

Non-degree equatives and reanalysis

Julia Bacskai-Atkari

University of Potsdam

julia.bacskai-atkari@uni-potsdam.de

13th International Conference on the Structure of Hungarian
(ICSH13)
Budapest, 29–30 June 2017

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.'

Matrix equative marker

- 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)

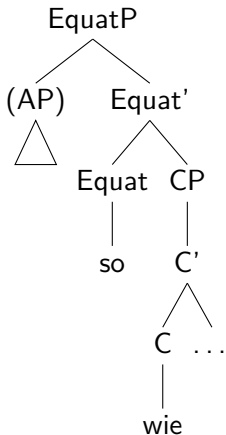
Hungarian

- (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.'

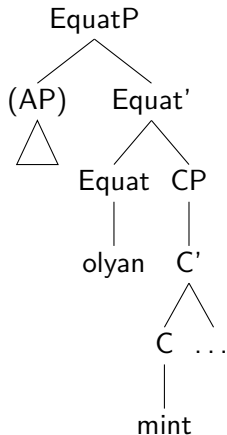
both *wie* and *mint* complementisers (see Jäger 2010, 2016, Bacskai-Atkari 2014a)

Structures

(3) a.



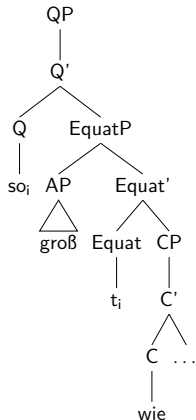
b.



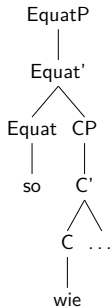
Degree equatives

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

(4) a.



b.



Doubling in 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**
your roast.pork tastes exactly PRT so stale as
wia dei Schbinad
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)

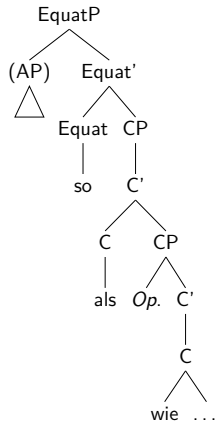
Doubling in Modern Hungarian

mint followed by an overt operator (Kenesei 1992, Bacskai-Atkari 2014a,b)

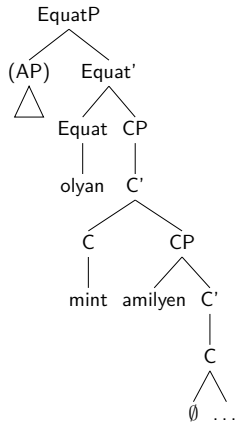
- (6) a. Mari **olyan** magas, **mint amilyen** (magas) az
Mary so tall as how tall the
anyja.
mother.POSS
'Mary is as tall as her mother.'
- b. Mari **olyan mint amilyen** az anyja.
Mary so as how the mother.POSS
'Mary is like her mother.'

Structures

(7) a.



b.



Question

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

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*)

German

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)

Earlier patterns

- (9) a. wart aber ie **sô** werder man geboren [...] **sô** von
Norwege Gâwân
'But was there ever born a man as noble as Gawain
from Norway?' (*Parzival* 651, 8ff; Eggs 2006)
- b. [...] waer er **sô** milt **als** lanc, er hete tugende vil
besezzen
'If he were as generous as he is tall, he would have had
many virtues.' (Walther von der Vogelweide; Eggs
2006)
- c. dochn was dâ nieman **alsô** vrô **alsô** mîn her Gawein
'but noone was as glad there as my Lord Gawain'
(*Iwein*; Eggs 2006)

Diachronic relations

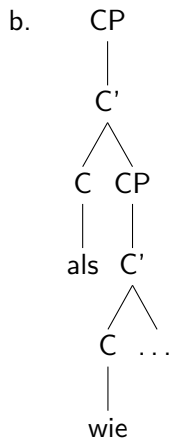
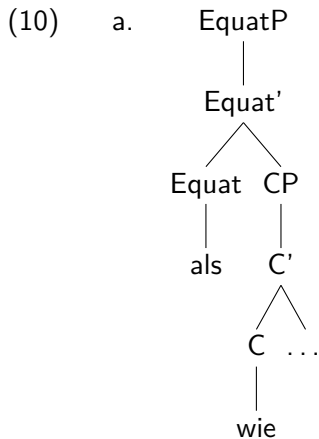
traditional view (see Jäger 2010): *als* → *als wie* → *wie*

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; change earlier in non-degree equatives, later in degree equatives (Jäger 2016)

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



Reanalysis 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)

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

- *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

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

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

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 Tarriño 2011)
- *tamquam* derives from *tam* 'so' + *quam* 'as'

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

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

Examples for *miként* and *mint*

- (12) a. mert vala őkét taneito **mikent** hatalmas & nē
 because was they teaching as great not
 mikēt az irafstudoc & a leualtac
 as the scribes the Levites
- b. mert űg tanoyttya vala hűket, **mynt** kynek
 because so taught be they as who
 hatalma vagyon rea, es nem mykeppen az
 power is it and not as the
 yrafthwdok
 scribes
- c. et stupebant super doctrina eius erat enim docens eos
quasi potestatem habens et non sicut scribae
 'For He taught them as one having authority, and not
 as the scribes.'

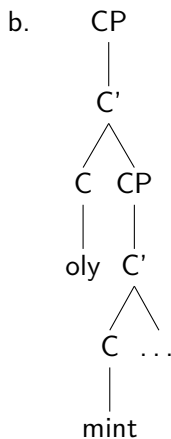
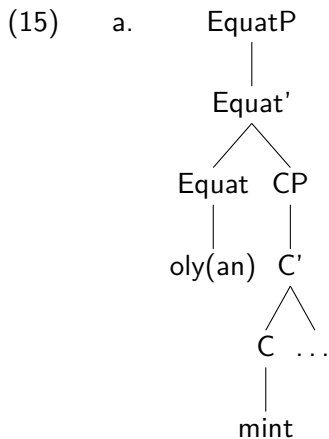
Examples for *monnal* and *mynt*

- (13) a. Ki iǝttètec èn hoziam **mōnal** toluaihoz tǝrǝckèl &
out came I to.me as thief swords
rudackal meǝfǝǝnotoc èngemèt
clubs catch I
- b. Vgy yettetek **mynt** latorhoz fegywerekkel es
so came as thief weapons and
dorongokkal
clubs
- c. **quasi** ad latronem existis cum gladiis et fustibus
'(...) "Have you come out, as against a robber, with
swords and clubs?" '

Examples for *miként* and *olymint*

- (14) a. & ſcent lelket **mikent** galambat le zaluā &
 sacred spirit as dove down flying
 marduā ɔaita
 staying upon.him
- b. es yſtennek zent lelkeet **oly mynth** galamb
 and god sacred spirit so as dove
 kepeben le zallany
 picture down descend
- c. et Spiritum **tamquam** columbam descendentem et
 manentem in ipso
 ‘(...) and the Spirit descending upon Him like a
 dove’

Structural changes



Reanalysis

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 *oly-mint*, 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)

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)

Thank you!

Danke!

Acknowledgements

This research was funded by the German Research Fund (DFG), as part of my project “The syntax of functional left peripheries and its relation to information structure”. The participation at the conference is supported by a travel grant from the Potsdam Graduate School.

References I

- Bacskai-Atkari, Julia. 2014a. Cyclical change in Hungarian comparatives. *Diachronica* 31(4). 465–505.
- Bacskai-Atkari, Julia. 2014b. *The syntax of comparative constructions: Operators, ellipsis phenomena and functional left peripheries*. Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam.
- Eggs, Frederike. 2006. *Die Grammatik von als und wie*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Gelderen, Elly van. 2004. *Grammaticalization as economy*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gelderen, Elly van. 2009. Renewal in the left periphery: Economy and the complementiser layer. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 107(2). 131–195.

References II

- Haspelmath, Martin & Oda Buchholz. 1998. Equative and similative constructions in the languages of Europe. In Johan van der Auwera & Dónall Ó Baoill (eds.), *Adverbial constructions in the languages of Europe*, 277–334. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hohaus, Vera & Malte Zimmermann. 2014. Equatives outside the domain of degree constructions. Talk delivered at: Linguistic Evidence 2014, Tübingen, Universität Tübingen, 13–15 February 2014.
- Jäger, Agnes. 2010. Der Komparativzyklus und die Position der Vergleichspartikeln. *Linguistische Berichte* 224. 467–493.

References III

- Jäger, Agnes. 2016. *Vergleichskonstruktionen im Deutschen: Diachroner Wandel und synchrone Variation*: Universität zu Köln habilitation.
- Kántor, Gergely. 2013. Hungarian *mint* as Conj⁰. Talk delivered at: 11th International Conference on the Structure of Hungarian (ICSH11), Piliscsaba, Pázmány Péter Catholic University & Research Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 29–31 August 2013.
- Kenesei, István. 1992. On Hungarian complementisers. In István Kenesei & Csaba Pléh (eds.), *Approaches to Hungarian 4*, 37–50. Szeged: JATE.

References IV

- Kortmann, Bernd. 1997. *Adverbial subordination: A typology and history of adverbial subordinators based on European languages*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Lechner, Winfried. 1999. *Comparatives and DP-structures*: University of Massachusetts Amherst dissertation.
- Lechner, Winfried. 2004. *Ellipsis in comparatives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lipold, Günter. 1983. Möglichkeiten der Komparation in den deutschen Dialekten. In Werner Besch et al. (eds.), *Dialektologie: Ein Handbuch zur deutschen und allgemeinen Dialektforschung*, 1232–1241. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

References V

- López-Couso, María José & Belén Méndez-Naya. 2014. On comparative complementizers in English: Evidence from historical corpora. In Nila Méndez-Naya Vazques (ed.), *Creation and use of historical English corpora in Spain*, 311–333. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Merkle, Ludwig. 1975. *Bairische Grammatik*. München: Heimeran.
- von Stechow, Arnim. 1984. Comparing semantic theories of comparison. *Journal of Semantics* 3. 1–77.
- Tarriño, Eusebia. 2011. Comparative clauses. In Philip Bardi (ed.), *Complex sentences, grammaticalization, typology*, 373–426. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Weise, Oskar. 1918. Die vergleichenden Konjunktionen in den deutschen Mundarten. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten* 13. 169–181.