1987), we can decompose *όπως* to a PP (20) and consequently, assuming Pancheva-Izvorski's (2000) 'move-and-project' analysis of FRs, we can analyze *όπως*-FRs (including *όπως*-comparatives) as PPs (21).



- (21) [PP [PP *oposi*] [CP ... *ti* ...]]

In §3, I showed that *όπως*-comparatives are structurally the same as *than*-comparatives: they involve definite FRs. In the following sections I argue based on novel experimental evidence that *όπως*-comparatives are even more similar to *than*-comparatives: apart from the kind interpretation they involve a degree reading.

## 4. Όπως-comparatives are degree comparatives

### 4.1 Identity adjectives are degree Adjectives

Oxford (2010a, 2010b) argues that identity adjectives like *same* and *different* have been reanalysed from lexical adjectives to degree adjectives (thus they are base generated in the Degree Phrase). Their equivalent Greek adjectives *ίδιος* ‘same’ and *φτυστός* ‘same’ (colloquial) have the same properties as English *same* thus they can be assumed to be functional adverbs too. The diagnostics that follow are those used by Oxford (2010a, 2010b).

Identity adjectives do not accept adverbial degree modifiers (22), they do not have comparative or superlative forms (23), they have simple lexical content, they form a closed class and they select comparative clauses.

- (22) a. \*το πραγματικά ίδιο σπίτι  
b. \*the really same house
- (23) \*ιδιότερο

Greek adjectives *ίδιος* ‘same’ and *φτυστός* ‘same’ pattern with equative comparatives and take as their complements either an *όπως*-clause or a [PP με [DP ...]] ‘with’ (the same PP that equality *εξίσου* ‘equally’ selects). This also provides further evidence for the parallel between PPs and adverbials: both the preposition *me* ‘with’ and the suffix *-os* can be used to express manner.

### 4.2 Όπως as a degree adverb

So far, it seems that *όπως* can be used to introduce kind comparisons (24) as Pancheva-Izvorski (2000) proposed for *as*-comparatives.

- (24) a. Θέλω ένα παλτό όπως το δικό σου.  
‘I want a coat like yours.’
- b. Το γραφείο μου είναι ξύλινο όπως το δικό σου.  
‘My desk is wooden like yours.’

However, an *όπως*-clause can function as the standard phrase for the degree adverb *ίδιος* ‘same’ or a gradable adjective (25):

- (25) a. Το ελληνικό δημοψήφισμα δεν αντιμετώπιστηκε με την ίδια ευγένεια όπως

το βρετανικό.<sup>5</sup>

‘The Greek referendum was not received with the same courtesy as the British one.’

b. Ο Γιάννης είναι ψηλός/ίδιος όπως ο μπαμπάς του.

‘John is tall/the same as his father.’

Therefore, the *όπως*-clause seems to be ambiguous between a degree reading (e.g. ‘John *has the same height as* his father’) and a kind reading (e.g. ‘John *is tall* like his father *is tall*’). Under the kind reading the comparative construction entails the matrix clause and the two entities may be assigned a different position on the scale, as long as both positions are above the contextually provided threshold of the relevant scale e.g. *tall*-ness. Under the degree reading the comparative construction does not entail the matrix clause (e.g. for (25-b) that *John is tall*) and the two entities must be assigned the same position on the scale on a par with equality comparatives. To further explore the meaning of sentences like (25-b) I ran an experiment described in §5.

## 5. Experimental investigation of the meaning of *όπως*-comparatives

### 5.1 Methodology

#### 5.1.1 Participants

59 native speakers of Modern Greek ranging in age from 19 to 40 years old were recruited in the study with snowball sampling. 7 of them did not complete the survey and 1 of them was excluded for being a bilingual. The remaining 51 participants came from at least 17 different Greek cities.

#### 5.1.2 Test items and Procedures

I tested participants by means of a ‘cancellability test’ in a 2 (Syntax) X 6 (Interpretation) design. The test was based on the methodology used in Cummins and Katsos

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5 <http://www.pronews.gr/portal/20160628/ellada/elliniki-politiki/2/atsipras-den-itan-idio-eygenikoi-oi-eyropaioi-me-elliniko> last accessed 9 July 2016

(2010). The purpose was to investigate whether comparatives with *όπως* entail or implicate the truth of the matrix clause and/or an equality relation between the two entities compared.

Participants were presented with 42 pairs of sentences linked by the word *αλλά* ‘but’. They were asked to assess on a 7-point-Likert scale whether the second sentence in each pair could felicitously follow the first (1 *δεν ταιριάζει* – 7 *ταιριάζει* ‘1 it is not a suitable continuation – 7 it is a suitable continuation’). 30 pairs of sentences were filler items used to mask the research question and 12 pairs were critical items.

All the test items involved a predicative gradable adjective. The small clause would be either combined with the copula or would be in object position of a verb like *έχω* ‘have’. The second sentence was introduced by *αλλά* hence continuations that would cancel an implicature could be accommodated. There were two control conditions: one condition with a continuation that did not contradict the first sentence and one condition with a pair that involved a contradiction/presupposition violation.

- (26) Ο Μιχάλης είναι ψηλός όπως ο μπαμπάς του. Αλλά...  
 ‘Mike is tall like his father. But...’
- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| a. | ο Μιχάλης <u>δεν</u> είναι αντικειμενικά ψηλός.                     | <b>objectively</b>                             |
|    | ‘Mike is <u>not</u> <i>objectively</i> tall.’                       |  |
| b. | ο Μιχάλης και ο πατέρας του <u>δεν</u> έχουν το ίδιο ύψος.          | <b><math>g(x) \neq g(y)</math><sup>6</sup></b> |
|    | ‘Mike and his father do <u>not</u> have <i>the same height</i> .’   |  |
| c. | ο Μιχάλης είναι λίγο πιο ψηλός από τον μπαμπά του.                  | <b>small difference</b>                        |
|    | ‘Mike is <i>a bit taller</i> than his father.’                      |  |
| d. | ο Μιχάλης είναι πολύ πιο ψηλός από τον μπαμπά του.                  | <b>big difference</b>                          |
|    | ‘Mike is <i>much taller</i> than his father.’                       |  |
| e. | ο Μιχάλης είναι πιο κοντός από τον Βασίλη. (plausible continuation) | <b>control 1</b>                               |
|    | ‘Mike is <i>shorter</i> than <u>Bill</u> .’                         |  |
| f. | ο Μιχάλης δεν έχει μπαμπά. (contradiction/presupposition violation) | <b>control 2</b>                               |
|    | ‘Mike does not have a father.’                                      |  |

6 Function *g* is defined as follows:

- i. The domain of *g* is the domain of individuals.
- ii. The range of *g* is the set of non-negative real numbers.
- iii. Every entity is assigned a value by *g* equal to the height.

The conditions were matched to the sentences following a within-subjects Latin square design; every participant saw both syntactic structures six times, in a different condition each time. The pairs of sentences were ordered randomly. If two sentences of the same condition or with similar lexemes appeared with less than 3 fillers between them, they were swapped with fillers. If two sentences with the same interpretation condition appeared in a distance of less than three sentences, the latter of the two was changed with its 'lexical' equivalent which was already paired with a different interpretation condition.

The questionnaire was devised and distributed using Qualtrics. The data was analyzed with SPSS 23.

## 5.2 Results

Table 2 shows the mean judgement of coherence, and the corresponding SDs, in each of the experimental conditions. As expected, the two control conditions received the highest and the lowest rankings respectively, while the critical conditions ranked in between.

As far as Syntax is concerned, Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated,  $\chi^2(0) = .000$ , therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ( $\epsilon=1.000$ ). The results show that there was no significant effect of Syntax  $F(1.000, 50.000) = .510, p = .478$ . These results suggested that the syntactic position of the gradable adjective did not affect the acceptability of the second sentence as a continuation of the first. As far as Interpretation is concerned, Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated,  $\chi^2(14) = 55.722, p = .000$ , therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ( $\epsilon=.617$ ). The results show that there was significant effect of Interpretation  $F(3.084, 154.177) = 35.076, p = .000$ . These results suggested that the continuation of the sentence significantly affected the acceptability of the pair of sentences. With respect to the interaction of the two factors, Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had not been violated,  $\chi^2(14) = 17.742$ , therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ( $\epsilon = .892$ ). The results show that there was no significant effect  $F(4.458, 222.896) = 1.504, p = .196$ . These results suggested that the two factors (syntactic position of the gradable adjective, type of continuation) did not interact significantly.

The first critical condition *objectively*, which tested whether the comparative entails the matrix clause, achieved the highest score amongst critical conditions (3.65 SD 1.84

Factor	Syntax				
	Condition	Subject		Reduced Relative	
		Means	SD	Means	SD
Interpretation	Control 1	4.65	1.809	4.57	1.769
	objectively	3.65	1.842	3.88	1.716
	g(x)≠g(y)	2.67	1.740	2.92	1.798
	small difference	2.51	1.759	2.90	1.879
	big difference	2.08	1.560	2.16	1.461
	Control 2	1.73	1.471	1.27	1.021

Table 2 | Means and Standard Deviation (SD) for each condition

Within Subjects Effect	Mauchly's W	Approx. Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Epsilon (Greenhouse-Geisser)
Syntax	1.000	.000	0		1.000
Interpretation	.314	55.722	14	.000	.617
Syntax* Interpretation	.692	17.742	14	.219	.892

Table 3 | Mauchly's test of sphericity

Source	df	error df	F	Sig.
Syntax	1.000	50.000	.510	.478
Interpretation	3.084	154.777	35.076	.000
Syntax*Interpretation	4.458	222.896	1.504	.196

Table 4 | Greenhouse-Geisser Test of Within-Subjects Effects

- 4.57 SD 1.77). Comparing it to Control 1 (no violation), a pair-wise comparison shows that it is significantly different ( $t=-4.017$ ,  $df=50$ ,  $p<0.05$  for small clauses and  $t=-2.353$   $df=50$ ,  $p<0.05$  for reduced relatives). However, there is a positive correlation between the two conditions ( $corr.=0.526$   $p<0.05$  for the small clause and  $corr.=0.286$   $p<0.05$  for the reduced relative). Comparing the same critical condition with control

condition 2 (contradiction/ presupposition violation), a pair-wise comparison shows that they are significantly different ( $t=5.844$ ,  $df=50$ ,  $p<0.05$  for small clauses and  $t=9.500$ ,  $df=50$ ,  $p<0.05$  for reduced relatives) and they do not correlate ( $\text{corr.}=0.08$   $p>0.05$  for the small clause and  $\text{corr.}=0.042$   $p>0.05$  for the reduced relative).

The second critical condition  $g(x)\neq g(y)$ , which tested whether identity entailed equality, received a significantly lower score than critical condition 1 ( $t=-2.570$ ,  $df=50$ ,  $p<0.05$  for small clauses;  $t=-2.609$ ,  $df=50$ ,  $p<0.05$  for reduced relatives) and the same held for critical condition 3 *small difference* ( $t=0.583$ ,  $df=50$ ,  $p>0.05$  for small clauses,  $t=0.076$ ,  $df=50$ ,  $p>0.05$  for reduced relatives). The latter was expected since critical condition 3 *small difference* entails critical condition 2  $g(x)\neq g(y)$ . Critical condition 2 was significantly different from both control conditions (no violation:  $t=-5.178$ ,  $df=50$ ,  $p<0.05$  for small clauses,  $t=-4.757$ ,  $df=50$ ,  $p<0.000$  for reduced relatives – violation:  $t=2.797$ ,  $df=50$ ,  $p<0.05$  for small clauses,  $t=5.488$ ,  $df=50$ ,  $p<0.05$  for reduced relatives).

Finally critical condition 4 was not significantly different from control condition 2 (contradiction/presupposition violation) in the reduced relative variant  $t=1.197$ ,  $df=50$ ,  $p<0.05$ . In the subject condition it seems to be a non-significant difference within the two  $t=1.197$ ,  $df=50$ ,  $p<0.05$ . Given that the Syntax factor is not significant and that it does not interact with Interpretation (see above), this difference seems to stem from a problematic test-item of the control condition which received relatively high scores:

- (27) Ο Μιχάλης είναι ψηλός όπως ο μπαμπάς του. Αλλά ο Μιχάλης δεν έχει μπαμπά.  
'Michail is tall as his dad. But Michail doesn't have a dad.'

This test item received relatively high score compared to the other test items in the condition, probably because it was accommodated with assumptions such as 'But Mike's dad has died'. In such cases, it does not contradict the first sentence at all and is a plausible continuation. The same problem was not encountered with other examples, e.g. (28)

- (28) Το φόρεμα της Ελένης είναι μακρύ όπως της Ειρήνης. Αλλά η Ειρήνη δεν έχει φορέματα, μόνο παντελόνια.  
'Helen's dress is long as Irene's. But Irene does not have dresses, she only has trousers.'

### 5.3. Discussion

The tests show that an *όπως*-comparative that involves a gradable adjective of the form ‘X is *adj* *όπως* Y’ is ambiguous between ‘X and Y have exactly the same ranking on the *adj*-scale but they are not objectively *adj*’ and ‘X and Y are both *adj* but they do not have the same ranking on the scale’. The fact that the meaning that can be more easily cancelled is that ‘X is not objectively *adj*’<sup>7</sup> indicates a parallel with scalar comparatives where ‘X is more *adj* than Y’ does not entail that ‘X is *adj*’. In that respect, *όπως* comparatives seem to be parallel to (in)equality comparatives:

(29) a. Ο Γιώργος είναι ψηλός όσο ο μπαμπάς του.

‘George is as tall as his father’

b. Ο Γιώργος είναι ψηλός.

‘George is tall.’

(30) (29-a) ≠ (29-b)

The experimental results are important for two reasons. Firstly, the ambiguity of *όπως*-comparatives between a kind and a degree reading provides further evidence for the existence of a closer relation between kinds and degrees (Anderson & Morzycki 2012). Secondly, they show that identity comparatives not only do they share the same syntactic structure with scalar comparatives (§3) but also they have similar semantics. If we take into account, the proposed syntactic structure of *όπως*-clauses (§3.1), the morphological decomposition of *όπως* (§3.3) and their interpretation as scalar comparatives (§4.2), a unified picture for Greek scalar and degree comparatives emerges: inequality standard phrases consist of a preposition that combines with a DP or a nominal FR and identity standard phrases are also introduced by a (manner) preposition which can be incorporated in the *wh*-item (-*ως*) or combine with a DP (*με*).

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7 The experiment yielded evidence that for at least some of the speakers the non-entailment relation described in (30) holds. However, it remains unclear whether there is a subgroup of speakers for whom the first sentence (29-a) entails (29-b). If there were such inter-speaker variation, it would provide even stronger evidence for the grammaticalisation of *όπως* to a degree adverb for at least some of the speakers. The inter speaker differences could result from the co-existence of two different stages of grammaticalisation: for the subgroup that judges (29-b) as an implicature of (29-a) *όπως* has been grammaticalised to a degree adverb and for the group that (29-b) is an entailment of (29-a) it has not. I leave to future investigation a more refined description of the interspeaker variation.



## 6. Conclusions

In this paper I argued for parallelism between identity and degree comparatives. Identity comparatives introduced by *ὅπως*, involve FRs that are ambiguous between a kind and a degree interpretation. They are interpreted as scalar-comparatives if they modify a degree adjective or words like *τέτοιος* (such) *τόσο* (so big) *μεγάλος* etc. The ambiguity of *ὅπως* between a kind and a degree interpretation shows that scalar and identity comparatives are expressed by the same means, which points towards a closer relation between kinds and degrees.

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