If the position taken here, that of is a preposition in all its uses, is correct, this pattern suggests that than may also always be a preposition, and that the difference between (28a-b) may be that (28b) contains a QP in COMP while (28a) has no QP — i.e. (28a) = taller [pp than me] while (28b) = taller [pp than [COMP QP]] I am].

The detailed investigation of English comparatives that would be necessary to support this hypothesis is beyond the scope of this short paper, but will, I hope, be pursued in future work.

In summary, this preliminary study of comparative clauses in Bulgarian has provided some insight into both the grammar of Bulgarian itself and into possible or likely structures for comparatives cross-linguistically. Bulgarian comparatives are very much like English ones except that they often contain an overt quantifier. The facts of when, where, and in what form this quantifier appears support a WH-Movement analysis of comparatives, as at least one possibility available in Universal Grammar, and suggest that the difference between clausal and phrasal comparatives may lie not in the complementizer WH-preposition status of than (or of), but rather in the presence or absence of a following COMP containing a (null or overt) quantifier.

NOTES

8I am indebted to Rada Hanu and Asela Lazarova for providing and/or checking the data used in this paper.

9Bulgarian is by no means the only language that forms comparatives in this way; in fact, it seems to be quite a common construction in the Balkans. Albanian, Romanian, and Greek all have an overt quantifier in at least some comparative clauses.

10 Khalko is normally written as one word; I have spelled it with a hyphen in the first few examples of the paper to make its morphological composition clear. Khalko does occur as an independent word in other constructions. Some possible repercussions of the word status of khalko are discussed below.

11 Khalko is presumably inside the compared constituent in underlying structure; the position indicated by the QP in these examples, I have not placed khalko inside the NP/AdvP brackets, however, since it is in COMP in surface structure. (See below on WH Movement).

12 For discussion of a number of possible ways to account for these constraints, see Pinkham (1982) and sources cited there.

13 For a detailed discussion of relative clauses and other types of complement clauses in Bulgarian, see my dissertation, Rutin (1982).

14 Case is visible only in pronouns in Bulgarian, as in English. Nouns have no case marking at all, but pronouns distinguish nominative, accusative, and for some pronouns also dative cases.

REFERENCES


