

Non-degree equatives and reanalysis*

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1 Introduction

equative markers in German non-degree equatives (similatives; cf. Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998) and degree equatives:

- (1) a. Maria ist **so** groß **wie** ihre Mutter.
Mary is so tall as her.F mother
'Mary is as tall as her mother.'
- b. Maria ist **so wie** ihre Mutter.
Mary is so as her.F mother
'Mary is like her mother.'
- c. Maria ist groß **wie** ihre Mutter.
Mary is tall as her.F mother
'Mary is tall like her mother.'

same complementiser (*wie*) in the subclause (\leftrightarrow differences between *as* and *like*)

matrix equative marker (*so*):

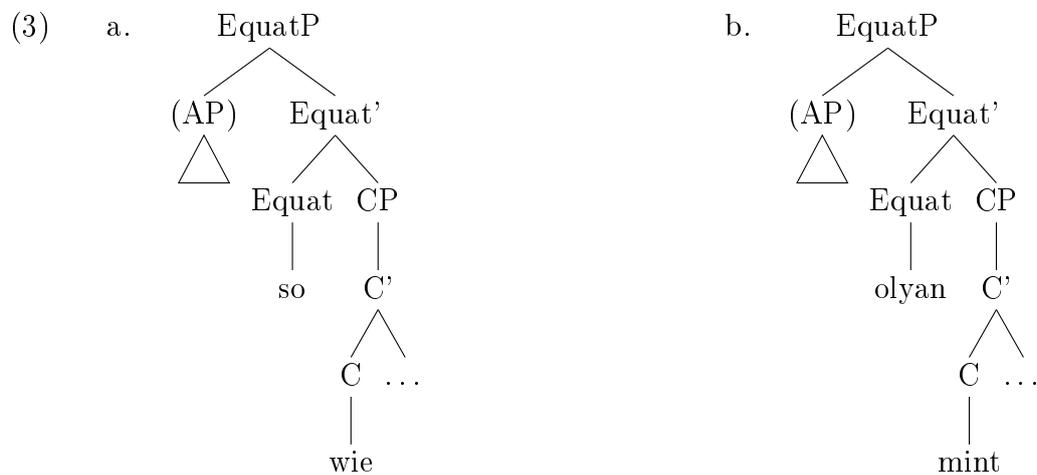
- takes the *wie*-CP as its complement (cf. Lechner 2004 for comparatives; see also von Stechow 1984 on the arguments of matrix comparative/equative heads)
- takes a gradable argument (AP) in its specifier in degree equatives (cf. Lechner 2004 for comparatives) but not in non-degree equatives
- absence of equative marker also results in a non-degree reading – (1c)

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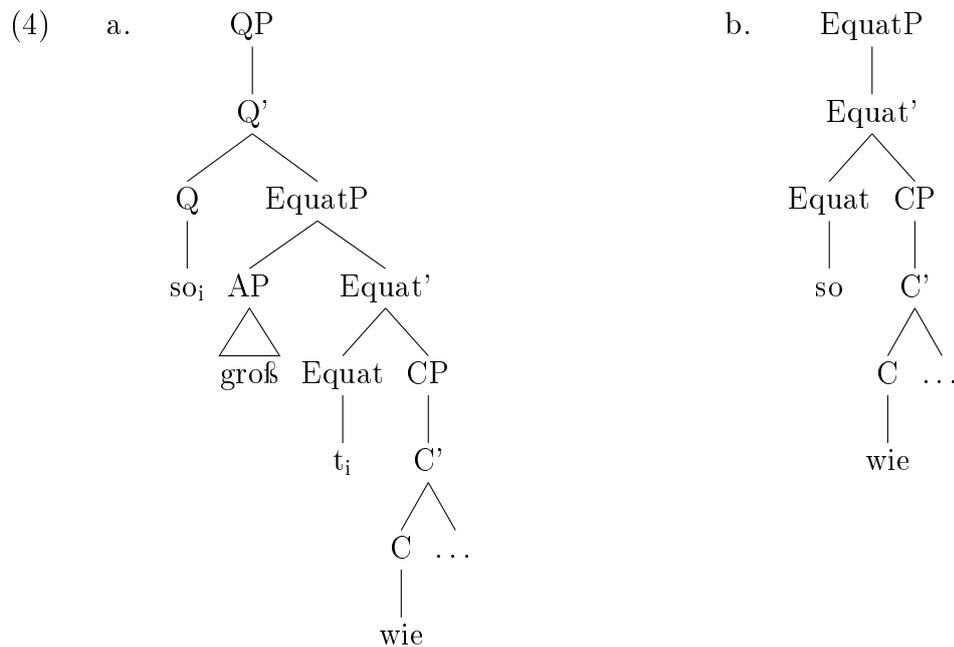
similar distribution in Hungarian:

- (2) a. Mari **olyan** magas, **mint** az anyja.
 Mary so tall as the mother.POSS
 'Mary is as tall as her mother.'
- b. Mari **olyan mint** az anyja.
 Mary so as the mother.POSS
 'Mary is like her mother.'
- c. Mari magas, **mint** az anyja.
 Mary tall the mother.POSS
 'Mary is tall like her mother.'

both *wie* and *mint* complementisers (see Jäger 2010; 2016, Bacskai-Atkari 2014a)



degree equatives: QP (Bacskai-Atkari 2014b, based on Lechner 1999)



but: doubling patterns differ in the two languages

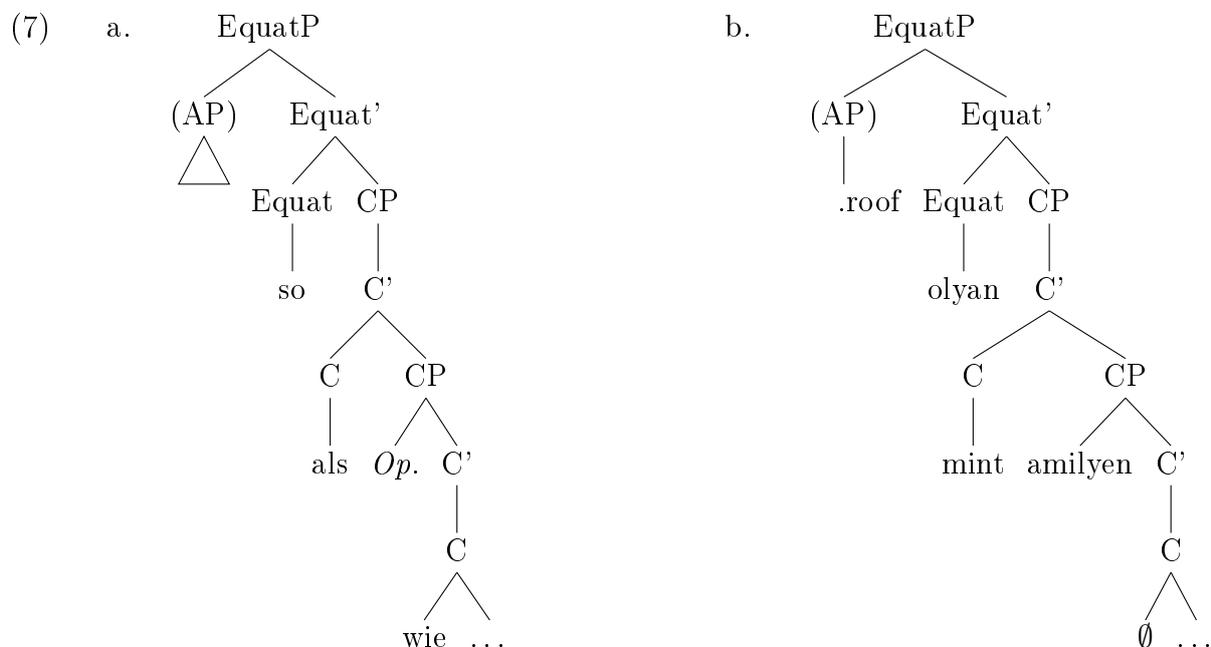
German: *als wie* dialectally and historically (see Jäger 2016; see also Eggs 2006, Lipold 1983, Weise 1918)

- (5) a. Dei Schweinsbraan schmeggd genau a **so** fad **ais** **wia** dei Schbinad
 your roast.pork tastes exactly PRT so stale than as you spinach
 ‘Your roast pork tastes just as stale as your spinach.’ (Bavarian)
 (Jäger 2016: 260, ex. 541a, citing Merkle 1975: 171)
- b. Das es akkerate **su als wie** bei eich.
 that.N is accurate so as as by you.PL.DAT
 ‘It is accurate, as is at your place.’ (Thuringian)
 (Jäger 2016: 261, ex. 541c)

Modern Hungarian: *mint* followed by an overt operator (Kenesei 1992, Bacskai-Atkari 2014a;b)

- (6) a. Mari **olyan** magas, **mint amilyen** (magas) az anyja.
 Mary so tall as how tall the mother.POSS
 ‘Mary is as tall as her mother.’
- b. Mari **olyan mint amilyen** az anyja.
 Mary so as how the mother.POSS
 ‘Mary is like her mother.’

structures:



canonical equative complementiser: located in different positions in German and Hungarian – question: why and to what extent this is related to the historical development of the two elements

proposal:

- doubling in German: due to reanalysis of *als* from the matrix clause to the subclause
- doubling in Hungarian: due to overt realisation of the comparative operator lower than the complementiser itself
- difference structural and not parametric – evidence from Old Hungarian: similar constructions possible in non-degree equatives

2 Equatives in German

original pattern: *als* (*(al)so*) the original equative complementiser – present in Old High German equatives already, replaced by *wie* during Early New High German (from the second half of the 16th century onwards), see Jäger (2010)

regular West-Germanic pattern:

- *as/so* in degree equatives and non-degree equatives
- matrix equative element *as/so*

present-day patterns:

- (8) a. Ralph is **as** tall **as** Peter.
- b. Sophie is **zo** groot **als** Lieke.
Sophie is so tall as Lieke
'Sophie is as tall as Lieke.'
- c. Ralf ist **so** groß **wie** Peter.
Ralph is so tall as Peter.
'Ralph is as tall as Peter.'

etymology:

- English: *as* derives from *eallswa* (*all + so*), forms *swelce* (*swilce, such*) and *so* (*swa*) also possible historically in *as*-constructions (see Kortmann 1997: 315–317; see also López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2014: 312–314 and references there)
- German: *als* derives from Old High German *also* (*all + so*), various forms of *so* possible historically in *as*-constructions (see Jäger 2010)
- Dutch: *als* derived from *also* (*al + so*)

→ elements *so* and *as* are essentially the same (either as matrix elements or as complementisers), later differentiation/changes naturally possible

German: *wie* an innovation – reanalysis from operator in the specifier into a grammaticalised C head, in line with general economy principles (“comparative cycle” in Jäger 2010; 2016, based on the “relative cycle” of Van Gelderen 2004; 2009; see also the arguments of Bacskai-Atkari 2014a)

former periods of German (before Early New High German): *as*-clause introduced by *als* (examples from the beginning of the 12th century)

- (9) a. wart aber ie **sô** werder man geborn [...] **sô** von Norwege Gâwân
 was.3SG but ever so noble.M man born as from Norway Gawain
 ‘But was there ever born a man as noble as Gawain from Norway?’
 (*Parzival* 651, 8ff; Eggs 2006: 22–23, ex. 14)
- b. [...] waer er **sô** milt **als** lanc, er hete tugende
 be.COND.3SG he so generous as tall he have.COND.3SG virtues
 vil besezen
 many possess.INF
 ‘If he were as generous as he is tall, he would have had many virtues.’
 (Walther von der Vogelweide, *Werke* Bd. 1, 118f; Eggs 2006: 22, ex. 12)
- c. dochn was dâ nieman **alsô** vrô **alsô** mîn her Gawein
 but was.3SG there noone so glad as my lord Gawain
 ‘but noone was as glad there as my Lord Gawain’
 (*Iwein* 2618f; Eggs 2006: 22, ex. 13)

question: diachronic relation of single *als*, single *wie* ad *als wie*

traditional view (see Jäger 2010): *als* → *als wie* → *wie*

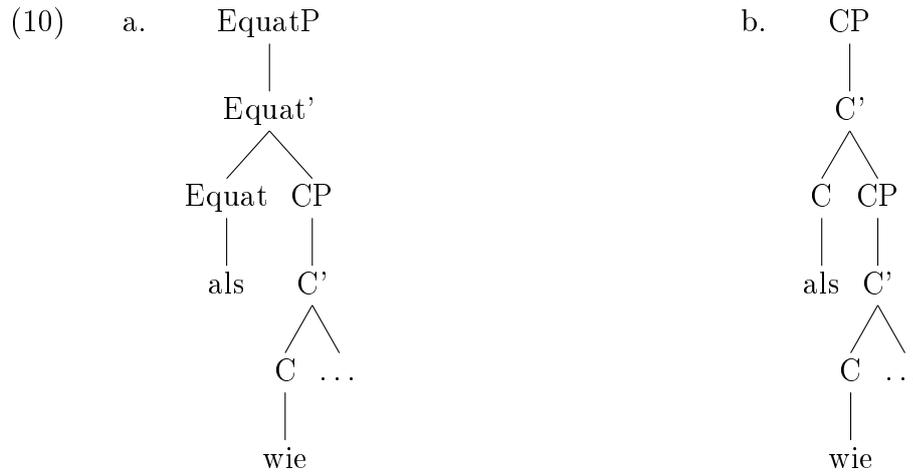
but: diachronic evidence suggests a different process (Jäger 2016: 291–298): *als* → *wie*
 → *als wie*

original of *als* in *als wie*: matrix equative element, not the previous complementiser (Jäger 2016)

change earlier in non-degree equatives, later in degree equatives (see Jäger 2016: 294)

reanalysis affecting the syntactic category – Hohaus & Zimmermann (2014): comparative constructions involving a maximality operator and a comparative operator in the semantics, neither is tied to a particular syntactic projection and to the notion of degree → certain flexibility in the syntax

structures (overt markers):



reanalysis possible in non-degree equatives:

- no intervening AP in the construction (no QP – see (4) above)
- matrix equative element not necessary in similatives
- also: ambiguity/relatedness of matrix and subclausal equative elements (*so/als(o)*)

once (10b) available, it can be extended to degree equatives (analogy)

3 Equatives in Old Hungarian

various elements attested in the subclause in similatives but only *mint* grammaticalised as a C head (Kántor 2013)

reanalysis of *mint*: standard reanalysis from specifier to head (economy principles, as for German *wie*; see Bacskai-Atkari 2014a)

grammaticalisation of *mint* leading to the loss of the original complementiser *hogy* (see Bacskai-Atkari 2014a):

(11) *hogy* → *hogy mint* → *mint*

etymology:¹

- *mint*: *mi* ‘what’ + *-n* (modal suffix) + *-t* (locative suffix)
- *miként*: *mi* ‘what’ + *-ként* (modal suffix; cf. Modern Hungarian *tanár-ként* ‘as a teacher’)
- *miképpen*: *mi* ‘what’ + *-képpen* (modal suffix consisting of *kép* ‘picture, likeness’ and the modal suffix *-n*)
- *monnal* – restricted option

corpus study: using the normalised part of the “Old Hungarian Concordance” corpus

number of hits (as of 23rd June 2017):

- *miképpen*: 738
- *mint*: 542
- *miként*: 478
- *monnal*: 189

→ *mint* not winning over other elements due to its higher frequency (hits include constructions other than non-degree equatives)

possible reasons:

- *mint* less transparent than *miképpen* and *miként* → more suitable for grammaticalisation, especially in degree equatives (cf. the difference between English *as* and *like* in terms of transparency)
- *monnal* restricted in its occurrence, probably available in certain dialects – in the normalised corpus: only in the Munich Codex and the Vienna Codex (closely related texts, parts of the “Hussite Bible”)

comparison of two Bible translations (gospels):

- Munich Codex: from 1466; contains the translations of the 4 gospels
- Jordánszky Codex: from 1516 and 1519; contains almost the entire New Testament and 7 books of the Old Testament

search: equivalents of the Latin non-degree equative markers *quasi* and *tamquam*

- *quasi* derives from *quam si* ‘as if’ but no longer transparent (see Tarrío 2011)
- *tamquam* derives from *tam* ‘so’ + *quam* ‘as’

¹The etymological data presented here are based on the following etymological dictionary: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen*, edited by Loránd Benkő.

results for the Munich Codex:

	<i>quasi</i>	<i>tamquam</i>	TOTAL
<i>mint</i>		2	2
<i>miként</i>	1	3	4
<i>monnal</i>	18	3	21

results for the Jordánszky Codex:

	<i>quasi</i>	<i>tamquam</i>	TOTAL
<i>mint</i>	5		5
<i>oly-mint</i>	14	2	16
<i>ugy-mint</i>	1		1
<i>miképpen</i>	1	6	7

oly-mint ‘so-as’ and *ugy-mint* ‘so.ADV-mint’ not Latin reflexes (most occurrences have *quam* in the original) – also: independent examples in the Kazinczy Codex (from between 1526 and 1541)

examples for *miként* and *mint*:

- (12) a. mert vala okèt taneito **mikent** hatalmas & nē mikēt az
because was they.ACC teaching as great not as the
iraf tudoc & a leualtac
scribes the Levites
‘For He taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes.’
(Munich Codex 36va; Mark 1:22)
- b. mert űg tanoyttya vala hűket, **mynt** kynek hatalma
because so taught.3SG they.ACC as who.DAT power.POSS is
vagyon rea, es nem mykeppen az yrafthwdok
it.SUBL and not as the scribes
‘For He taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes.’
(Jordánszky Codex 455; Mark 1:22)
- c. et stupebant super doctrina eius erat enim docens eos
and wondered.3PL on teaching his was.3SG truly teaching they.ACC
quasi potestatem habens et non sicut scribae
as power.ACC having and not like scribes
‘For He taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes.’

examples for *monnal* and *mint*:

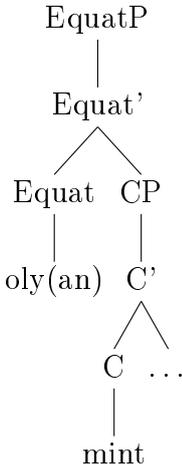
- (13) a. Monda ke i^c azocnac kic 9 hozia iottèn^c vala a
 said.3SG then Jesus those.DAT who.PL he to.him came.3PL be.PST the
 papoc fèièdèlmin^c / & a3 egha3 mèfterin^c & a
 priests chief.POSS.DAT the church captains.POSS.DAT the
 vènecn^c Ki iottètèc èn hoziam **mōnal** toluaiho3 toṛočkèl &
 elders.DAT out came.2PL I to.me as thief.ALL swords.INSTR
 rudackal meǵfógotoc èngemèt
 clubs.INSTR PRT.catch.INF.2PL I.ACC
 ‘Then Jesus said to the chief priests, captains of the temple, and the elders
 who had come to Him, “Have you come out, as against a robber, with swords
 and clubs?” ’
 (Munich Codex 81vb; Luke 22:52)
- b. Zola azert Jefus azoknak, kyk hŕ hōzya yettenek vala, az
 spoke.3SG thus Jesus those.DAT who.PL he to.him came.3PL be.PST the
 papy feyedelmek es templomnak meftery, es az veenek: Vgy
 priestly chieftains and church.DAT masters.POSS and the elders so
 yettetek **mynt** latorhoz fegywerekkel es dorongokkal
 came.2PL as thied.ALL weapons.INSTR and clubs.INSTR
 ‘Then Jesus said to the chief priests, captains of the temple, and the elders
 who had come to Him, “Have you come out, as against a robber, with swords
 and clubs?” ’
 (Jordánszky Codex 609; Luke 22:52)
- c. dixit autem Iesus ad eos qui venerant ad se principes
 said.3SG but Jesus to they.ACC who came.3PL to himself chiefs
 sacerdotum et magistratus templi et seniores **quasi** ad latronem
 priests.GEN and officials temple.GEN and elders as to thief.ACC
 existis cum gladiis et fustibus
 being with swords.DAT and clubs.DAT
 ‘Then Jesus said to the chief priests, captains of the temple, and the elders
 who had come to Him, “Have you come out, as against a robber, with swords
 and clubs?” ’

examples for *miként* and *oly* *mint*:

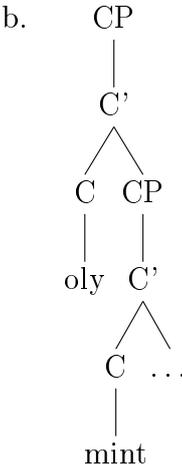
- (14) a. Es legottan felmēuen a vízbol / lata meńńèket
 and immediately up.coming the water.ELA saw.3SG heavens.ACC
 meńńituan & ŷcent lelket **miként** galambat le źaluā & marduā
 PRT.opening sacred spirit.ACC as dove.ACC down flying staying
 ɔaita
 upon.him
 ‘And immediately, coming up from the water, He saw the heavens parting
 and the Spirit descending upon Him like a dove.’
 (Munich Codex 36rb; Mark 1:10)
- b. Es legottan mynt ky yewe az vyzb’ol, lataa a’
 and immediately as out came.3SG the water.ELA saw.3SG the
 menyozzagot nythvan lenny, es yŷtennek zent lelkeet **oly**
 heaven.ACC open.PTCP be.INF and god.DAT sacred spirit.ACC so
mynth galamb kepeben le zallany
 as dove picture.POSS.INE down descend.INF
 ‘And immediately, coming up from the water, He saw the heavens parting
 and the Spirit descending upon Him like a dove.’
 (Jordánszky Codex 454; Mark 1:10)
- c. et statim ascendens de aqua vidit apertos caelos
 and immediately emerging from water sax.3SG open.PL.ACC heavens.ACC
 et Spiritum **tamquam** columbam descendentem et manentem in
 and spirit.ACC as dove.ACC descending.ACC and staying.ACC in
 ipso
 itself.ABL
 ‘And immediately, coming up from the water, He saw the heavens parting
 and the Spirit descending upon Him like a dove.’

status of *oly* in the subclause – adjectival equative marker, could appear either as a pred-
 icate or as an attribute but not as a verbal modifier – several other such occurrences
 in the Jordánszky Codex

structural change similar to German – from Equat to C:

- (15) a. 

```

    EquatP
    |
    Equat'
    /  \
    Equat CP
    |   |
    oly(an) C'
           /  \
          C  ...
          |
          mint
  
```
- b. 

```

    CP
    |
    C'
    /  \
    C  CP
    |  |
    oly C'
       /  \
      C  ...
      |
      mint
  
```

reanalysis possible: adjacency (also: no movement to QP, see (4) above)

reanalysis accompanied by phonological reduction: strong form *olyan* does not appear in these constructions, weak form *oly* does (cliticises onto the next element, not stressed)

but: *olymint* (and *ugymint*) not extended to degree equatives ↔ German *als wie*

possible reasons:

- grammaticalisation of *mint* involves *mint* reinterpreted as an element located above the comparative operator, see (11) – conflict with doubling patterns involving *olymint*, ultimate loss of *oly-mint* with the appearance of overt comparative operators (Middle Hungarian)
- matrix equative marker necessary in degree equatives (taking the gradable predicate as an argument), *oly* surface-similar with eh matrix element *oly(an)* – exceptional in the Hungarian syntactic paradigm, unlike in West Germanic; also: redundancy (three equative markers altogether, as opposed to two in non-degree equatives)

4 Conclusion

equative markers in German and Hungarian – doubling patterns synchronically and diachronically

- non-degree equatives less grammaticalised than degree equatives – more (transparent) operator elements possible (Old Hungarian), operator takes over earlier (German)
- doubling patterns can involve the lexicalisation of an operator in a lower CP (Hungarian)
- doubling patterns can involve the reanalysis of the matrix equative element into the CP – categorial change (German, Old Hungarian)
- patterns may be extended analogically to degree equatives – but: relative position of the equative complementiser and the relation between the equative marker and the complementiser matter (transparency)

differences between the two languages can be drawn back to more general properties, not parametric in nature

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