Non-degree equatives and reanalysis

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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, Bacskaí-Atkari 2014a)
Structures

(3)  
a. EquatP
   |     |     |
   (AP) | Equat' |
   |     |     |
   Equat | CP |
   |     |    |
   so | C' |
   |    |    |
   C | ... |
   |    |    |
   wie |

b. EquatP
   |     |     |
   (AP) | Equat' |
   |     |     |
   Equat | CP |
   |     |    |
   olyan | C' |
   |    |    |
   C | ... |
   |    |    |
   mint |
Degree equatives

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

(4) a. QP
   Q'
   Q
   so_i
   AP
   EquatP
   \[\text{groß}\]
   Equat'
   CP
   t_i
   C'
   C ... 
   wie

b. EquatP
   Equat'
   Equat
   so
   CP
   C'
   C ...
   wie
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
*via* 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, Bacskaï-Atkari 2014a,b)

(6)  

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

(7) a. EquatP
    (AP) Equat'
    Equat CP
    so C'
    als Op. C'
    C CP
    wie ...

b. EquatP
    (AP) Equat'
    Equat CP
    olyan C'
    mint amilyen C'
    C CP
    ∅ ...
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* (*also*) 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: *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 geborn [...] 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): \( als \rightarrow als\ wie \rightarrow wie \)

but: diachronic evidence suggests a different process (Jäger 2016, 291–298): \( als \rightarrow wie \rightarrow als\ wie \)

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

(10) a. EquatP
    |    Equat’
    |    Equat  CP
    |     als  C’
    |      C ... wie

b. CP
   | C’
   | C  CP
   | als  C’
   | C ... wie
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 \( \text{tanár-}ként \) ‘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”)

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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

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Jordánszky Codex

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Examples for *miként* and *mint*

(12) a. mert vala őket taneito *mikent* hatalmas & nē because was they teaching as great not mikēt aʒ iraʃtudoc & a leualtac as the scribes the Levites

b. mert űg tanyttta 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 yraʃthwdok 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 *mint*

(13) a. Ki iőttételence hoziam mōnal toluaihoz tőrőckel & out came I to.me as thief swords rudackal megfoğnotoc 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. & űcent lelket **mikent** galambat le ʒaluā & sacred spirit as dove down flying marduā ʒaita staying upon.him

b. es űstennek 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

(15)  a. EquatP
     \[\quad \text{Equat'}\]
     \[\quad \text{Equat} \quad \text{CP}\]
     \[\quad \text{oly(an)} \quad \text{C'}\]
     \[\quad \text{C} \quad \text{...}\]
     \[\quad \text{mint}\]

b. CP
   \[\quad \text{C'}\]
   \[\quad \text{C} \quad \text{CP}\]
   \[\quad \text{oly}\]
   \[\quad \text{C'}\]
   \[\quad \text{C} \quad \text{...}\]
   \[\quad \text{mint}\]
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!
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References II


References V


