Two superiority comparatives in Haitian Creole
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Haitian Creole (HC) has superiority comparatives with a standard marker PASE (1), (Stassen's 2011 terminology). The comparative markers (*pi* for adjectives and adverbs, *plis* for nouns and verbs) can be absent. The Standard marker *pase* in HC derives from French (de)passer "surpass, exceed" (DeGraff 2007:113-116).

(1) a. Li (**pi**) bèl pase Boukinet.
S/he more beautiful exceed B
Comparee Comparative.Marker Standard.Marker Standard
S/he is more beautiful than M. (Fattier 2013)

b. Boukinèt mache (**plis**) pase Mari.
B. walked more exceed M.
Boukinette walked more thanMarie. (DeGraff 2007:114ex 71b)

In previous accounts the Comparative markers *pi/plis* are taken to be optional. However, comparatives with and without the comparative markers *pi/plis* are distinguished by a number of syntactic and semantic properties, suggesting that they are different constructions: the *pase* comparative with a serial verb *pase* and the *pi/plis-pase* comparative with a complement to pi/plis introduced by a preposition *pase*.

E.g., the *pi/plis-pase* comparative - like comparatives in e.g. English, French or German - allows an implicit temporal comparee, whereas this is rejected for the *pase*-comparative.

(2) a. *Jan mache **pase** yè.
a.' Jan mache jòdi a **pase** yè.
b. Jan mache **plis** (jòdi a) **pase** yè.
J walk more today det exceed yesterday

The contrasts between the two constructions wrt to differential expressions further supports the view that exact differentials are linked to the comparative marker. Vague differentials differ from exact differentials; vague differentials can be expressed by adverbial expressions and are not reliable cross-linguistic tests as to the presence of a differential argument in the comparative.

(3) a. *Li twa fwa malad **pase** Mari.
b. Li twa fwa **pi** malad **pase** Mari.
S/he is two times as sick as M

The fact that pi/plis-pase -comparatives take additive and multiplicative differential phrase while the pase -comparative does not supports the claim in Deal & Hohaus 2019 that differential phrases in comparatives can depend on the availability of a degree-argument for predicates in a language generally (the Degree Abstraction Parameter of Beck et al. 2009, Bochnak 2015) but also on the type of comparative Deg-head in the comparative. The HC data further show that vague differentials need not pattern with exact differentials: in HC vague can be expressed by adverbial expressions for both types of comparatives.

References Beck et al. 2009. Crosslinguistic variation in comparative constructions. Linguistic Variation Yearbook, 9, 1–66. Bochnak 2015. The degree semantics parameter and cross-linguistic variation. Semantics and Pragmatics 8: 1-48. Deal & Hohaus 2019 Vague predicates, crisp judgements. Proceedings of SuB 23:347-364, DeGraff 2007. Kreyòl ayisyen, or Haitian Creole. In Holm &Patrick (eds.), Comparative Creole Syntax. Parallel outlines of 18 Creole grammars, 101–126. Battlebridge Publications. Fattier 2013. Haitian Creole. In Michaelis et al. (eds.), The survey of Pidgin and Creole languages. Vol. II, 195-204. OUP. Stassen 2011. https://apics-online.info/valuesets/49-41