

Degree/amount relatives, equative comparatives, and, as parentheticals.

In this talk I will make an attempt to show that amount relative clauses (1) and equal comparatives (2) (identity of amount) have a common underlying derivation involving overt raising of [d amount] (Carlson 1977, Heim 1987, Landman and Grosu 1998, Pancheva 2006, Herdan 2008). Support for this claim will come from, among other things, indirect binding in amount relatives (Sharvit 1996). Differences between fully pronounced and elided amount relatives and comparatives will be shown to stem from restrictions on recoverability in ellipsis (Johnson 2001, Lechner 2001, Szczegielniak 2008).

Furthermore, I will explore the possibility that in languages like Polish 'as parentheticals' (3) (Potts 2002) are closely related to both comparatives and degree relative clauses not only because all three constructions utilize the same marker 'co', which is a hybrid of English 'as' and 'that' (Kayne 2000), but also because it will be shown that all three constructions require overt XP movement out of the CP and/or ellipsis, which will be argued to be a result of the inherent lexical requirements imposed by the marker 'co'.

1. Całe życie by nam zajęło wypić ten barszcz **co** każdy gość rozlał na przyjęciu,
whole life would us take drink this borscht that every guest spilled on party
nie mówiąc o ugotowaniu go
not mentioning about cooking it
'It would take us a whole year to eat the borscht you spilled at the party, not to mention to cook it'
It=total amount of soup
#It=amount of soup spilled by every individual guest, unless everyone spilled equal amounts
2. Tyle samo jest dziewcząt w liceach **co** jest kobiet na studiach
Same amount is girls in high school that is women in college
'There are as many women in high school as there are in college'
3. Amerykanie powinni mieć drogą ropę, **co** każdy wie
Americans should have expensive oil, as everyone knows