

Online Appendix

This online appendix corresponds to the tables 2-8 listed in Appendix A. All the sample data are randomly selected and the number of 10 for each expression is also a random choice. Online-Appendix Table 2 lists the sample data of the comparative expressions in CCL Modern Chinese corpus. Online Appendix Table 3 lists the sample data of the InCC and the CrCC in CCL Modern Chinese corpus. Online Appendix Table 4-5 corresponds to the two tables (Table 4 and Table 5) in Appendix A, and provides the data of the InCC and the CrCC in CCL Classical Chinese corpus: the sample data of the CrCC before 1850, the sample data of the CrCC and the full data of the InCC from 1850-1910, and the sample data of the InCC and the CrCC from 1910-1930. Online-Appendix Table 6 provides the sample data of the tokens of [yuelaiyue X_{VP/Adj}] with/without *suìzhé* in the CCL Modern Chinese corpus. Online-Appendix Table 7 lists the full data of the attested comparative *yù* in *Shiji*. Online-Appendix Table 8 provides the full data of the attested comparative *yù* in *Shiji* and *Xu Jigongzhuan*, full data of the attested comparative *gèng* in *Shiji* and incremental *yùeláiyùe* in *Xu Jigongzhuan* and sample data of the attested comparative *gèng* in *Xu Jigongzhuan*.

Online-Appendix Table 2. List of the sample data of the comparative expressions in CCL Modern Chinese corpus

Sample data (10 for each)	Translation	source
更 <i>gèng</i> 生產的發展，對教育提出了更高的要求。	The development of production puts higher demands on education.	\當 代 \CWAC\AEB0001.txt
規定學校財務公開，可以更好地加強對學校的管理。	Providing school financial disclosure can better strengthen the management of the school.	\當 代 \CWAC\AEE0002.txt
現行的應試教育制度使中國比其他國家更容易出現男孩危機。	The current test-oriented education system makes China more prone to the boy crisis than other countries.	\當 代 \CWAC\AEE0003.txt
為各類受教育者成長和發展開闢更廣闊的道路。	Open up a broader path for the growth and development of all types of the educated.	\當 代 \CWAC\AEJ0008.txt
受教育者的主觀能動性在教育活動中表現的更為明顯，起的作用更大。	The subjective initiative of the educated person is more obvious in the educational activities, and plays a greater role.	\當 代 \CWAC\AEM0016.txt
21世紀的教育除了要不斷加強科學教育外，更重要的是要把長期受到輕視的人文教育提高到它應有的地位上。	In addition to continuing to strengthen science education, it is more important for education in the 21stC to raise the long-lost humanistic education to its proper place.	\當 代 \CWAC\AEM0016.txt
國家的一切教育制度只有一個目標，便是造就絕對服從國家利益的公民，這就走得更遠了。	All the education systems of the country have only one goal, that is, to create citizens who absolutely obey the national interests. This then goes further.	\當 代 \CWAC\AEM0016.txt

	這一點對我們更深刻地認識史學的意義，是很有啟發、幫助的。	This is very inspiring and helpful for us to understand the significance of history more deeply.	\當代 \CWAC\AHT0034.txt
	另一些朋友則希望更潑辣、更通俗一點。	Other friends want it to be more pungent and more popular.	\當代 \CWAC\APB0063.txt
	這種鈕扣成本低，但色彩與光澤卻比真寶石鈕扣更好看。	This button is low cost, but the color and luster are prettier than the real gemstone button.	\當代\史傳張劍世界 100位富豪發跡史.txt
還 hái	人家都把你當 007 了，還有誰比你還牛啊？	Everyone has taken you as James Bond. Who else is more brilliant than you?	\當代 \CWAC\CAB0120.txt
	這個騙局設計得確實不錯，讓人大開眼界，比好萊塢大片還精彩。	This scam is really well designed, it's an eye-opener, and it's more exciting than Hollywood blockbusters.	\當代 \CWAC\CAB0120.txt
	沒有在牆壁上不掛著比十誡還多的“旅客須知”的。	There are no shops which don't have the "customer notices" that are more than the Ten Commandments on the wall.	\當代 \CWAC\ASB0100.txt
	在我看來，這種批評比建議還重要。	In my opinion, this criticism is more important than the suggestion.	\當代 \CWAC\CEB0133.txt
	這個“一定的思考能力”有時比美洲旅鼠還稀缺。	This "certain thinking ability" is sometimes more scarce than the American lemming.	\當代 \CWAC\CAB0120.txt
	司機工資比許多職員工資還高。	Drivers' wages are higher than many staff members' salaries.	\當代 \CWAC\CIB0166.txt
	要比獅子還勇敢，比狐狸還狡猾。	Be braver than a lion, and craftier than a fox.	\當代 \CWAC\CMB0187.txt
	比如有一種叫酵單孢菌的，它的本領比酵母菌還高。	For example, there is a kind of bacteria called a bacterium, which is higher in production than yeast.	\當代\應用文\自然科學\ 中國兒童百科全書.TXT
	但他又想到比技術還重要的是體制，只是那時思想還沒有現在這麼解放。	But he also thought that the system is more important than technology, but thoughts then were not so liberated like now.	\當代\報刊\1994 年報刊 精選\01.txt
	我也實不忍心為瞭解他寫他，而佔用他比金子還寶貴的時間。	I can't bear to take up his time which is more precious than gold just because I want to understand him and write about him.	\當代\報刊\1994 年報刊 精選\02.txt
	郭俊卿關心他人勝過關心自己，對待革命同志比親兄弟還親。	Guo Junqing cares about others rather than caring for himself, treating revolutionary comrades more carefully than his relatives.	\當代\報刊\人民日報 \1993 年人民日報\7 月 份.txt

越 發 yüefā	他們的到來，使徽因、思成的小家越發熱鬧。	Their arrival makes the home of Huiyin and Sicheng livelier.	\當代\史傳\張清平 林徽因.txt
	何開蔭聽了越發奇怪。	He Kaiyin felt weirder as he kept on listening.	\當代\應用文\社會科學\中國農民調查.txt
	這個年輕姑娘出落得越發漂亮。	This young girl is getting more beautiful.	\當代\應用文\社會科學\當代世界文學名著鑒賞詞典.TXT
	地震後,埃斯特萬依然以自我為中心,性情越發暴躁。	After the earthquake, Estevan was still self-centered and his temperament became more violent.	\當代\應用文\社會科學\當代世界文學名著鑒賞詞典.TXT
	局勢的發展對蔣介石越發有利了。	The development of the situation has become more beneficial to Chiang Kai-shek.	\當代\史傳\蔣氏家族全傳.txt
	有人因為貧寒，行為就越發“乖張”。	Some people are more "arrogant" because of poverty.	\當代\史傳\中國北漂藝人生存實錄.TXT
	倘若再掛上一輪呢，四下裡越發清澈亮麗。	If there were one more moon in the sky, it would be clearer and brighter.	\當代\報刊\人民日報\1995年人民日報\9月份.txt
	尤其是讀完郭華的散文集《心境》時，我對這種想法越發自信了。	Epecially when I read Guo Hua's essay collection "Mood", I became more confident about this idea.	\當代\報刊\人民日報\1998年人民日報\1998年人民日報.txt
	在千年更迭、世紀之交，大家的感受越發強烈。	At the turn of the millennium and the turn of the century, everyone's feelings grew stronger.	\當代\報刊\人民日報\2000年人民日報\2000年人民日報.txt
這幾句戲詞，若由小翠花的嘴裡吐出，越發乾脆，沒有挽回的餘地。	These few words, if spit out from the mouth of Xiao Cuihua, are more crisp, and there is no room for recovery.	\當代\報刊\讀書\vol-048.txt	
略 lüè	發行人在近三年內的淨資產收益率每年都在百分之十以上，屬於能源、原材料、基礎設施類的公司可以略低，但不得低於百分之九。	The issuer's return on net assets in the past three years is more than 10% per year. Companies belonging to energy, raw materials and infrastructure may be slightly lower, but not less than 9%.	\當代\CWAC\LQB0332.txt
	有少數人的家境略好，事情不大，出獄有望。	A few people have a slightly better family, things are not big, and they are expected to be released from prison.	\當代\文學\大陸作家\姚雪垠 李自成 2.txt

	一氧化碳是無色、無嗅、無味的氣體，比空氣略輕。	Carbon monoxide is a colorless, odorless, tasteless gas that is slightly lighter than air.	\當代\應用文\自然科學\中國兒童百科全書.TXT
	一隻成年懶猴體重約 1 千克，比家貓略小。	An adult lazy monkey weighs about 1 kilogram, which is slightly smaller than a domestic cat.	\當代\應用文\自然科學\中國兒童百科全書.TXT
	男嬰的出生率比女性要略高一點，但男嬰的存活率較低，最終結果是保持男性和女性人數大致均等。	The birth rate of male infants is slightly higher than that of females, but the survival rate of male infants is low. The result is that the number of males and females is roughly equal.	\當代\報刊\新華社\新華社 2002 年 4 月份新聞報導.txt
	世界上只有極少數國家，例如印度、巴基斯坦、約旦、奈及利亞、上沃爾特、賴比瑞亞、孟加拉、印尼等國，女子的壽命比男子略短。	There are only a handful of countries in the world, such as India, Pakistan, Jordan, Nigeria, Upper Walter, Liberia, Bangladesh, Indonesia, etc., where women live a little shorter than men.	\當代\報刊\讀者讀者 (合訂本).txt
	那是三個銀色的球體，每個直徑比保齡球略小。	They are three silver spheres, and each is smaller than the bowling ball.	\當代\文學\大陸作家\劉慈欣 三體 I.txt
	青頭菌比牛肝菌略貴。	Greenhead mushroom is slightly more expensive than Boletus.	\當代\文學\大陸作家\汪曾祺.TXT
	個子比常人略高，身體很強壯。	The child is slightly taller than the average person, and the body is very strong.	\當代\翻譯作品\文學\美國悲劇.txt
	和鄰近山城那個古丈縣的茶葉比較，味道略淡。	Compared with the tea leaves in Guzhang County, which is adjacent to the mountain city, the taste of this tea is slightly lighter.	\現代\文學\沈從文.TXT
過 guò	即使他的對手比他強過多少倍，他也要為正義鬥爭到底。	Even if his opponent is many times better than him, he must fight for justice.	\當代\報刊\人民日報\1994 年人民日報\第 4 季度.txt
	你們院長和檢察長的官職能大過蔣委員長嗎？	Is the official function of your dean and the procurator general greater than Chiang Kai-shek's?	\當代\史傳\宋氏家族全傳.txt
	兩岸關係會愈來愈密切，中國大陸據點絕對優過其他國家	Cross-strait relations will become more and more close, and mainland China's strongholds will definitely be better other countries'.	\當代\報刊\人民日報\1993 年人民日報\5 月份.txt
	中青隊在本次比賽中至少發現自己在兩點上強過對手。	The Chinese youth team found at least that they were stronger than their opponents at two points in this competition.	\當代\報刊\新華社\新華社 2001 年 2 月份新聞報導.txt

你的武功，不會強過金獅長老。	Your martial arts will not be stronger than the Monk of Golden Lion.	\當代\文學\臺灣作家\古龍 圓月彎刀.txt
一畝魚塘勝過三畝稻，半造蔬菜好過兩造禾。	One acre of fish ponds is better than three acres of rice, and half of a serving of vegetables is better than two servings of rice.	\當代\報刊\1994 年報刊精選\04.txt
雖然這個春節天氣冷過往年,但市民讀書買書的熱情與往年相比卻更顯高漲。	Although the weather in the Spring Festival is colder than in previous years, the enthusiasm of citizens to read and buy books is even higher than in previous years.	\當代\報刊\新華社\新華社 2004 年 1 月份新聞報導.txt
比方說在美國，一般的觀念都會認為在名校讀完了博士的人應該進入大學去做教授，如果要在私人部門找工作，難度很可能大過本科生。	For example, in the United States, the general idea is that people who have finished a Ph.D. at a prestigious school should enter the university to be professors. If they are looking for a job in the private sector, the difficulty is likely to be greater than that of undergraduates.	\當代\應用文\社會科學\完美大學必修課.txt
馬苟再好，也只是個跑街的，他的能耐還能大過我們這些掌櫃？	No matter how good Ma Xun is, he is just a waiter. Can his ability be better than that of us shopkeepers?	\當代\電視電影\文藝\喬家大院.txt
政黨利益不能高過國家利益。	The interests of political parties cannot be higher than national interests	\當代\報刊\人民日報\1998 年人民日報\1998 年人民日報.txt

Online-Appendix Table 3. List of the sample data of the InCC and the CrCC in CCL Modern Chinese corpus

Sample data (10 for each)	Translation	source	
yùeláiyùe X (the InCCs)	發達城市的特殊學校的校舍 越來越豪華 ，設備越來越先進。	The buildings in the special schools in the developed cities are becoming increasingly luxurious, and equipment is becoming increasingly advanced.	\當 代 \CWAC\AEJ0009.txt
	進入 21 世紀以後，資訊社會經濟發展依賴於知識的特徵 越來越明顯 。	After entering the 21st century, the characteristics of society's economic development relying on knowledge of information are becoming increasingly obvious.	\當 代 \CWAC\AET0017.txt
	這兩種情況都加強了書面語的保守性，使它與口語的距離 越來越遠	Both of these situations enhance the conservativeness of the written language, making it farther and farther from the spoken language.	\當 代 \CWAC\ALT0049.txt
	每一個實驗時期的生產率都比前一個時期要高，女工們的工作 越來越努力 ，效率 越來越高 。	The productivity of each experimental period is higher than that of the previous period, and the work of women workers is getting increasingly efficient and the efficiency is getting higher.	\當 代 \CWAC\APE0084.txt
	隨著時間的推移，通過侵略和征服。大國的領土 越來越大 了。	Over time, through aggression and conquest, the territory of the great powers is getting bigger and bigger.	\當 代 \CWAC\APB0050.txt
	五年來，雙語教學取得了較大的進步， 越來越多的 研究者開始對此加以關注。	In the past five years, bilingual teaching has made great progress, and more and more researchers have begun to pay attention to it.	\當 代 \CWAC\ALJ0047.txt
	在現代法治社會中，司法力量在社會生活中發揮 越來越重要 的作用。	In modern rule of law society, judicial power plays an increasingly important role in social life.	\當 代 \CWAC\ASE0102.txt
	人類社會進入工業社會到 21 世紀，社會生產力飛速發展，社會分工 越來越細 ，社會生活和社會關係 越來越複雜 。	Human society has entered the industrial society. In the 21st century, social productivity has developed rapidly, social division of labor has become more and more detailed, and social life and social relations have become more and more complex.	\當 代 \CWAC\ASE0106.txt
	隨著汽車的速度 越來越快 ，車子 越來越大 ，汽車 越來越多 。	Along with the cars getting faster and faster, they get bigger and bigger, more and more.	\當 代 \CWAC\CEB0133.txt
	美國基本年年有赤字，而且 越來越	The United States basically has a deficit every year, and it is getting bigger and bigger, but its national	\當 代 \CWAC\CFB0150.txt

	大，然而國力也 越來越強 。	strength is getting increasingly stronger.	
yùe X yùe Y (the CrCCs)	從小學會說漢語的人自然覺得簡易，可是外國朋友學漢語卻覺得 越學越難 。	People who speak Chinese from childhood naturally find it simple, but foreign friends learning Chinese feel that the more they learn, the harder it is.	\當代 \CWAC\ALT0049.txt
	企業該破產時不破產、不僅債務包袱 越背越重 ，而且會給國家造成更大損失。	If enterprises do not go bankrupt when they should, the more they carry the burden, the heavier it is and they will also cause greater losses to the country.	\當代 \CWAC\LPB0306.txt
	線路運行費則同運輸距離有關，運輸距離 越長，費用越高 。	The line operation fee is related to the transportation distance. The longer the transportation distance is, the higher it costs.	\當代 \CWAC\SGM0446.txt
	一般情況下，煤層強度 越小，厚度越大 。	In general, the weaker the coal seam is, the thicker it is.	\當代 \CWAC\SGM0460.txt
	離地 越遠，大氣越稀薄 ，而且成份也有變化。	The farther away from the ground, the thinner the atmosphere is and its composition changes.	\當代 \CWAC\SGE0449.txt
	希爾頓的事業 越做越大 。	Hilton's business is getting bigger and bigger.	\當代\史傳張劍 世界100位富豪發跡史.txt
	在這個過程中，食物被磨得 越碎越好 。	In this process, the more grinded the food is, the better.	\當代\應用文\健康養生\溫長路 民謠諺語話養生.txt
	研究發現，兒童掌握的手技 越豐富就越聰明 。	The study found that the richer the mores skills children have, the smarter they are.	\當代\應用文\健康養生\溫長路 俗言俚語話養生.txt
	在李順的指揮下，起義軍 越聚越多 ，連續攻下許多城池。	Under the command of Li Shun, the insurgents gathered more and more, and successively captured many cities.	\當代\應用文\社會科學\中華上下五千年.txt
	男子漢大丈夫，應該有遠大志向。 越窮越堅強，越老越健壯 。	Men should have great ambitions. The poorer, the stronger, and the older, the stronger.	\當代\應用文\社會科學\中華上下五千年.txt

Online-Appendix Table 4-5. List of the data of the InCC and the CrCC in CCL Classical Chinese corpus

Before 1850

Sample data (10)	Translation	source
yùeláiyùe X (the InCCs)	0	
yùe X yùe Y (the CrCCs)	若只看“仁”字越看越不出。	If (you) only look at the character of “benevolence”, the more (you) look the less (you) get out of it.
	越說得聖人低越有意思。	The more (you) say low about the saints, the more interesting it is.
	當時越思量越煩惱，轉恨這萬員外。	At that time, the more I thought about it, the more trouble I had, and I hated Squire Wan.
	你不拘箝我可倒不想，你把我越間阻越思量。	If you don't restrict me, I don't want to. The more you confine me, the more I'm thinking about it.
	這些妖精一發滾得緊。越叫越滾，越滾越叫。	These goblins start to roll. The more they scream, the more they roll, and vice versa, the more they roll, the more they scream.
	程宰越吃越清爽，精神頓開，略無醉意。	The more Cheng Zai Yue eats, the more refreshing he is. The spirit is high with no drunkenness.
	番來複去，延捱到四更盡了，越想越惱。	Turning and tossing in bed, he reluctantly sleeps until 4 o'clock, and the more he thinks about it, the angrier he gets.
	馬元命取熱酒來吃了；越吃越疼。	Ma Yuan orders hot wine to drink; the more he drinks, the more painful he is.
	那雨越下越大了。	It rains heavier and heavier.
	素姐越扶越醉，口裡無所不說。	The more Su Jie is carried, the drunker she is, and her mouth speaks everything.

1850-1910

Data	Translation	source
yùeláiyùe X (the InCCs)	賈明上前叫道：“莫老伯父！您看 越來 越多 了。”	Jia Ming called up: "Uncle Mo! You see increasingly many people." \14 清\小說\三俠劍 (下).txt
Full data (11)	常、鎮兩府的地方官，見這班饑民 越 來越多 。	Local officials in the two towns of Chang and Zhen, see increasingly many hungry people. \14 清\小說\九尾龜 (四).txt
	世風 越來越薄 ，人心越弄越壞。	The social relationships are getting increasingly cold, and people are getting worse. \14 清\小說\八仙得道 (下).txt
	自從起更，牆上燈 越來越暗 ，紀逢春 就害怕起來。	Since it's dark, the wall lights have become increasingly dark, and Ji Fengchun is afraid. \14 清\小說\彭公案 (三).txt
	石鑄一看，這賊人 越來越多 。	Shizhu takes a look and there are increasingly many enemies. \14 清\小說\彭公案 (三).txt
	往北殺，北邊人 越來越多 。	Kill towards north, and increasingly many people in the north. \14 清\小說\彭公案 (四).txt
	若不依我那藥方行，他的病是 越來越 重 。	If he doesn't follow my prescription, his disease will become increasingly severe. \14 清\小說\濟公全傳 (一).txt
	掌櫃的果然把李三德找來，酒飯座 越 來越多 ，都沖著李三德和氣。	The boss as expected found Li Sande (and hired him); there were increasingly many feasts. The guests all came for Li Sande's kindness. \14 清\小說\濟公全傳 (三).txt
	李三德一想，掌櫃的既是體恤，這才 回家養病，病 越來越重 。	Li Sande thought that the boss was both compassionate and then he went home to treat his illness. His sickness was getting increasingly severe. \14 清\小說\濟公全傳 (三).txt
	那號鼓聲 越來越近 ，直向狄營沖來。	The sound of drum was increasingly close and it rushed straight towards the Di barracks. \14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (下).txt
	突然那香頭上放出一道金光，就此 越 來越多 ，滿屋都是金光。	Suddenly, a golden light was released on the incense head, and increasingly many, and the house was full of golden light. \14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (下).txt
yùe X yùe Y (the CrCCs)	包公詫異，又往前趕， 越撲越遠 ，再	Mr. Bao was surprised, and he rushed forward. The more he pounced on it, the further it got. He pounced \14 清\小說\七俠五義 (上).txt

Sample data (10)	也撲他不著。	on it again, and it was gone.	
	哪知他不慌不忙，越戰越勇。	He didn't panic or appear scared, the more he fought, the braver he was.	\14 清小說七劍十三俠 (上).txt
	但後來說話，越說越不投機。	But then later they talked, the more they talked, the less they felt interested.	\14 清小說三俠劍 (上).txt
	姑娘一看賊人越追越近啦，遂將銀龍解下來，放在山坡上。	The girl saw the enemies chased her closer and closer. She took down the silver dragon sword and placed it on the hillside.	\14 清小說三俠劍 (中).txt
	越想越氣，越氣越恨，卻又把他無可如何。	The more she thinks about it, the angrier she gets. The angrier she is, the more she hates him, but she can't do anything about it.	\14 清小說九尾龜 (四).txt
	那姓焦的聽得章秋穀的口氣越逼越緊了，一時間騰挪不得，臉上竟紅起來。	Jiao heard that Zhang Qiugu's tone was getting tighter and tighter. His body couldn't move for a while, and his face was red.	\14 清小說九尾龜 (四).txt
	他就越鬧越強橫起來。	The more he wrangles, the more he becomes arrogant.	\14 清小說二十年目睹之怪現狀(下).txt
	初時意思搶回此婦便罷。後來越打人越多。	At the beginning, he meant to take back the woman. Later, the more he beat, the more people came.	\14 清小說乾隆南巡記 (上).txt
	我越想越不耐煩，還加著越想越糊塗。	The more I think, the less patient I am, and the more I think the more confused I am.	\14 清小說兒女英雄傳 (下).txt
	自然是我心中發急，所以覺得越走越慢了。	Naturally it is because I am anxious in my heart, so I feel that my steps are getting slower and slower.	\14 清小說八仙得道 (下).txt

1910-1930

Sample data (10 for each)	Translation	source
yùeláiyùe X (the InCCs)	父母見她年齡越來越大，很是著急。	\15 民國小說古今情海.txt
	聲價也扶搖直上，越來越貴。	\15 民國小說古今情海.txt

	孝宗身體 越來越弱 ，一病不起。	The Emperor Xiao's body was increasingly weak. He was sick and could not get up from the bed.	\15 民國\小說\武宗逸史.txt
	父親死後，家中 越來越貧困 。	After the death of his father, his family is getting increasingly poor.	\15 民國\小說\古今情海.txt
	後來，谷道爺的門下弟子也 越來越少 了。	Later, there were fewer and fewer disciples of Mr. Gu Dao.	\15 民國\小說\雍正劍俠圖(上).txt
	最使鐵三爺難過的是素日的賓朋 越來越疏遠 了。	What makes Mr. Iron Three the saddest is that the friends are getting increasingly alienated.	\15 民國\小說\雍正劍俠圖(中).txt
	天 越來越亮 了，趕緊派人準備酒飯。	The day is getting increasingly bright, and they rushed to send people to prepare meals.	\15 民國\小說\雍正劍俠圖(中).txt
	沒想到孩子你沾染下流， 越來越壞 。	I didn't expect you kid to touch dirty stuff and get worse and worse.	\15 民國\小說\雍正劍俠圖(下).txt
	大寶笑罵：“頗耐這小蹄子， 越來越沒臉 了。”	Da Dou scolded with a smile: "you little hoof are getting increasingly shameless."	\15 民國\小說\漢代宮廷豔史.txt
	這時皇太子的病 越來越厲害 了，瘋得好似癲狗一般，見人便打。	At this time, the prince's illness is getting increasingly bad. He is crazy like a mad dog and hits people whenever he sees one.	\15 民國\小說\清代宮廷豔史.txt
yùe X yùe Y (the CrCCs)	宣姬逃到河邊，一頭紮進水裡，豈料水淺，一下子沒淹死，宣姬便把頭埋在水裡，可是， 越急越不死 。	Xuan Ji fled to the river, plunged into the water. However, because the water was shallow water, she did not drown at all. Then Xuan Ji buried her head in the water, but the more anxious she was, the less chances that she would die.	\15 民國\小說\古今情海.txt
	柳毅看他的妻子， 越看越像涇陽龍女 ，只是身材要豐滿些。	Liu Yi looks at his wife, the more he looks at her, the more he feels that she looks like the Fuyang Dragon Girl, but the body should be plumper.	\15 民國\小說\古今情海.txt
	高宗既納武氏，越瞧越愛， 越愛越憐 。	The emperor took in Lady Wu. The more he looked at her, the more he loved her. The more he loved her, the more he cherished her.	\15 民國\小說\唐史演義.txt
	起初還當是說的玩話，後見那個馬班子 越說越真 。	At first, he thought they were joking, but later the more the circus people said, the more he felt it was true.	\15 民國\小說\大清三傑(下).txt
	因為走得 越遠 ， 回家越難 。	Because the farther you go, the harder it is to go home.	\15 民國\小說\大清三傑

			(下).txt
	一顆心就像小鹿兒失了母鹿似的，越跳越急了。	His heart being like a deer who has lost a female deer is beating faster and faster.	\15 民國\小說\宋代十八朝宮廷豔史.txt
	我此時越想越怕，連這個錢行的事情，我也擔起心來了呢。	At this moment the more I think of it, the more I feel scared. Even about the leaving event, I have started to worry.	\15 民國\小說\大清三傑(下).txt
	你越說越遠了。	The more you say, the farther it is away from the topic.	\15 民國\小說\宋史演義.txt
	允炆越看她越覺可愛。	The more Yun Wen looked at her, the more he felt that she was cute.	\15 民國\小說\明代宮闈史.txt
	這時那個張惶後也在旁侍飲，她見世宗帝鬧酒，越喝越起勁了，心裡早有幾分不悅的了。	At that time, Queen Zhang was also serving nearby. She saw the Emperor drank too much wine, and drank more and more vigorously. She was already a little unhappy.	\15 民國\小說\明代宮闈史.txt

Online-Appendix Table 6. List of the sample data of the tokens of [yuelaiyue X_{VP/Adj}] in the CCL Modern Chinese corpus

Sample data (10 for each)	Translation	source
with <i>suizhé</i>		
隨著兩地的融合,越來越多人去內地公幹、就業、旅遊、求學等。	Along with the integration of the two regions, increasingly many people go to the mainland for business, employment, tourism, schooling, etc.	\當代\報刊\新華社\新華社 2003 年 6 月份新聞報導.txt
隨著汽車數量的增加,越來越多的人開始關注汽車尾氣排放帶來的污染問題。	As the number of cars increases, increasingly many people are paying attention to the pollution problems caused by automobile exhaust emissions.	\當代\報刊\新華社\新華社 2003 年 3 月份新聞報導.txt
隨著天氣越來越炎熱,病菌傳播速度加快。	As the weather gets increasingly hot, the spread of germs speeds up.	\當代\報刊\新華社\新華社 2004 年 7 月份新聞報導.txt
隨著歲月的流逝,心境越來越寧靜。	As the years go by, the mood becomes increasingly peaceful.	\當代\報刊\讀者\讀者(合訂本).txt
隨著腳步聲越來越近,他的動作也越來越快。	As the footsteps get closer, his movements are getting increasingly fast.	\當代\翻譯作品\文學\牛虻.txt
可是隨著我的話語越來越熱烈,她渾身不停地顫抖。	But as my words became increasingly enthusiastic, she kept trembled	\當代\翻譯作品\文學\白髮鬼.txt
隨著涼意越來越濃,來西岸旅遊的人明顯地少了。	As the coolness gets increasingly strong, the number of people coming to the West Bank is significantly less.	\當代\文學\大陸作家\周大新\湖光山色.txt
隨著時間的推移,通過侵略和征服。大國的領土越來越大了。	Over time, through aggression and conquest, the territory of the great powers is getting increasingly big.	\當代\代\CWAC\APB0050.txt
隨著汽車的速度越來越快,車子越來越大,汽車越來越多。	Along with the cars getting increasingly fast, they get bigger and bigger, more and more.	\當代\代\CWAC\CEB0133.txt
隨著競爭越來越激烈,民營企業的人才流失率也越來越高。	As the competition becomes increasingly fierce, the rate of talents attrition in private enterprises is also getting higher and higher.	\當代\報刊\人民日報\2000 年人民日報\2000 年人民日報.txt
without		
發達城市的特殊學校的校舍越來越豪	The buildings in the special schools in the developed	\當代\代

suǐzhé	華，設備越來越先進。	cities are becoming increasingly luxurious, and equipment is becoming increasingly advanced.	\CWAC\AEJ0009.txt
	進入 21 世紀以後，資訊社會經濟發展依賴於知識的特徵 越來越明顯 。	After entering the 21st century, the characteristics of society's economic development relying on knowledge in information are becoming increasingly obvious.	\當代 \CWAC\AET0017.txt
	這兩種情況都加強了書面語的保守性，使它與口語的距離 越來越遠 。	Both of these situations enhance the conservativeness of the written language, making it increasingly far from the spoken language.	\當代 \CWAC\ALT0049.txt
	每一個實驗時期的生產率都比前一個時期要高，女工們的工作 越來越努力 ，效率越來越高。	The productivity of each experimental period is higher than that of the previous period, and the work of women workers is getting increasingly efficient and the efficiency is getting higher.	\當代 \CWAC\APE0084.txt
	兩個民族向融合的方向發展，相互間的關係 越來越密切 。	The two nations are developing in the direction of integration, and the relationship between them is getting increasingly close.	\當代 \CWAC\ALT0049.txt
	五年來，雙語教學取得了較大的進步， 越來越多 的研究者開始對此加以關注。	In the past five years, bilingual teaching has made great progress, and increasingly many researchers have begun to pay attention to it.	\當代 \CWAC\ALJ0047.txt
	在現代法治社會中，司法力量在社會生活中發揮 越來越重要 的作用。	In modern rule of law society, judicial power plays an increasingly important role in social life.	\當代 \CWAC\ASE0102.txt
	人類社會進入工業社會到 21 世紀，社會生產力飛速發展，社會分工越來越細，社會生活和社會關係 越來越複雜 。	Human society has entered the industrial society. In the 21st century, social productivity has developed rapidly, social division of labor has become more and more detailed, and social life and social relations have become increasingly complex.	\當代 \CWAC\ASE0106.txt
	但隨著資本主義日益發展成熟，它繼續調整的空間也就 越來越有限 。	But as capitalism matures, the space for continued adjustment is becoming increasingly limited.	\當代 \CWAC\APE0067.txt
	美國基本年年有赤字，而且越來越大，然而國力也 越來越強 。	The United States basically has a deficit every year, and it is getting increasingly big, but its national strength is getting increasingly stronger.	\當代 \CWAC\CFB0150.txt

Online-Appendix Table 7. List of the full data of the tokens of the comparative yù in *Shiji*

Full Data	Translation	source	
Plain comparative yù	國人愈驚。	People are more surprised.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	栗姬愈恚恨，不得見，以憂死。	Li Ji hated Emperor more, but could not see him, and worried to die.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
Full data (16)	上愈怒。	Emperor was angrier.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	公子執轡愈恭。	The lord took the bridle and was more respectful.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	公子顏色愈和。	The lord's face was kinder.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	過客以觀公子，公子愈恭。	As a passenger he observed the lord, and the lord was more respectful.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	王愈怒，欲捕赫。	The king was angrier, and wanted to catch He.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	綰愈恐，閉匿。	Guan was more scared and hid himself.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	錯以此愈貴。	Cuo became nobler because of this.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	諸士在己之左，愈貧賤，尤益敬，與鈞。	For the gentlemen who hold lower ranks, the poorer and more underprivileged, he respected them more and treated them with equality.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	夫愈怒，不肯謝。	Fu was angrier and would not like to apologize.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	疾益甚，愈欲易太子。	Emperor's disease was more serious, and he more wanted to change the crown prince.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	人皆以為不治產業而饒給，又不知其何所人，愈信，爭事之。	People all thought that the Taoist priest did not have to work but had affluent properties, and they did not know where he came from, so they believed in him more, and competed to serve him.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	臣聞饑人所以饑而不食烏喙者，為其愈充腹而與餓死同患也。	I heard that the reason why people don't eat crows is that they think the more you eat them, you will be poisoned to die, the same effect as starve to death.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	危哉樓子之所以為秦者，是愈疑天下，而何慰秦之心哉？	This is dangerous. Lou is to support Qin. His suggestion can only make the other lords have doubts on us. How can it calm Qin down?	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	大將軍聞，愈賢黯。	The great general heard about this, he thinks more that An is worthy.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
Incremental	彼久而愈安，雖曾氏之義未有以異	They are there for long and increasingly peaceful.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT

yù	也。	Even Zeng's benevolence is not different from this.	
Full data (8)	賦斂愈重，戍徭無已。	The taxes are getting increasingly heavy, and the compulsory service never stops.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	雖守而責之十年，息愈多，急，即以逃亡自捐之。	Although we wait and ask them to pay the debt for ten years, the interests have been more and more. If we force them to pay the debt, they would flee away.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	項王由此怨布，數使使者誚讓召布，布愈恐，不敢往。	King of Xiang hated Bu because of this, asked a messenger to scold and summon him many times. Bu was increasingly scared, and didn't dare to go to see the King.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	齊加不信於王，而忌燕愈甚。	The state of Qi increasingly did not trust the King, and more and more hated the state of Yan.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	伏波困窮，智慮愈殖，因禍為福。	Because Fubo is poor, his talents increasingly grow. This is the profit from misfortune.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	以益強之秦而割愈弱之趙，其計故不止矣。	Use it to benefit increasingly strong Qin, and to damage increasingly weak Zhao. This kind of conspiracy will never end.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	夫悍藥入中，則邪氣辟矣，而宛氣愈深。	When the strong medicine is in your body, the bad energy is blocked, but the depressed energy will go increasingly deeper.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT

Online-Appendix Table 8. List of the data of the tokens of *yù* and *gèng* in *Shiji* and *Xu Jigongzhuan*

The full data of the tokens of the comparative *yù* in *Shiji*

Full Data		Translation	source
Plain comparative <i>yù</i>	國人愈驚。	People are more surprised.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	栗姬愈恚恨，不得見，以憂死。	Li Ji hated Emperor more, but could not see him, and worried to death.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
Full data (16)	上愈怒。	Emperor was angrier.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	公子執轡愈恭。	The lord took the bridle and was more respectful.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	公子顏色愈和。	The lord's face was kinder.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	過客以觀公子，公子愈恭。	As a passenger he observed the lord, and the lord was more respectful.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	王愈怒，欲捕赫。	The king was angrier, and wanted to catch He.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	綰愈恐，閉匿。	Guan was more scared and hid himself.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	錯以此愈貴。	Cuo became nobler because of this.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	諸士在己之左，愈貧賤，尤益敬，與鈞。	For the gentlemen who hold lower ranks, the poorer and more underprivileged, he respected them more and treat them with equality.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	夫愈怒，不肯謝。	Fu was angrier and would not like to apologize.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	疾益甚，愈欲易太子。	Emperor's disease was more serious, and he more wanted to change the crown prince.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	人皆以為不治產業而饒給，又不知其何所人，愈信，爭事之。	People all thought that the Taoist priest did not have to work but had affluent properties, and they did not know where he came from, so they believed in him more, and competed to serve him.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	臣聞饑人所以饑而不食烏喙者，為其愈充腹而與餓死同患也。	I heard that the reason why people don't eat crows is that they think the more you eat them, you will be poisoned to death the same effect as starve to death.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	危哉樓子之所以為秦者，是愈疑天下，而何慰秦之心哉？	This is dangerous. Lou is to support Qin. His suggestion can only make the other lords have doubts on us. How can it calm Qin down?	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	大將軍聞，愈賢黯。	The great general heard about this, he thinks more that An is worthy.	\二十五史\01 史記.TXT

Incremental <i>yù</i>	彼久而愈安，雖曾氏之義未有以異也。	They are there for long and increasingly peaceful. Even Zeng's benevolence is not different from this.	二十五史\01 史記.TXT
Full data (8)	賦斂愈重，戍徭無已。	The taxes are getting increasingly heavy, and the compulsory service never stops.	二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	雖守而責之十年，息愈多，急，即以逃亡自捐之。	Although we wait and ask them to pay the debt for ten years, the interests have been increasingly many. If we force them to pay the debt, they would flee away.	二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	項王由此怨布，數使使者誚讓召布，布愈恐，不敢往。	King of Xiang hated Bu because of this, asked a messenger to scold and summon him many times. Bu was increasingly scared, and didn't dare go to see the King.	二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	齊加不信於王，而忌燕愈甚。	The state of Qi increasingly not trust the King, and more and more hated the state of Yan.	二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	伏波困窮，智慮愈殖，因禍為福。	Because Fubo is poor, his talents increasingly grow. This is the profit from misfortune.	二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	以益強之秦而割愈弱之趙，其計故不止矣。	Use it to benefit increasingly strong Qin, and to damage increasingly weak Zhao. This kind of conspiracy will never end.	二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	夫悍藥入中，則邪氣辟矣，而宛氣愈深。	When the strong medicine is in your body, the bad energy is blocked, but the depressed energy will go increasingly deeper.	二十五史\01 史記.TXT

The full data of the tokens of the comparative *gèng* in *Shiji*

Full Data	Translation	source
Plain comparative <i>gèng</i>	諸侯更強，時蓄異記，無可錄者。	二十五史\01 史記.TXT
Full data (4)	吾嘗為鮑叔謀事而更窮困，鮑叔不以我為愚，知時有利不利也。	二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	更醉而溺我，公其何忍乎？	二十五史\01 史記.TXT
	是以廉吏久，久更富。	二十五史\01 史記.TXT

The full data of the tokens of the comparative *yù* in *Xu Jigongzhuan*

Full Data		Translation	source
Plain comparative <i>yù</i>	兩魚精愈怒，即把自己衣褲扯去。	The two carp fairies are angrier and they tear off their clothes.	\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (上).txt
Full data (2)	聲勢愈大，遠近震動。	The sound is louder, and the places near and far vibrate.	\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (上).txt
Incremental <i>yù</i>	0		

The sample data of the tokens of the comparative *gèng* in *Xu Jigongzhuan*

Sample Data (10)		Translation	source
Plain comparative <i>gèng</i>	狄小霞一聽，愁上添愁，煩惱更深。	When Di Xiaoxia listens, it adds to her troubles and her worries are deeper.	\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (上).txt
	我至今更糊塗了，你到是怎麼段原故？	I am even more confused now. What on earth is wrong with you?	\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (上).txt
	這件事是更容易了，我和尚有法子。	This is easier, and I as a monk have an idea.	\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (上).txt
	但張欽差這樣說法，楊魁更覺難過。	But listening to Official Zhang, Yang Kui feels sadder.	\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (上).txt
	你的干係比他更大。	You value more than him.	\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (上).txt
	突然“通”的又不曉得在什麼地方碰了一頭，更比那門上碰得厲害。	Suddenly he bumped his head into somewhere, which is more severe that the time he bumped into the door.	\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (上).txt
	越發“哈哈”的笑得更厲害呢！	They laughed more “hahaha”.	\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (上).txt
	更疑惑自己是一定死了。	He wondered more that he must be dying.	\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (上).txt
	他滿心歡喜，以為更覺順便。	He was full of joy and thought it would be smoother.	\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (上).txt

	這劍還有一件利害的處所，用他拿了殺人殺物，更不必說了。	This sword has a very powerful function. You use it to kill people or object, more not to mention that.	\\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (上).txt
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The full data of the tokens of the incremental *yùeláiyùe* in *Xu Jigongzhuan*

Full Data		Translation	source
Incremental <i>yùeláiyùe</i>	那號鼓聲越來越近，直向狄營沖來。	The sound of drum was increasingly close and it rushed straight towards the Di barracks.	\\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (下).txt
Full data (2)	突然那香頭上放出一道金光，就此越來越多，滿屋都是金光。	Suddenly, a golden light was released on the incense head, and increasingly many, and the house was full of golden light.	\\14 清\小說\續濟公傳 (下).txt