

COMPARATIVE CLAUSES IN NORWEGIAN

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In this paper I will claim that comparative clauses should be analyzed as ordinary relative clauses. This analysis makes it possible to give a uniform semantic and syntactic treatment of all comparative constructions. My discussion deals primarily with Standard Norwegian, but I will also take into account some facts from Norwegian dialects and from other languages that seem to support my view.<sup>1</sup>

INTRODUCTION. In this paper I will discuss comparative clauses (CC) like the ones we find in the following sentences (the CC underlined):

(1) Jeg løper like fort som du løper.

'I run as fast as you run'<sup>2</sup>

(2) Hun er flinkere enn han er.

'She is cleverer than he is'

I will also use the term 'comparative clauses' about the embedded clauses that we find in (3) and (4).

(3) Jeg så en annen film enn dere så.

'I saw an other film than you (plur.) saw'

(4) Hun går på samme skole som jeg gikk på i fjor.

'She goes to same school as I went to last year'

Sentences like (3) and (4) are often not mentioned when CCs are discussed. But they have to a large extent the same semantic properties as the clauses in (1) and (2).

Regarding the elements that are compared in a comparative construction as members of a set, there is a difference between (1) and (2) on one hand and (3) and (4) on the other. In (3) the set is all films (in the universe of discourse), in (4) it is all schools. Both films and schools are physical objects, or what Lyons (1977:442) calls (first-order) entities.<sup>3</sup>

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In (1), on the other hand, the set consists of all the degrees of the scale "fort" (fast), i.e. {fort<sub>1</sub>, fort<sub>2</sub>, ..., fort<sub>n</sub>}. In 2 it consists of the set of all possible degrees of the scale "flink" (clever), i.e. {flink<sub>1</sub>, flink<sub>2</sub>, ..., flink<sub>n</sub>}.

These sets are different from the first ones in two respects:

- 1) They denote properties (Lyons 1977:439), not entities, and
- 2) they are ordered sets.

The kind of comparison exemplified in (1) and (2) will in the following be called gradable and the one in (3) ungradable comparison.<sup>4 5</sup>

In the following I will examine some semantic and syntactic properties of these constructions.

COMPARATIVE CLAUSES ARE RELATIVE CLAUSES. In Norwegian there are some facts that seem to suggest that CCs are in fact ordinary relative clauses (RC).

One such fact is that it is always possible to insert a pronoun between enn (than) or som (as) and the embedded clause. Thus, in addition to

(3) Jeg så en annen film enn dere så.

'I saw an other film than you (plur.) saw'

it is also possible to say

(3a) Jeg så en annen film enn den dere så.

(den = personal or demonstrative pronoun inanimate non-neuter)

And with som:

(5) Vi reiste med samme tog som (det) dere reiste med.

'we travelled with same train as (that) you travelled with'

(det = personal or demonstrative pronoun neuter inanimate).

The same holds for gradable comparisons:

(6) Jeg løper like fort som (det) du løper

'I run as fast as (that) you run'

(7) Hun er flinkere enn (det) han er.

'She is cleverer than (that) he is'

The pronoun (i.e. det) may be present also when the verb phrase in the embedded clause is replaced by the proverb gjøre (do),

(4b) Jeg så en annen film enn (det) dere gjorde.

'I saw an other film than (that) you did'

(6a) Jeg løper like fort som (det) du gjør.

'I run as fast as (that) you do'

and in constructions like

(8) Hun var flinkere enn (det) jeg trodde (hun var)

'She was cleverer than (that) I thought (she was)'

The sentences with a pronoun in front of the embedded clause are rather colloquial and they are not often seen in written texts. They are, however, quite grammatical sentences.

The embedded clauses in the examples above look very much like RCs. They all follow a noun phrase which seems to be the head of the RC. In all of them there is one constituent "missing" (i.e. moved or deleted), as is the case in RCs. We can mark the place where the constituent is missing by  $\emptyset$  and see the similarity.

(9) Filmen [dere så  $\emptyset$ ] har fått dårlig kritikk.

'The film [you saw  $\emptyset$ ] has got bad reviews'

(4') Jeg så en annen film enn den [dere så  $\emptyset$ ]

Another fact supporting my view is the fact that we have comparative constructions where the constituent following enn/som is an undeletable NP (underlined) preceding a RC.

(10) Jeg så en annen film enn den du anbefalte.

'I saw an other film than that you recommended'

(11) Jeg ser ikke andre enn han som står der.

'I see not others than he that stands there'

(= I do not see anybody but ....)



' She drove faster than { she drove 80 km per hour' }  
{ 80 km per hour is' }

We see then that there is a syntactic difference between (14) and (16) on one hand and (15) and (17) on the other. But there is a semantic difference, too.

In (17) we compare the speed she has with a fixed point on a scale, namely 80 km per hour. In (16) we compare the speed she has, not with "you", but with the speed you had. In (17) the referent of the head of the comparative construction fortere is compared directly with the constituent that comes after enn. In (16) the comparison is more indirect. I will therefore say that in (17) we have direct comparison, in (16) indirect comparison.

The same kind of difference between direct and indirect comparison is found also when the head of the comparative construction is an NP. In (15) the referent of deg (you) is compared directly with noen andre, but in (14) samme buss is not compared with dere, but with the bus that you (dere) were taking.

Although it is not transparent in the surface structure, in all these constructions there are two entities or properties that are compared. The constituents referring to these entities I will call comparative element 1 (CP1) and comparative element 2 (CP2).

In (15) and (17) both CP1 and CP2 are referred to in the surface structure.

(15') Det kommer ikke noen andre enn deg. CP1 CP2

In (14) and (16), however, only CP1 is present in the surface structure.

(14') Jeg tok samme buss som dere. CP1

On the other hand, in (14) there is a constituent in the main clause to which dere has a special relation, namely jeg (I). This relation is, however, not one of comparison, but of contrast (Quirk et al. 1972:768). I will call these constituents contrastive element 1 (CT1) and contrastive element 2 (CT2).

CT1 CP1 CT2  
(14'') Jeg tok samme buss som dere.

One could argue, however, that such contrastive elements are found in (15) and (17), too. If so, then in (15), CT2 is deg, and CT1 must be noen andre.

(15'') Det kom ikke noen andre enn deg. CP1/CT1 CP2/CT2<sup>8</sup>

We can say, then, that in direct comparisons, CT2 is contrasted with CP1, but in indirect comparisons, it is contrasted with another constituent.

We can now summarize the difference between the two kinds of comparison in the following way:

DIRECT COMPARISON: CP1=CT1, CT2 is not part of a clause, neither in surface nor underlyingly  
INDIRECT COMPARISON: CP1≠CT1, CT2 is part of a (reduced or non-reduced) clause<sup>9 10</sup>

In the discussion above we have used as examples only direct comparisons and indirect comparisons with a reduced RC. We shall now look at indirect comparisons with un-reduced clauses.

Earlier in this paper I claimed that

(14) Jeg tok samme buss som dere.

is derived from

(14a) Jeg tok samme buss som den dere tok.

'I took same bus as that you took'

I have also claimed that CP2 was not present in the surface structure in indirect comparisons. But that cannot be the case in (14a).

(14a') Jeg tok samme buss som den dere tok. CT1 CP1 CP2 CT2

CP2, den, refers to the bus you took, and this bus is compared with the bus referred to in CP1. In other words, the situation is the same as in

(18) Jeg fant ikke noe annet enn den. CP1 CP2

where den is a deictic pronoun, pronounced emphatically. The





NP can be moved to the front, as in

(35) The man who John is afraid of...

2) the coreferential NP can be deleted. In that case a relative marker (in English that) is introduced.

(35a) The man that John is afraid of...<sup>12</sup>

Another modification has been proposed by Perlmutter (1972). He argues, with reference to French, that what has been called a movement, is in fact a copying rule. The coreferential NP is copied in front of the RC while a pronoun (a shadow pronoun) is left behind, and later this pronoun is deleted.<sup>13</sup>

This is not very transparent in French, however, But there are other languages, even in Europe, where RCs have such a pronoun left, e.g. Serbo-Croatian (S. Mønnesland, personal communication):

(36) Čovek, što ga vidim....

'(The) man, that him (I) see...'

and Roumanian (Repina 1968:72):

(37) Casa pe care o văd...

'The house that it (I) see'

(pe is direct object marker.)

This view can be seen in connection with Postal's claim (1970) that all deletions of NPs caused by the presence of a coreferential NP in the same structure go through a pronominal stage.

If these theories are correct, one could expect that one gets a shadow pronoun in the RC only when the NP has not been moved. And this is exactly what happens in Serbo-Croatian. When the RC is introduced by a wh-word, there is no shadow pronoun.

(38) Čovek, koga vidim  
(The) man, whom (I) see

(38a) \*Čovek, koga ga vidim

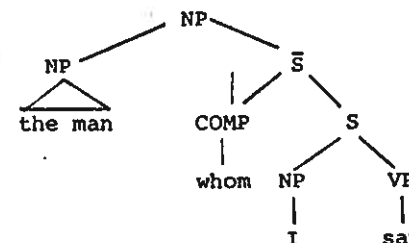
We may think then that the RC in (38) is made by moving the coreferential NP to the front of the clause, while (36) is formed by inserting the clause marker što (that) and pronominalizing the NP. The corresponding English RC (e.g. (35a)) is formed simply by going one step further, deleting the pronoun altogether.

Another modification of the classical approach has been made by Bresnan (1972). She claims that all clauses are introduced by a category called complementizer (COMP).

In RCs COMP is the place to which the coreferential NP is moved in e.g.<sup>14)</sup>

(39) The man, whom I saw

(39a)



If we accept Morgan's theory about RCs in English (and Bresnan does), then that in

(40) The man that I saw

is simply the unmarked complementizer in RCs. That is used when the coreferential NP is deleted, not moved.

In Norwegian most RC are introduced by som, which is the unmarked complementizer in RCs. (Historically, it is the same word as the comparative som.)

(41) Mannen som jeg snakker om,...

The man, that I talk about,...

Only some peripheral groups of RCs are introduced by a wh-word, e.g.

(42) Ta hva du vil!

'Take what you will!'

(43) De tok tog, hva jeg også gjorde.

'They took train, what I too did'

If we adopt Morgan's and Bresnan's analyses of RCs, we will say that the coreferential NP is moved to COMP in (42) and (43), whereas it is deleted in the RC in (41). (For a different analysis, see Taraldsen, this volume.)

Now, if we adopt the theories about RCs outlined above and still claim that CCs are RCs, then it follows that the constituent that is "missing" in the CC is either moved to the front (to COMP) or deleted in place. (Since it is in most cases finally deleted, I will, following the tradition, call this transformation comparative deletion, regardless of whether the first step is movement or deletion.)

The first position is held by Chomsky (1973:253). He claims that the restrictions that hold for wh-movement also hold for comparative deletion, and therefore comparative deletion is a movement rule. The constituent is, according to Chomsky, moved to the same position as than, and afterwards deleted.

This view has been attacked by Bresnan (1975). She has two main arguments: 1) Chomsky's restrictions on movement transformations are restrictions on deletions, too. Therefore, comparative deletion does not need to be a movement transformation. 2) In some cases only a part of a constituent is deleted (by Bresnan called subdeletion), e.g. in

(44) They have many more enemies than we have friends.

(45) My sister drives as carelessly as I drive carefully.

In these cases the deletions do not comply with the restrictions on movements and must therefore be simple deletions. Compare (46) with (47).

(46) She has as many boyfriends as she has  $\emptyset$  books.

(47) \*How many did she send  $\emptyset$  books to you?

Bresnan also mentions that dialects permitting what in comparative constructions like

(48) It's larger than what it was.

do not permit it in cases of subdeletion.

(49) \*It's larger than what it is wide.

Bresnan (1975:72) argues that dialects permitting what in English have two distinct ways of constructing comparative clauses in English, one involving a movement transformation and another involving deletion without any movement. If we disregard subdeletion for the moment, her claim is compatible with the analysis I have argued for so far.

This means that in sentences where the subordinate clause is introduced by a wh-word, like

(50) Jeg så en annen film enn hva du gjorde.

'I saw an other film than what you did'

the wh-word must have been moved from inside the subordinate clause, just as in

(51) Ta hva du vil!

'Take what you will!'

In (50a)

(50a) Jeg så en annen film enn det du gjorde.

on the other hand, the "missing" constituent has simply been deleted, just as in (51a).

(51a) Ta det du vil!

This means that the difference between (50) and (50a) corresponds to the difference between (39).

(39) The man whom I saw.

and (40).

(40) The man that I saw.

and this difference follows from the fact that there are two different ways of constructing RCs in Norwegian (and English).

The more frequent (50b)

(50b) Jeg så en annen film enn du gjorde.



is then derived from (50) or (50a) by deleting hva or det.

There remains, however, the problem of subdeletion, i.e. the deletion that takes place in sentences like (46).

(46) She has as many boyfriends as she has books.<sup>15</sup>

Bresnan claims that there can be no movement involved in the deletion process here, because it would violate several restrictions on movement transformations. This is also indicated by the fact that what is not possible in such sentences (cfr. 49).

If we look at the Norwegian data, it is not obvious that Norwegian behaves like English in this matter.

(47) ?Hun har like mange plater som det jeg har bøker.  
'She has as many records as that I have books'

(47) is (for some people) a possible, sentence, though it is more natural without det. But if (47) is possible, then the subordinate clause must be a RC. However, it need not violate Bresnan's restrictions on transformations, since the "missing" element in the clause has been deleted in situ.

In dialects using a wh-word in comparative constructions, however, (47) is quite grammatical with a wh-word instead of det.

(47a) Ho hi fleir platå enn (ker) eg hi bøker.  
'She has more records than (what) I have books'

(Namdalen, according to K.I. Vannebo, personal communication.)

Another subgroup of constructions involving subdeletion is represented in (49), which, according to Bresnan, is ungrammatical in English.

(49) \*It's larger than what it is wide

But in Norwegian dialects using a wh-word in CCs, the corresponding Norwegian sentence is fully grammatical, with and without a wh-word.

(52) Bordet er lengre enn (hva) det er bredt.  
'The table is longer than (what) it is wide'

It is also possible in Swedish

(53) Bordet är längre än (vad) det är brett.

(L.G. Andersson, personal communication.)

These examples ((47a), (52), (53)) all violate Bresnan's restrictions on movement transformations. A part of a constituent has been moved out of its place to the COMP position, which should be impossible according to Bresnan. Therefore, her restrictions on movement transformations do not seem to hold for Norwegian (and Swedish).

We may also conclude that also CCs involving subdeletion may be regarded as RCs.

There remains, however, one case of "subdeletion" where a RC analysis seems difficult. Bresnan uses (54) as an example of subdeletion.

(54) Your face is more nearly oval than it is ogival.

In corresponding Norwegian sentences a pronoun is impossible in front of the subordinate clause.

(55) Bordet er mer ovalt enn det er rundt.

'The table is more oval than it is round'

(55a) \*Bordet er mer ovalt enn det det er rundt.

(56) Ballen er mer blå enn den er grønn.

'The ball is more blue than it is green'

(56a) \*Ballen er mer blå enn det den er grønn.

But this is a very special kind of comparison. In (49), (52), (53) the dimensions compared are compatible with one another. In (54)-(56), on the other hand, they are not. That this is a comparison of a special kind is seen also from the fact that the suffixal form of comparison is impossible.

(53b) \*Ballen er blåere enn grønn.

'The ball is bluer than green'

Quirk et al. (1972:767) claim that the subordinate clause is not a comparative clause, but that this is rather a "quasi-coordinative type of construction". This is indicated by the paraphrase (53c).

(53c) Ballen er blå snarere enn (den er) grønnr.

'The ball is blue rather than (it is) green.'

It is therefore doubtful whether the analysis of this type should have any consequence for the analysis of ordinary types of comparison.<sup>16</sup>

To sum up this part of the discussion, we may say that if we accept that CCs with a "subdeleted" element may be preceded by a neuter pronoun, these clauses may be considered as RCs. Dialects which do not permit any pronoun before the clause may have an obligatory rule deleting the head of the RC. In other dialects this rule is optional.<sup>17</sup>

DELETION OF PRONOMINAL HEAD. What I have been trying to show so far, is that the clause in (57).

(57) Jeg så en annen film enn den du så.

'I saw an other film than that you saw'

is of the same type as the clause in (58).

(58) Den du så, er nå flyttet til en annen kino.

'That you saw, is now moved to an other cinema'

There is a difference, however, not in the internal structure of the clause, but in the fact that the head of the RC can be, and most often is deleted in (57).

(57a) Jeg så en annen film enn du så,

whereas this is not possible in (58).

(58a) \*Du så, er nå flyttet til en annen kino.

Further examples of deletion of the head of the RC:

(59) Jeg så en annen film enn det du gjorde.

'I saw an other film than that you did'

---▷ Jeg så en annen film enn du gjorde

(60) Jeg så en annen film enn den (som) du anbefalte

'I saw an other film than that (that) you recommended'

---▷ Jeg så en annen film enn du anbefalte.

(61) Jeg tok et annet tog enn det du sa jeg skulle gjøre.

'I took an other train than that you said I should do'

---▷ Jeg tok et annet tog enn du sa jeg skulle gjøre.

When the relative complementizer is optional, it has to be deleted when the head is deleted.

(60a) \*Jeg så en annen film enn som du anbefalte.

On the other hand, when the "missing" constituent in the RC is subject (or to put it more traditionally, when som is the subject of the subordinate clause), neither som nor the head can be deleted.

(62) Vi reiste en annen vei enn den som ble anbefalt.

'We went an other route than that that was recommended'

(62a) \*Vi reiste en annen vei enn den ble anbefalt.

(62b) \*Vi reiste en annen vei enn som ble anbefalt.<sup>18</sup>

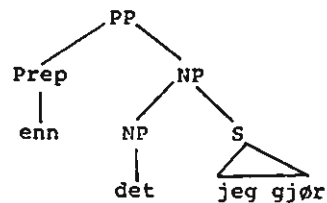
THE STATUS OF ENN/SOM. The analysis of comparative constructions must necessarily have some effects on the status of enn/som (and than/as).

In my analysis enn/som is in the underlying structure, followed, not by a clause, but by an NP. Therefore, enn/som cannot be considered as subordinating conjunctions, which is the traditional view, or a complementizer, which is the same in modern disguise. (That than/as are complementizers has been claimed by Bresnan (1972), Chomsky (1973:253), and Emonds (1976:191).)<sup>19</sup> My analysis is more in agreement with the claim made by Andersson (1975:184) that these words are prepositions. Then (63).

(63) Hun går fortere enn det jeg gjør.

'She walks faster than that I do'

contains a prepositional phrase



Other grammarians, too, have called than/as prepositions, but mostly in special cases. Quirk et al. (1972:767) calls than a preposition in (64).

(64) I weigh more than 200 pounds.

i.e. when than "is followed by an explicit standard or yardstick of comparison, normally a noun phrase of measure, or a noun phrase implying degree". (This is a proper subset of what I have called direct comparisons.) But when than is followed by a reduced clause, they call it a clause-introducer.

(65) Mary is older than Jane (is).

Hankamer (1973) considers than to be a conjunction no matter whether it is followed by a full clause or a reduced one, as in (66).

(66) He is taller than I.

But when the pronoun has not the same form as it would have in a full clause, he no longer considers it to be a reduced clause, and consequently he calls than a preposition under those circumstances.

(67) He is taller than me.

In his analysis, however, it is not obvious how one would analyze when than is not followed by a pronoun, as in (68).

(68) He is taller than John.

Another problem would be cases like (69),

(69) It is better here than in Bergen.

because a preposition does not govern a prepositional phrase.

An analysis based on surface structure alone would also have problems with reduced clauses with more than one contrasted

constituent.

(70) She reads better French than I German.

OTHER LANGUAGES. In the following section I will mention some data from other languages that may support my analysis of Norwegian comparative constructions.<sup>20</sup>

In German there is a construction that looks very much like the Norwegian ones (J.O. Askedal, personal communication).

(71) Sie hat lauter gelacht als es ihre Schwester getan hat.

'She has louder laughed than it her sister done has'

(72) Er war grösser als es sein Bruder war.

'He was bigger than it his brother was'

The pronoun es, however, is always unstressed and cannot be the head of a RC. These examples, therefore, do not seem to be quite parallel to the Norwegian sentences.<sup>21</sup>

More similar to the Norwegian comparative constructions, however, are the following examples from Spanish.

(73) Pilar es más alta de lo que es su padre.

'Pilar is more tall than that that is her father'

(74) Tiene más libros de los que tengo yo.

'(She) has more books than those that have I'

(Prytz, forthcoming.) De is a preposition (usually = "from") and que is the complementizer. The embedded clause must here be regarded as a RC with the pronoun (lo, los etc.) as a head. In contradistinction to Norwegian, however, the pronoun cannot be deleted if we have a full RC. But when the RC is reduced, the pronoun is deleted together with de.

(75) Pilar es más alta que su padre.

(De is followed by a single constituent only when this one is a numeral, as in French.)

In Italian we find constructions similar to the Spanish ones.

(76) Ella lavore più di ciò che faccio io.  
'She works more than that that do.I'

But a wh-word is also possible.

(77) Ella lavora più di quanto faccio io..  
'... how-much ...'

(H. Dørum, personal communication.)

In Roumanian the word for than, decît, shows that the type exemplified in (77) has been common there in earlier times. Decît is made up of the preposition de (= from) and cît (< quantum), which means how much.

A similar history has the Bulgarian kolko (ot = from, prep. + kolko = how much + to), except for to, which is the relativizing particle added to the wh-words when these are used as relative pronouns. That means that in Bulgarian (and Roumanian) the CC has been a free RC introduced by a wh-word and preceded by a preposition. Ex.:

(78) Toj je po-goljam otkolkoto sâm az.  
'He is bigger than am I'

(When than is followed only by an NP, ot is used alone.

(79a) Toj je po-goljam ot mene.  
'He is bigger than me (acc.)'.)

(K. Rå Hauge, personal communication.)

It may also be mentioned here that the words corresponding to English than/as and the relative pronouns or complementizers are often overlapping. This holds for some English dialects, where as may be used also as a relative complementizer. The same was true for German als (as, than) in earlier times. And in Old Norwegian en (than) might be used as a relative complementizer.

(79) þau helgu orð en i bókinni vāru  
'They holy words that in the book were'

And the word som, which was first used only in comparative

constructions (= as), later spread to ordinary RCs.

An argument of a different kind comes from Serbo-Croatian. As we have seen earlier, RCs may contain a pronoun that is coreferent with the head of the RC, as in

(36) Čovek, što ga vidim...  
'(The) man, that him I see....'

A pronoun of this type appears even in CCs, which shows that these clauses are RCs. Ex.:

(80) Danas imamo mnogo više fabrika nege što smo ih imali pre rata.  
'Today (we) have much more plants than that (we) are them had before (the) war'  
(= ... than what we had before..)

SOME DIALECTAL CONSTRUCTIONS. In this section, I will show that many comparative constructions found in Norwegian dialects can easily be explained within my framework.

In my analysis a sentence like

(81) Han er større enn meg.  
is transformationally derived from  
(82) Han er større enn det som jeg er.  
'He is bigger than that that I am'

or  
(83) Han er større enn hva som jeg er.  
'... what ...'

or to put in into a form more appropriate for the dialectal constructions discussed here:

(83a) Han er større enn k(v)a som eg er.<sup>22</sup>

All the constructions discussed here are found in dialects where hva/kva (what) is more natural than det (that) in sentences like (82)-(83). Therefore, we will postulate that

(83) (or (83a)) is the underlying structure of these constructions, not (82).

In several dialects in Norway, and also in Denmark, enn is followed by som, e.g. (84).

(84) Han er større enn som eg.<sup>23</sup>

If the underlying structure of this sentence is (83a), (84) is derived simply by deleting the finite verb and the head of the RC.

In some dialects som is used instead of enn, e.g.

(85) Han er større som eg.<sup>24</sup>

Here both enn and the head of the RC are deleted, while the complementizer som remains.

Another variant of (81), is

(86) Han er større enn ka eg.<sup>25</sup>

'He is bigger than what I'

This sentence is transformed from the underlying structure (83a) by deletion of som (and the finite verb).

In dialects where (86) is possible, ka (what) is not used everywhere after enn, but only when the underlying structure contains a RC. In Standard Norwegian (87).

(87) Jeg traff noen andre enn dere.

'I met some others than you'

is ambiguous, meaning either something like (88).

(88) I did not meet the persons you met, but somebody else, or (89).

(89) I did not meet you, but somebody else.

In (88), we have an indirect comparison, with a reduced RC, and in (89), we have a direct comparison. But the dialectal (90)

(90) Eg traff nokken anner enn ka dokker.

'I met some other than what you'

can only have the meaning of (88), whereas the meaning of (89) is rendered by (91).

(91) Eg traff nokken anner enn dokker.

This shows that enn is followed by ka (what) only when the underlying structure contains a RC.

A variant of the type exemplified in (86) is (92).

(92) Han er større enn ka så eg.

'He is bigger than what that I'

(Glomfjord.) Here only the finite verb is deleted, nothing else.

We have now seen that several dialectal constructions can be easily explained by an underlying structure that I have postulated for comparative constructions for independent reasons. This gives us still more reason to believe that the postulated underlying structure is correct.

CONCLUSION. In this paper I have tried to give a partial analysis of comparative constructions in Norwegian. I have claimed that in the underlying structure comparative constructions (more accurately, the ones that I have discussed in this paper) have the form

$$X + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{AdjP} \\ \text{AdvP} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{enn} \\ \text{som} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{AdvP} \end{array} \right\} + Y$$

I have also discussed the status of the subordinate clauses in such constructions, e.g.

(93) Hun går forttere enn jeg går/gjør.

'She walks faster than I walk/do'

In Norwegian, especially in the spoken language, we also find constructions containing relative clauses.

(94) Hun går forttere enn  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{det} \\ \text{hva} \end{array} \right\}$  jeg går/gjør.  
,  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{that} \\ \text{what} \end{array} \right\}$  ... ,

I have claimed that the clauses in (93) and (94) are not derived in two completely different ways, but that (93) is

derived from (94) by a deletion process. That means that the subordinate clauses in both (93) and (94) are to be regarded as relative clauses.

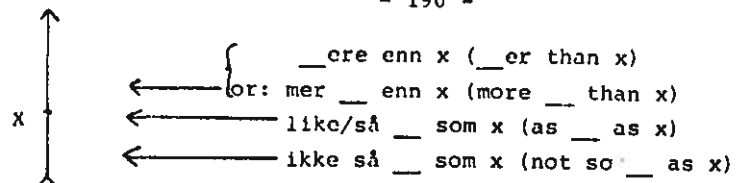
This analysis makes it possible to give a more uniform description of all comparative constructions, including those that do not contain any subordinate clause.

I have also shown that there are other languages where comparative clauses have to be regarded as relative clauses. I have also mentioned some Norwegian dialectal constructions that are more easily explained within my theory than in a traditional one.

The underlying structures postulated here are to a great extent structures that are found in actual sentences in the language, and which therefore have to be explained anyway. Whether the underlying structures postulated here are real deep structures (or initial phrase markers) or only intermediate (shallow) structures, has not been my concern here. I have, however, tried to show that my analysis is compatible with current transformational theory.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1) I would like to thank Lars-Gunnar Andersson, Kirsti Koch Christensen, Thorstein Pretheim, Lars Mellan, Trygve Skomedal, and Knut Tarald Taraldsen for valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper.
- 2) The English translations here are meant to show the structure of the Norwegian examples and are therefore not idiomatic.
- 3) The sets may sometimes be not very strictly defined. In a. Jeg kjøpte noe annet enn jeg gjorde i går.  
'I bought something else than I did yesterday'  
the set which comprises the compared elements, must be something like "all things that I may buy".
- 4) The terms are based on Sapir's terms for opposites, gradable and ungradable opposites (Lyons 1977:271).
- 5) These are some syntactic and semantic differences between gradable and ungradable comparisons. But there are other differences, too. In ungradable comparison what seems to be essential to inform about, is whether something is "the same or not the same". But in gradable comparison it also seems important to tell whether the compared element is higher or lower on the scale. This can be seen from the fact that we have special forms denoting degrees higher up on the scale. e.g. finere (finer). If we simply mean to say "fine to a degree different from x", it is not as easy as we might think. One can, of course, negate the sentence and say  
a. Dette huset er ikke så fint som det der  
'This house is not so fine as that there'  
But this means normally "less fine than".  
This means that we have the following system of expressions referring to the degrees on the scale:



Because we already have a means by which we can refer to a higher degree than x (finere (finer), mer interessant (more interesting)), the negated expression will refer to the area below x.

This explanation has, however, some difficulties.

Positive statements like

b. Dette huset er like fint som det der.

'This house is as fine as that there'

may denote not only the same degree, but also a higher degree of "finess". This is even more evident in

c. Dette huset er like fint som det der, kanskje finere  
maybe finer'

This means that the negated sentence is a true negation of the corresponding positive sentence even if it means only less than.

If this is so, the restricted meaning of the negated sentence cannot be explained by the comparative degree of adjectives and adverbs. It has perhaps, nothing to do with the comparative construction at all, but rather with some universal properties of scales.

The fact is that we have the same restrictions on the meaning of negated sentences in non-comparative sentences.

d. Han er ikke 18 år gammel

'He is not 18 years old'

This may mean that he is not exactly 18 years old, but a more frequent interpretation, I think, is that he is less than 18 years old. And a question like

e. Har du 100 kr på deg?

'Have you 100 kr on you(rself)?'

must be answered by "yes" even if I happen to have more than 100 kr. Only if I have less, I will say "no".

This means that scales are not only ordered sets, but that when thinking about them, we somehow start at

the bottom and go upwards. And when we reach the point that is asked for or compared, we say "yes" or "as tall as" if we reach that point, even if we go on beyond it. Only if we do not reach the point, we say "no" or "not as tall as".

6) There are restrictions on the use of CCs introduced by a wh-word. The only possible hv-word is hva (what), and in Standard Norwegian and in most dialects it can be used only after enn (than), not som (as). The last restriction does not hold for Swedish (Andersson 1975:189).

a. Anders är like stark som vad hans far är.

'Anders is as strong as what his father is'  
nor for English (Bresnan 1975:72)

b. We don't have av many apples as what we need.

The comparative clauses with hva are stylistically marked, either as literary, archaic (Danish influence), or dialectal. In the dialects, it is mostly used along the coast (Southern and Northern Norway). In some dialects, hva is obligatory in these sentences, e.g. Namdalen (K.I. Vannebo, personal communication).

c. Han æ størr enn ker eg æ.

'He is bigger than what I am'

d.??Han æ størr enn eg æ.

7) Dere (you, plur.) has the same form in the subjective and objective case. Other pronouns usually have the objective case after enn/som. In many dialects, however, the pronoun has the same form as it would have in a full clause, e.g.

a. Han tok samme buss som jeg ( <--- som jeg tok)

'He took same bus as I'

but

b. Hun gav Ola mer enn meg ( <--- enn hun gav meg)

'She gave Ola more than me'

This system is usually recommended in normative grammars.

Cf. note 8.

8) As mentioned above, some Norwegian dialects use both the subjective and objective case of pronouns after enn/som. In direct comparisons we cannot use the full clause criterion to determine the form of the pronoun. Instead we can say that it has the same form as it would have as CT1. These dialects will then have sentences like

a. Det kommer ingen andre enn vi.

'There come no others than we'  
and

b. Du har ingen andre enn meg.

'You have no others than me'

Since the rule outlined here can be expanded to cover indirect comparisons as well, but not vice versa, we will say as a general rule that in dialects using both the subjective and the objective case of the pronouns in comparative phrases, CT2 has the same case as it would have as CT1.

9) The two kinds of comparative constructions mentioned here do not correspond to Hankamer's clausal and phrasal constructions. Hankamer (1973) has observed that in many languages a comparative phrase can be constructed in two different ways. One way is using a special case form of the, noun, e.g. ablative (Latin) or genitive (Greek, Russian) or dative (Old Norwegian) (both genitive and dative here represent an older ablative) or a preposition (Serbo-Croatian, Italian): This type is called a phrasal construction. The other way is to use a conjunction (or complementizer), which is also possible in all these languages. This is called a clausal construction. Example from Serbo-Croatian:

a. On je više od mene (gen.) (phrasal)

b. On je više nego ja (nom.) (clausal)

'He is taller than me/I'

Because the pronoun may differ in English, too,

c. He is taller than me (phrasal)

d. He is taller than I (clausal)

Hankamer claims that both types are found in English, too.

All the examples above would belong to my indirect comparisons, which shows that my classification differs from Hankamer's because it is more semantically based.

10) Sentences like

a. Jeg har aldri truffet noen bedre kvinne enn deg.

'I have never met any better woman than you'  
do not seem to fall completely into the pattern. Deg seems to function as CP2 and bedre kvinne as CP1. But

b. ?Jeg har aldri truffet noen bedre kvinne enn det du er. shows that CP2 is det, not deg. If so, CP1 must be bedre, a part of an NP, which seems to be quite irregular. But if attributive adjectives are RCs in the underlying structure, then sentences like a. are quite regular, as shown in c.

c. Jeg har aldri truffet noen kvinne (som er) bedre enn det  
CP1 CP2  
du er.

(Since CP2 may be reduced to deg, we should expect that deg (or du) is a contrastive element, CT2. If so, CT1 has to be kvinne (or som), but this constituent never has emphatic pronunciation, as e.g. hun in

d. Hun er bedre enn det du er → Hun er bedre enn deg  
'She is better than that you are'

It is doubtful, however, whether contrastive elements (in our sense) exist in all kinds of comparative constructions.)

11) There is another group of that-clauses, viz. so-called "clauses of result" after så (so) + adjective/adverb, that seem to be related somehow to comparative clauses.

a. Det gikk så dårlig at vi måtte slutte.

'It went so bad that we must (= had to) stop'  
Such sentences have corresponding sentences with the adjective/adverb in comparative and with enn before the clause.

b. Det gikk ikke bedre enn at vi måtte slutte.

'It went not better than that we must stop'  
While enn is obligatory here, som is not possible in a.

c. \*Det gikk så dårlig som at vi måtte slutte.



This seems to hold for corresponding sentences in English, too.

d. He was so wild that we let him escape.

e. \*He was so wild as that we let him escape.

There is, however, a corresponding construction in English (not found in Norwegian) with as in surface structure, not before a that-clause, but before an infinitive. (Quirk et al. 1972:776).

f. His satires were so brilliant as to make even his victims laugh.

(cfr. His satires were so brilliant that they made even his victims laugh)

(Sentences like b. are always negated in modern Norwegian. Instead of corresponding positive sentences like

g. \*Han løp fortere enn at jeg kunne følge.

'He ran faster than that I could follow'

one has to say

h. Han løp så fort at jeg ikke kunne følge.

'He ran so fast that I not could follow'

or

i. Han løp for fort til at jeg kunne følge.

'He ran too fast to (prep.) that I could follow'

In Old Norwegian non-negated sentences like g. were possible

j. var alt líf hennar helgara en menn megí eptir líkja ....

'was all life her holier than men could resemble ...'

(= all her life was so holy that men could not resemble her.)

12) One reason why one may postulate two different ways of generating RCs in English, is the fact that whereas a wh-word may take with it (a greater part of) the whole constituent when it is moved, (Pied Piping), that cannot.

a. The girl with whom John danced.

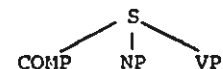
b. \*The girl with that John danced.

13) Perlmutter & Orešnik (1972) argue that this holds not only for deletion due to identity of reference, but also identity of sense.

14) Bresnan has as her first rule

$\bar{S} \rightarrow \text{COMP S}$

That means that COMP is Chomsky-adjoined to the sentence and not part of it (39a). Emonds (1976:185) regards COMP as a formative within the sentence, i.e.



This issue has also been discussed by Andersson (1975:146f).

Bresnan and her followers claim that all sentences are introduced by COMP. Andersson (1975:155), on the other hand, argues that a COMP-node is justified only in embedded clauses, not main clauses.

15) Taraldsen (this volume) claims that there is no deletion involved in the generation of sentences like

a. Hun har flere plater enn jeg har bøker.

'She has more records than I have books'

This analysis is, as far as I can see, incompatible with a RC analysis.

16) When the dimensions compared are compatible with one another ((49), (52), (53)), it is possible to add the preposition til (to) to the subordinate clause.

a. Bordet er lengre enn det er bredt til.

'The table is longer than it is wide to'

This is not possible when the dimensions are incompatible.

b. \*Ballen er mer blå enn den er grønn til.

'The ball is more blue than it is green to'

Another difference between these constructions is that ellipsis is possible in constructions with incompatible terms only.

c. Ballen er mer blå enn grønn.

d. \*Bordet er lengre enn bredt.

And while the suffixal form of the adjective/adverb is not possible in constructions with incompatible terms.

e. \*Ballen er blåere enn den er grønn.

this is normal in the other group.

f. Bordet er lengre enn det er bredt.

Sentence c. (and (54)-(56)) seems to be related to

g. Han mer ler enn (han) gråter.

'He more laughs than (he) cries'

which seems to indicate that what is really compared in these sentences is not a pair of words, but the verb phrases.

17) After this paper was written I came across a newly published paper by Chomsky (1977). Here Chomsky once more claims that comparative deletion involves a wh-movement, such that

a. Mary isn't taller than what she was five years ago. is an underlying structure of

b. Mary isn't taller than she was five years ago. in English, even in those variants of English that do not permit what in the surface structure of such constructions.

In the same volume Bresnan (1977) defends her earlier position on this question.

18) In some cases it seems to be the case that the pronoun and the complementizer are deleted even when the pronoun is the "logical subject" of the RC.

a. Vi ber de samme gjestene som var her sist.

'We invite the same guests as/that were here last (time)'

If there has been deletion of a head here, this deletion is obligatory.

b. \*Vi ber de samme gjestene som dem som var her sist.  
as those that

But a. might also be regarded as an ordinary RC. It is synonymous with

c. Vi ber de gjestene som var her sist.

'We invite those guests that were here last (time)'

On the other hand, a. may be reduced like CC.

d. Vi ber de samme gjestene som sist.

However, if there is a constituent in the main clause that is contrasted with the focused constituent of the RC (sist),

then the ordinary structure of comparative constructions is possible.

e. Vi ber de samme gjestene nå som dem som var her sist.

'We invite the same guests now as those that were here last (time)'

It may be mentioned here, even if it is not essential to the problems discussed here, that comparative som (as) is deleted in certain cases.

a. Jeg gikk så fort jeg orka.

'I went as fast I managed (to)'

b. Vi gjorde så godt vi kunne.

'We did as well we could'

c. Kom så ofte du vil!

'Come as often you will!'

d. Så vidt jeg veit, bor hun i Tyskland.

'As far I know, lives she in Germany'

In some of these cases så + adverb functions as a conjunction.

e. Så snart vi er klare, skal vi dra.

'As soon we are ready, shall we leave'

f. Så lenge de bodde der, var alt bra.

'As long they lived there, was all well'

g. Vi kommer så sant vi får barnevakt.

'We come as true we get baby-sitter'  
= if

19) In Chomsky & Lasnik (1977:495) it is claimed that than and as have no independent status, but are parts of -er...than and as...as.

20) I have not mentioned here other Scandinavian languages, since they behave very much like Norwegian in this matter. It may be mentioned, however, that while som is almost impossible in Norwegian in sentences like

a. Hun løp fortere enn det han gjorde.

'She ran faster than that he did'

b. \*Hun løp fortere enn det som han gjorde.

in Faroese the relative complementizer sum or ið may be present in the surface structure of such sentences

c. Hon leyp skjótari enn tað sum/ið hann gjørði.

'She ran faster than that that he did'

(T. Skomedal, personal communication.) Here the RC analysis is the only possible one. And except for the complementizer, which may be deleted, the structure is exactly like the Norwegian one.

21) The pronoun es in the German examples may have the same status as the pronoun in the Serbo-Croatian example (no. (36))

a. Čovek, što ga vidim.

'(The) man, that him (I) see'

That means that it is the result of pronominalization of the constituent that is otherwise deleted in CCs.

b. Sie hat lauter gelacht als ihre Schwester es getan hat.

'She has louder laughed than her sister it done has'

A support for this analysis is the fact that this sentence is possible if the non-stressed es is replaced by das (that).

c. Sie hat lauter gelacht als ihre Schwester das getan hat.

22) It has normally been assumed that hva and som are complementizers, and since a clause can have only one complementizer, we cannot have hva and som at the same time at any stage in the derivation. But there are sentences in Norwegian where a wh-word and som are actually found in the same clause, e.g. indirect questions,

a. Jeg spurte hvem som kom.

'I asked who that came'

b. \*Jeg spurte hvem kom

in many dialects also in direct questions.

c. Kem som kom?

'Who that came?'

And as we shall see (sentence (92)) it may also be found in comparative constructions. Therefore I claim that hva is followed by som also in the underlying structure. (For a transformational approach to this problem, see Andersson (1975:154f.) and Taraldsen (this volume).)

23) This is mentioned in monographs on the dialects of Kristiansand, Stavanger, Bergen, and Hamre (Hordaland). I have also registered it in Lillesand and Ofoten (Nordland). According to Hansen (1967:339) it is found also in Danish.

In Standard Norwegian enn som is found in the idiomatic expression

a. Hun er større enn som så.

'She is bigger than that so'

which means something like 'She is bigger (greater) than you think'.

24) This use of som is registered in Tromsø (Iversen 1918:72) and also in Danish dialects (Fyn) (Jespersen 1924:246).

25) As far as I can see, this variant is not mentioned in the Norwegian linguistic literature. But I have registered it in Salten, Northern Norway (Glomfjord, Bodø, and Sørfold) and Sunnmøre, Bergen and Hardanger in Southern Norway.

Noted: Register  
April 2. 198

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