SYNTACTIC SYNONYMY: A CASE STUDY

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Abstract

The present paper outlines a historical change in Hungarian syntax by focusing on participial constructions and their clausal equivalents in ten different Hungarian translations of the Bible. The first part investigates the relative frequency of the relevant structures and, relying upon statistical data, it characterises the process of a shift from analytic to synthetic constructions. Then we analyse secondary semantic differences among the various structures (participial constructions, subordinate clauses and coordinate clauses) and propose that in the case of subordination the semantic relationship between the matrix sentence and the dependent clause is expressed in an explicit manner. However, if the meaning of the related participial construction is complex (combining features of temporal, causal, and instrumental relationships), a subordinate clause can express only one of these, and the other features are not represented in it. Coordination, on the other hand, especially asyndetic (conjunctionless) coordination and that involving the conjunctions *és, s* 'and', is more capable of embracing several shades of meaning. Thus, in terms of their semantic properties, coordinate clauses are more similar to participial constructions than subordinate clauses are. Finally, the paper raises some general ideas with respect to the theoretical background of this kind of shift in sentence construction. The framework of the study is what is called "traditional grammar", but it also introduces some terms of functional grammar.

1. Introduction

Opinions differ with respect to the possibility of capturing syntactic change in terms of general rules or tendencies. Benkő (1988, 395) emphasises the difficulties of making clear-cut statements about changes in syntactic structure: "primarily in the area of sentence construction, the fact that identical mental contents can be expressed in diverse linguistic forms may provide such ample variational possibilities and may result in such structural diversity in linguistic communication that their relationships can hardly or not at all be arranged into diachronic changes in terms of concrete historical linguistics. This is part of the reason why, compared to changes in other linguistic categories, it is a lot more difficult to reveal change relationships in historical syntax or to deduct them in an exact manner".

Authors often refer to general problems of historical syntax, including fi-
nite corpora and the resulting accidental gaps, lack of competence, the ample
possibilities of variation mentioned in the previous paragraph, etc. In spite of
these difficulties, an increasing number of claims can be found in the literature
about the possibility of modelling syntactic change: "We believe that while the
fact of change cannot be predicted, the bounds on change can be stated. It
is neither possible nor desirable that linguistic theory predict that a particu-
lar syntactic change will occur; it is both possible and desirable that a theory
sanction changes that do occur and rule out those that do not, and that it char-
acterize the mechanism(s) possible in such a shift" (Harris – Campbell 1995, 6).

The subject matter of this paper, the history of adverbial participles, is a
thoroughly researched topic in Hungarian linguistics. Several studies were ded-
icated to examining their relative frequency, as well as some of their semantic
and syntactic features in various periods of Hungarian. It is also a linguistic
commonplace that adverbial participial phrases were gradually supplanted by
clauses during the history of Hungarian. In this respect, this paper merely
presents additional (and concordant) data about the same topic on the basis
of a different corpus, the chosen segments of several Bible translations.

However, the analysis of the change serves two additional purposes as well.
On the one hand, we try to reflect upon this change from a systemic point of
view, i.e., trying to point out the structural characteristics of this shift: what
kind of synonymous structures replaced the previously preferred ones. Besides,
we also attempt to advance certain claims about the differences between these
grammatically synonymous structures.

Naturally, it cannot be disregarded that both the nature (translations)
and the size (two chapters from the Gospel) of the corpus may give rise to
scepticism about the validity of the results. As the process of translation
might leave its mark on the translated material, it could result in structures
which are marginal or virtually non existent in the grammar of the target
language. A further problem is that several translators used other sources
beside the Vulgate, which multiplies this possibility. In addition, an analysis
of two chapters in ten translations cannot be called a true representation of the
given period(s). Still, we believe that both claims can be refuted to a certain
extent. As the findings are in concordance with results of other studies based
on larger corpora and more varied sources, the hazards of such a limited corpus
can be at least alleviated. By way of compensation, this limited corpus offers
the opportunity of a (hopefully) more detailed case study.

The first part of the paper contains a summary of earlier studies con-
centrating on synchronic and diachronic characteristics of the adverbial par-

ticiple. Afterwards, statistical data will be presented on the assumed shift. Subsequently, the general idea of syntactic synonymy will be introduced, with respect to its possible role in syntactic change. Then the data will be analysed in terms of syntactic synonymy, and finally a possible model of this kind of shift will be sketched.

2. Characteristics of the adverbial participle

2.1. Synchronic description

-vA and *-vÁn* suffixed adverbial participles occupy an intermediate position between verbs and adverbs: they have a verbal meaning specifying circumstances of another action, event, object or person, e.g.,

(1) (a) Mat. 5, 1
          KNV[1] A   tömeg-et lát-va fel-ment a   hegy-re.
                the mass-acc see-VA pv-went the mountain-sublat
          KJB And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain.
     (b) Mat. 26, 40
          KNV Ezután oda-ment a   tanítványok-hoz, és   al-va   találta ők-et.
                Then   pv-went the disciple-allat   and sleep-VA found they-acc
          KJB And he cometh unto the disciples, and findeth them asleep.

The adverbial participle functions in the sentence most often as an adverbial of time, state, cause, or sporadically as an adverbial of purpose. However, it is characteristic of this adverbial participle that its meaning is often complex, frequently combining the features of time, cause and state, and there are several other possible combinations, most often referring to manner, but also to instrument, degree or purpose. Besides, the adverbial participle preserves all its verbal arguments in an adverbial role as well. It also distinguishes the adverbial participle from other non-finite verbs that the former permits an overtly specified subject:

(2) Mat. 22, 25
     KNV és   nem lé-vén utód-a,   ráhagyta a   feleség-é-t   a
          and not be-VÁn offspring-poss.3sg, left   the wife-poss.3sg-acc the
          testvér-é-re
          brother-poss.3sg-sublat
     KJB and, having no issue, left his wife unto his brother

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[1] 'KNV' stands for *Káldi-Neovulgáta*, a translation published in 1997; 'KJB' is the abbreviation of the *King James Bible*. For further characterization of the translations, see **3**.

A further attribute of this participle is that it has twofold temporal reference. On the one hand, it preserves the imperfective or perfective aspect of the verb it is derived from, thus indicating the procession of the action/event. On the other hand, it also expresses a relationship with its head, the finite verb: these adverbials can be antecedent, simultaneous or consequent. However, these two types of temporal reference are in correlation: imperfective adverbials are most often simultaneous, whereas perfective adverbials are usually antecedent.

(3) (a) Mark 7, 30
          KNV a   kislány-t az ágy-on   fek-ve találta (imperf. aspect, simultaneous verb)
              the girl-acc the bed-superess lay-VA found
          KJB she found…her daughter laid upon the bed

     (b) Mat. 2, 23
          KNV Oda-ér-ve egy Názáret-nek   nevezett város-ban telepedett le.
              get-VA   an Nazareth-dat named   city-iness dwelt   pv
                                                     (perf. asp., antecedent verb)
          KJB And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth:

2.2. Characteristics of adverbial participles: a diachronic survey

Both of the suffixes of the adverbial participle go back to the Proto-Ugric period and, according to A. Jászó (1991, 319–21, 344–9), the -vA form is more frequent in Early Old Hungarian, thus she assumes that this is the more ancient one. This assumption is further supported by the shorter form of the suffix and by the fact that there are certain postpositions which were originally verbs with -vA but became reanalysed as simple morphemes (e.g., *kezdve* 'begin-VA = from', *múlva* 'pass-VA = hence', *fogva* 'hold-VA = 1. from/since, 2. by virtue of'). During the Ancient and Old Hungarian periods several new participial suffixes emerged, including -*AttA*, -*t* (with obligatory possessive suffix and case marking), -*vAl*. However, -*AttA* can only be found in the earliest sources, and -*vAl* is dialectal in Modern Hungarian. About the syntactic role of non-finite verbs A. Jászó notes that "The abundance of non-finite verbs was a salient feature of sentence construction in Proto-Uralic and Proto-Finno-Ugric. Non-finite verbal constructions were equivalent to clauses. The main action or event of the sentence was expressed by a finite verb, and the secondary action or event by non-finite verbs" (ibid. 319).

Several studies have investigated the frequency of adverbial participles in various periods of Hungarian. Károly (1956) examined the features and frequency of nonfinite verbs in the earliest codices, JókK., BécsiK. and MünchK, and several other sources. He noted that it was a common feature of these

three codices that they were rich in nonfinite verbs (he collected 6000 tokens in these three manuscripts). Concerning the distribution of the two rival suffixes of the adverbial participle, Károly observed that -*vA* forms were unusual in the earliest codices, and they did not become significantly more frequent in his later Old Hungarian sources, either. When they occurred, their use was restricted compared to that of -*vÁn* participles, as they were mostly found either as adverbials of state or manner, or as grammaticalized parts of postpositions, whereas -*vÁn* was frequent in various adverbial roles.

Horváth (1991) examined -*vA* and -*vÁn* forms by comparing data from diverse types of sources of three successive periods (1. 1570–1615; 2. 1670–1715; 3. 1825–1850). His inquiry focused (among other things) on the relative frequency of the adverbial participles, and their adverbial role in the sentence. His statistics showed that adverbial participles were almost equally frequent in the three periods, however, in the first two the -*vÁn* form was predominant, whereas the third displayed a majority of -*vA* forms. In the first two periods -*vÁn* was frequent in various types of adverbials (time, cause, state, manner etc.) except for a special subtype, the construction copula + verb-*vA*, where the -*vA*-form prevailed. This position became the most frequent site of occurrence of adverbial participles by the third period; this partly accounted for the fact that the shorter suffix became more frequent by that period. Besides, the -*vA*-form superseded the -*vÁn*-form also in the role of adverb of manner or state by the third period, whereas -*vÁn* dominantly occurred in the other functions (adverb of time, cause or various combined features), so a certain functional split could be observed between the two suffixes.

Horváth (1992, 33–81) examined the contemporary situation of adverbial participles. His data show that among adverbial participles the distribution of -*vA* is 95.27%, compared to 4.73% of -*vÁn*-forms. The most frequent position of adverbial participles is the above mentioned copula + verb-*vA* construction, besides, adverbials of state and manner are the dominant roles. Participles formed with -*vÁn* mostly occur as adverbials of time or cause.

3. The method of the analysis

As mentioned before, the basis of this case study was two chapters (26 and 27) from the Gospel according to Matthew in ten different translations of the Bible. Three out of the ten represent the Old Hungarian period, the Munich-codex (1466), the Döbrentei-codex (1508) and the Jordánszky-codex

(1516–1519). Four translations fall in what is termed as Middle Hungarian,[2] that of Gábor Pesti (1536), János Sylvester (1541), Gáspár Károlyi (1590) and György Káldi (1626). Modern Hungarian is represented by three translations, a translation of Szent István Társulat (1976) [Saint Steven Society, henceforward Kat.], a translation of the Magyarországi Egyházak Ökumenikus Tanácsának Ószövetségi és Újszövetségi Bibliafordító Szakbizottsága [Committee of the Oecumenical Council of Hungarian Congregations for Translating the Old and New Testament] from 1975 (henceforward Prot.) and a translation of the Szent Jeromos Bibliatársulat [Saint Jerome Bible Society], which was published in 1997, and whose translators name their work Káldi-Neovulgáta (henceforward KNV), since they relied on the translation of Káldi.

The first step in the investigation was the structural analysis of the verses of each translation (assigning sentence and clause boundaries, construing the logico-semantic relationship between the clauses). The data were assorted on the basis of the Vulgate (i.e., on the basis of the Latin structures that were translated into Hungarian with adverbial participles, or with a corresponding clausal structure). This method is evidently questionable, as not all translations were based solely on the Vulgate, still, this seemed to be the best solution. The adverbial meaning of these participial constructions is varied to such an extent (Károly in his study cited above divided them into 57 groups, cf. Károly 1956, 160–2) that it would have been highly problematic to present the data on that basis, whereas there are only three Latin structures whose Hungarian correspondents are typically participial constructions, namely participium perfectum, participium imperfectum and ablativus absolutus. Besides, this grouping helped us to find out whether there are typical renderings of the Latin participles. The charts resulting from this analysis appear in the appendix.[3] Then a general statistical comparison followed, investigating the data in terms of frequency of participial constructions and their equivalents. Finally, a more detailed analysis took place regarding semantic differences between the synonymous constructions.

[2] The Battle of Mohács (1526) is considered to be a dividing line between Old and Middle Hungarian; on the one hand, the Turkish occupation brought about the decay of monastic culture; on the other hand, the emergence of Reformation, the spread of printing etc. created a new situation of language usage.

[3] This paper does not examine participles that occur frequently as matrix clauses of reported speech (e.g., *mondván* 'saying', *felelvén* 'responding'), as these represent a different subtype with different synonyms; for a detailed study of main clauses of reported speech in general, see Dömötör (2001, 337–69).

4. General statistical information

The following chart shows the statistical data of the passage in the translations. The cases in which the translation is neither a clause nor a participial structure but other constructions like a postpositional phrase or a different kind of non-finite verb will be analysed in section **5.1**.

Fig. 1
Frequency of participal constructions, clausal
equivalents and different translations
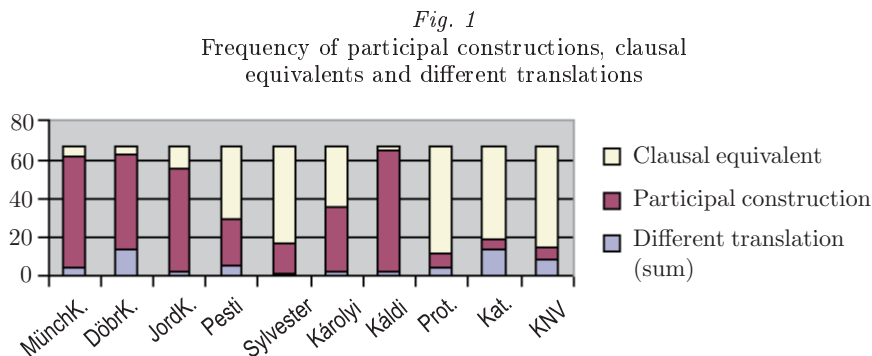
Although it is difficult to draw the line between individual preferences of the translators and phenomena originating in the characteristics of the given period, a few general conclusions may be drawn on the basis of the statistical data. Compared to the Old and Modern periods, variety is a salient feature of Middle Hungarian, as this is the age in which the individual differences between the translations are the largest. While the Old Hungarian translations are fairly homogeneous in preserving participial structures, and Modern Hungarian translations replace them generally with clauses, Middle Hungarian translators are divided: whereas Káldi retains participial constructions, the others more or less seem to aim at replacing these with clauses. As mentioned before, the data were assorted on the basis of Latin participles in order to investigate whether the structure to be translated influences the choice of the translators. As the charts in the appendix illustrate, the temporal and structural features of the Latin participles do not seem to influence the choice of the Hungarian equivalent in this respect.

It is a characteristic feature of MünchK. that it uses two kinds of adverbial participles: one is formed with the suffix -*AttA*, the other with -*vÁn*. According to Károly (1956, 214–6), the former occurs in larger numbers only in BécsiK. and MünchK., and its meaning is more restricted than that of -*vÁn* participles: they are always simultaneous with their head, and they only occur in active constructions. A further limitation is that they seem to occur with an agent

which is either the object of their verbal head or is independent of it; besides, inflection is obligatory in their case. They function as adverbials of state and/or time in the sentence:

(4)   (a)   Mat. 26, 40 (the agent is the object of the matrix verb)
            Vulg. Et venit ad discipulos suos et invenit eos dormientes [. . .]
            MünchK. Es iǫuǫ ǫ taneituaṅ-i-hoʒ   2   lėle   ǫk-èt   al-att-oc
                   and came he disciple-plposs.sg3-allat and found they-acc sleep-Att-poss.pl3
            KJB And he cometh unto the disciples, and findeth them asleep,
      (b)   Mat. 26, 47 (there is no direct relationship between the matrix verb and the agent)
            Vulg. Adhuc ipso loquente Iudas unus de duodecim venit
            MünchK. Meg   ǫ bèʒell-ètt-è   im   èl-iǫuǫ   Iudas
                   while he speak-Att-poss.sg3 particle pv-came Judas
            KJB And while he yet spake, lo, Judas, one of the twelve, came,

However, as charts 1 and 3 in the appendix illustrate, the distribution of Latin participium imperfectum and participium perfectum does not correlate with Hungarian -vÁn and -AttA. The only Latin-dependent choice between clausal and participial translations seems to be found with Károlyi, who used participial constructions more often when the participle was antecedent (participium perfectum), but a larger corpus might prove that this is only accidental.

The list of individual characteristics could be continued by mentioning that MünchK.[4] contains person-marked -vA participles (whereas this is ungrammatical in modern Hungarian, -vA and -vÁn being exclusively word final morphemes), but there is only one example of this in the material analysed, gǫlèkeʒueiec 'gather+vA+poss.pl3 = as they gathered') from 27,17.

It is characteristic of DöbrK. that, although generally it uses -vÁn participles, in quite a few cases there are examples of -t suffixed participles (26 : 21, 40, 43, 47, 71; 27 : 19, 32), which are in general similar to -vÁn, but these can be declined; these will also be examined in detail in **5.1**.

Among Middle Hungarian translations, Káldi's stands out with its frequent use of adverbial participles, whereas the translations of Pesti, Sylvester and Károlyi replace them to different extents. It is another common feature of these three translations that if the main clause and the dependent clause are in the same tense, then the finite verb of the dependent clause is in present conditional, whereas if the dependent clause is antecedent, then its verb is in past conditional. E.g.,

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[4] And, as Károly (1956, 208) noted, these can be found in large numbers only in BécsiK. and in the Gospel according to Matthew from MünchK., from which he draws the conclusion that the first part of BécsiK. and this part of MünchK. were translated by a different person than the rest of them.

(5) (a) Mat. 26, 39 (the participle is antecedent of the matrix verb)
   Vulg. Et progressus pusillum procidit in faciem suam [...]
   Sylvester Es   mikoroṉ onnan   egǵ keueſſę elębb   ment vol-ua /
             and when   therefrom a   little   forward went be-cond /
             arćzā-iā-ra   leburula
             face-poss.sg3-sublat fell
   KJB And he went a little farther, and fell on his face

   (b) Mat. 26, 47 (the matrix verb and the participle is simultaneous)
   Vulg. Adhuc ipso loquente Iudas unus de duodecim venit
   Pesti Ees meeg hogẏ Ieſus ʒola-na,   Ime   Iudas ... el iewe
             and still that Jesus speak-cond, particle Judas ... pv came
   KJB And while he yet spake, lo, Judas, one of the twelve, came,

Abaffy (1992, 170–7) explains the occurrence of conditional in the dependent clauses by an indirect influence of Latin coniunctivus, and she characterizes this phenomenon as the second stage of Latin impact, the first being when Latin clauses are translated word for word, the second when other Latin structures (such as Latin participles) are translated in this way, and the third when this kind of temporal concord occurs without an immediate Latin influence. Comparing statistics from the 15th and the 16th centuries, the frequency of the second type increases the most. This is where a correlation of changes can be attested: the accumulation of these Latin type agreements can be brought into connection with the use of adverbial participles, as Káldi and Old Hungarian translations also have the Latin-type agreement, but they prefer the adverbial participles to translate Latin participles, thus the agreement occurs more sporadically.

Modern translations are again similar to each other regarding the replacement of participles; a typical way of that is to replace participial constructions with nominal constructions (e.g., 26:8 *vacsora közben* 'during dinner', 26:21 *evés közben* 'during eating'). If preserved, participles most often occur as adverbials of state/manner (26:40, 43; 27:35, 39, 41; e.g., Kat. 26:40: *Aztán visszament tanítványaihoz, de alva találta őket* 'Then he returned to his disciplines, but found them sleeping').

5. Syntactic synonymy and syntactic change

Syntactic synonyms are constructions whose "semantic essence" is the same, but they differ regarding their syntactic role in the sentence and in their grammatical markers. Károly emphasises the importance of synonymy (lexical and syntactic alike) in language history as these are "rivals in the everyday routine

of speaking or writing, and in many respects the history of a language is nothing but the struggle between these rivals" (Károly 1980, 45). The significance of variety and its role in syntactic change is also noted by Harris–Campbell: "One respect in which syntax differs from phonology and morphology is that syntactic patterns allow for far greater creativity. We suggest that isolated creative, exploratory expressions are made constantly by speakers of all ages. Such expressions may be developed for emphasis, for stylistic or pragmatic reasons (to facilitate communication as in changes to avoid ambiguity or to foster easier identification of discourse roles), or they may result from production errors. The vast majority of such expressions are never repeated, but a few 'catch on'" (1995, 54).

Kiss characterizes the opposition between the variant syntactic synonyms as "a difference in the presentation of the referential content, secondary semantic difference, presentational opposition" (1993, 115). He distinguishes four types of syntactic synonymy on the basis of two criteria: 1. whether the structural difference changes the hierarchical construction of the sentence or it influences topic–focus structure; 2. whether whole sentences are synonymous (global synonymy) or only constituents (local synonymy). Constructions with non-finite verbs are included in the group of local synonyms, and within that in a subgroup of constructions which differ in their hierarchical structure. After this, he points out that nominal phrases and phrases with a non-finite verb differ from clausal synonyms in the following way: "predicative and nominal structures actually differ in the extent of their explicability" (ibid. 117). Making use of these aspects, we will first compare the participles with their non-clausal, and then with their clausal equivalents.

5.1. Participles and non-clausal equivalents

Non-clausal equivalents can be frequently found in DöbrK., which codex prefers to use a *-t* suffixed participle, which is close to the *-vA* participle, but is declinable, e.g., 26,21 *ǔ ettekben* 'he eat-t-poss.pl3-iness = as they were eating', 26,40 *alattokban* 'sleep-t-poss.pl3-iness = as they were sleeping', 27,32 *ki mentekben* 'prefix go-t-poss.pl3-iness = as they were going out'. Another possible non-clausal equivalent of the participial construction is the postpositional phrase. The modern Catholic translations (Kat., KNV) contain some examples of this, as *vacsora közben* 'dinner during = during dinner' instead of *vacsorálván* (*cenantibus*) in 26,26. Furthermore, the participle or participial

construction can be simplified by translating it with a simple adverb, a finite verb or a noun:

(6)   (a)   Mat. 27, 1 (substitution with adverb)
             MünchK. reggel lé-vén 'morning be-vʌn = being morning'
             Károlyi   reggel 'morning = in the morning'
       (b)   Mat. 27, 35 (substitution with a noun)
             Kat. KNV sors-ot vet-ve 'fate-acc throw-vʌ = by drawing lot'
             Prot. sorsvet-és-sel 'lot.draw-der-ins'
       (c)   Mat. 27, 41 (substitution with a single finite verb)
             Prot. gúnyolód-va mond-ták 'mock-vʌ said-pl3 = said mockingly'
             Kat. Gúnyolód-tak 'mocked-pl3 = they mocked'

As mentioned above, Kiss discusses non-finite verbal and other nominal constructions together, and his statement about these structures being less explicable than their clausal equivalents refers to both (e.g., *Látom jönni* 'I see him arriving' ∼ *Látom jövetelét* 'I see his arrival' vs. *Látom, hogy jön* 'I see that he arrives'). In this respect, however, structures with adverbial participles behave significantly differently from other non-finite or nominal structures, as adverbial participles can have as many complements and adjuncts as a finite verb can. Nevertheless, these nominalized phrases (as by 'nominalization' Kiss means the transformation of dependent clauses to nominal phrases, through a possible phase with non-finite verb as head) are sparse in the translations compared to clausal equivalents.[5]

5.2. Participles and clausal equivalents

Károly (op.cit.) mentions that there are theories which establish a certain communicative hierarchy between the synonymous forms on the basis of their structure. According to this, analytic structures are prior to synthetic ones, and the more analytic structures can be considered as bases of transforming more synthetic ones (two independent clauses → coordinate clauses → subordinate clauses → embedded phrases). Nevertheless, Károly himself acknowledges that historical syntax cannot use such a speculative derivation unless it is proved

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[5] A further subtype of non-clausal equivalents is the rendering of Latin participium imperfectum with Hungarian imperfective participle, e.g., 27,37 *praeteruntes – múl-ó-k* 'pass-ó-pl = leaving ones'. This kind of substitution is general (and natural): the Latin participle could not be translated by adverbial participles, as these are subjects of the sentence in Latin, which position the Hungarian adverbial participle can never take.

by historical data; yet he adds that at an early stage of research one can
hypothesize this general communicational derivation line, which the results of
the research might or might not contradict.[6]

Kiss (op.cit.) does not investigate the secondary semantic differences be-
tween synonymous coordinate and subordinate clauses. Still, on the basis of
his principles, this opposition would belong to the group where the hierarchy of
the whole of the sentence is influenced. As it was mentioned before, participial
vs. clausal constructions contrast in the local hierarchical structure, and here
explicability is the contrastive feature.

The following two figures illustrate a significant difference between periods
and translators regarding the use of synonymous clauses: the first contains co-
ordinate clauses, subordinate clauses and participial constructions, the second
only subordination and coordination.

Fig. 2
Scale of coordinate and subordinate
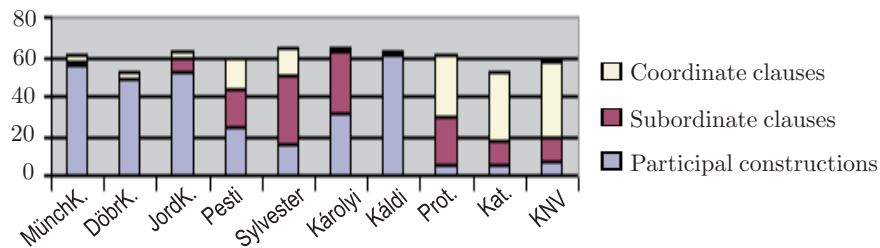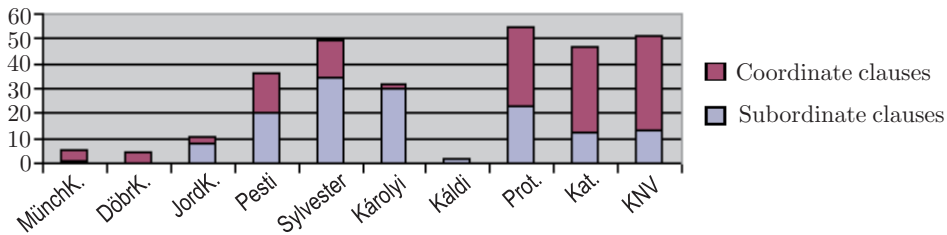clauses vs. participial construction

Fig. 3
Subordination vs. coordination

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[6] The general validity of this "Paratactic Hypothesis" is debated (cf. Harris – Campbell
     1995, 282–313).

In addition to the change summarized above, this chart reflects a further shift concerning synonymous clauses. Whereas Old Hungarian translations can be characterized by the dominance of participial constructions, it is a common feature of the translations of Sylvester and Károlyi that subordinate clauses prevail among the clausal synonyms. Modern translations show a further extension of this, i.e., an increase of coordinate (*and-*) clauses at the expense of both subordinate clauses and participial constructions. The change in the relative frequency of the synonymous structures shows the reverse of Károly's hierarchy: embedded phrases → subordinate clauses → coordinate clauses. Naturally, it is also plausible that there is no transition from subordinate to coordinate constructions, as in this case these data cannot be supported with the results of other studies, whereas these were available when contrasting them with participial constructions. Moreover, there are observations about the general predominance of coordinate structures in spoken language, and the modern translations might have only approached the spoken standard. Disregarding the diachronic problems in this respect, it can be still intriguing to compare subordinate and coordinate constructions.

To recapitulate, the data so far showed a shift in sentence construction from the synthetic (participial) to the analytic (clausal) type. In the following sections we will point out certain potential semantic differences between these constructions, partly to propose a possible secondary semantic difference between synonymous subordinate and coordinate constructions, and partly to modify the above mentioned communicational hierarchy.

5.3. A detailed analysis of the three synonymous structures

The following three sentences are different translations of Mat. 27, 28.

(7)   Vulg. Et exuentes eum, chlamydem coccineam circumdederunt ei

    (a)   ʒ   le vetkeʒtet-uē ọt-et   vè2es palaſt-al kọ2ṅekeʒe-c meg ọt-èt   (MünchK.)
          and pv undress-vÁn he-acc scarlet robe-instr put-pl.3   pv   he-acc

    (b)   ees mÿkoron le wetkeʒtet-tek wol-na ew-tet ada-nak reÿaÿa   barſon
          and when   pv undressed-pl.3 be-cond he-acc gave-pl.3 he-sublat velvet
          rwha-t,   (Pesti)
          garment-acc

    (c)   Levetkőztet-ték ő-t,   vörös katonaköpeny-t ad-tak   rá,   (KNV)
          undressed-pl.3   he-acc, scarlet greatcoat-acc   gave-pl.3 he-sublat

KJB And they stripped him, and put on him a scarlet robe.

The participle phrase in sentence (7a) is an adverbial of time. Although the original in Latin is a participium imperfectum (*exuentes*), the perfective stem of the Hungarian participle and the meaning of the sentence suggest that the participle is antecedent. This is further supported by (7b), where the Latin-type agreement in Pesti's translation also suggests an antecedent relationship; the dependent clause enhances[7] the meaning of the main clause with temporal reference. Sentence (7c) contains a coordinate clause as the equivalent of the Latin participle phrase. By the help of their perfective verbs, these two clauses also express temporal succession. Thus all these synonymous clause complexes contain temporal enhancement, but the reference to time is more explicit in the subordinate clause than in the non-finite and the coordinate constructions.

The relationship between the following sentences (Mat. 26, 8) is similar to some extent:

(8)   Vulg. sciens autem Iesus ait illis

   (a) Tud-uā   ke· iᶜ   mōda aʒoc-nac.   (MünchK.)
        know-vᴀn yet Jesus said   those-dat

   (b) Amikor Jézus észrevette, ez-t   mondta nekik. (Prot.)
        when   Jesus noticed, this-acc said   them

   (c) Jézus észrevette, s   így szólt hozzájuk.   (Kat.)
        Jesus noticed,   and thus said them

   KJB When Jesus understood it, he said unto them

Analysing first sentence (8b), the equivalent of the Latin participle *sciens* is again a temporal clause. However, the semantic relationships within the clause complex and its context would allow a further type of enhancement, i.e., causal. Both these components are present in the meaning of the participle in sentence (8a). (Complexity is a characteristic feature of participles, and a time cause combination is typical among the occurring combinations.) Sentence (8c) contains coordinate clauses. Similarly to (7c), the second clause can be interpreted as expressing temporal enhancement, the two perfective verbs themselves establishing temporal succession. Moreover, it can also be interpreted as causal enhancement for the very same reason (Jesus noticed and [then / so] he said). So among these sentences, participial constructions are more similar to coordination than to subordination: whereas the semantic relationship between the main and the dependent clause is marked explicitly, the structures with a

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[7] Enhancement as a term is used here in the following sense: "In ENHANCEMENT one clause enhances the meaning of another by qualifying it in one of a number of possible ways: by reference to time, place, manner, cause or condition" (Halliday 1985, 211).

participial construction or a coordinate clause are less specifically marked in this respect, therefore they can contain various shades of meaning.

It is also informative to compare the following sentences (Mat. 27, 4):

(9) Vulg. Peccavi, tradens sanguinem justum.

    (a) Bünhọtt-èm aʒ a2tatlā̄ vè2-t   èl-a2ol-uan.   (MünchK.)
           sinn-sg1   the innocent blood-acc pv-betray-vÁn

    (b) Vitkezt-em hoǵ elarult-am   az ārtatlan vir-t.   (Sylvester)
           sinn-sg1   that pv-betrayed-sg1 the innocent blood-acc

    (c) Vétkezt-em, mert   ártatlan vér-t   árult-am   el. (Prot.)
           sinn-sg1   because innocent blood-acc betrayed-sg1 pv

    (d) Vétkezt-em, el-árult-am   az igaz   vér-t.   (KNV)
           sinn-sg1,   pv-betrayed-sg1 the innocent blood-acc

    KJB I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood.

The meaning of the participle in sentence (9a) is again complex: it contains temporal, causal and manner enhancement simultaneously (*bünhödtem, amikor elárultam; bünhödtem, mert elárultam; bünhödtem azáltal, hogy elárultam*[8] = I sinned [when / as] I betrayed / [by] betraying). The subordinate enhancement in sentence (9b) refers only to means, whereas that in (9c) to cause. In sentence (9d), the first clause of the coordinate complex is elaborated on by the second. Verse 26, 12 contains an enlightening example of the semantic difference between subordinate clauses and participial constructions.

(10) Vulg. Mittens enim haec unguentum hoc in corpus meum ad sepeliendum me fecit.

    (a) Me2t   è2èʒt-ettè è   kènèt-et   èn teſt-em-re   èl-tèmèt-èndọ-nèc
           because pour-ATTA this chrism-acc I   body-poss.sg1-sublat pv-bury-part.inst-dat
           tọt èngemèt (MünchK.)
           díd me

    (b) Mert   ez · az   kenet-et   en test-em-be   boʟat-van · engem
           because this that chrism-acc I   body-poss.sg1-lat pour-vÁn   me
           temetes-re   totte (DöbrK., 216r)
           burial-sublat díd

    (c) mert   e   kenet-et   kÿt   eʒ aʒonÿallat een teſt-em-re
           because this chrism-acc who-acc this woman   I   body-poss.sg1-sublat
           bochata,   teue   eʒ-t   aʒ   een temeteſ-em-re   (Pesti)
           poured,   did   this-acc   the I   burial-poss.sg1-sublat

    (d) Mert   hoǵ ez kenet-et   ez aſßoṅiallat az en teſtem-re
           because that this chrism-acc this woman   the I body-poss.sg1-sublat
           boczāta /   ez-t   az   en eltemeteſ-em-re   tiuę. (Sylvester)
           poured   this-acc   the   I   burial-poss.sg1-sublat did

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[8] Károly categorizes the participle of this structure as an adverbial of manner expressing dual-aspect action (Károly 1956, 159).

(e) Mert   amikor   ez-t   a   kenet-et   test-em-re
    because   when   this-acc   the   chrism-acc   body-poss.sg1-sublat
    öntötte,   temetés-em-re   készített   elő.   (Prot.)
    poured,   burial-poss.sg1-sublat   prepared   pv

(f) Amikor ő   ki-öntötte ez-t   a   kenet-et   a   test-em-re,
    when   she pv-poured this-acc   the chrism-acc   the body-poss.sg1-sublat,
    a   temetés-em-re   tette. (KNV)
    the   burial-poss.sg1-sublat did

KJB For in that she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my burial.

Here (10a) contains an -*AttA* suffixed participle, which is an overt marker of simultaneity of the finite and the non-finite verb. Therefore, on the one hand, it can be analysed as an adverbial of time (when she poured, she prepared). On the other hand, it also refers to means (through pouring she prepared). (10b) also contains a participial construction with similarly complex meaning, although the exact nature of temporal relationship with its head is not marked with a specialized derivative suffix.

The clausal synonyms seem to "struggle" to convey this dual meaning. (10c) and (10d) try to disambiguate syntactic and semantic relationships by inserting deictic demonstrative pronouns. The attributive clause of (10c) contains neither the temporal nor the manner component. (10d) contains the marker of a subordinate relationship, *hogy* 'that', which may bind a subject clause; however, neither these subordinate complexes yield a palpable analysis. Modern translations (10e,f) only express the time component with temporal clauses.[9]

We are aware of the fact that these secondary semantic differences are not tangible and therefore it is difficult to describe or define them. They behave more or less similarly to conventional implicatures. Kiefer introduces these by comparing (among others) the following two sentences.

(11) (a) The girl is poor and honest.
     (b) The girl is poor but honest.

He assigns the presence of implicature to 'but'. The exact nature of this implicature (whether *but* implicates that it is suprising that someone is poor and still honest, or it alludes to the claim that the girl is poor, which is a disadvantage, but she is honest, which is an advantage) cannot be established: *but* instead of *and* implicates a certain type of contrast. He concludes as follows: "Conven-

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[9] *Mert* 'because' establishes causal relationship with the preceding sentence (and not between the clauses) in this case.

tional implicatures are the weakest among semantic consequence-relationships [. . .] Although conventional implicature is bound to linguistic substance, usually its exact content cannot be formulated" (Kiefer 2000, 30).

We wish to propose that the semantic relationship between the synomymous clauses compared above is parallel with conventional implicatures. Temporal relationship inherently combines with other types of enhancement in all the three types of synonymous structures, as they all contain verbs with certain temporal marking. The difference between these structures is that the adverbial participle is capable of embracing several types of enhancement: besides temporal, it can also express causal, manner and several other references. Out of these types (including temporal) subordinate clause complexes express only one, but they express that in an explicit way by virtue of their conjunction. On the other hand, asyndetic coordinate clauses, and clauses with the conjunction *és, s* 'and'[10] can also express several types of logico-semantic relationship simultaneously, similarly to participial constructions. These functional differences cannot be formulated as rules just as conventional implicatures cannot, but they exist as much as conventional implicatures do.

6. Modelling the shift from synthetic to analytic constructions

Before discussing the possibilities of constructing a model, one has to consider whether it is appropriate to speak about a change here. To quote Harris and Campbell again: "Only when the expression is used in additional contexts and is generalized [. . .] may we speak of a grammatical change having taken place" (1995, 54). In this sense, one cannot speak about a change in this case, as participial and clausal constructions are not in a source–innovation relationship: both are present in Modern Hungarian grammar, and they were both parts already of the grammar of Old Hungarian. However, there seems to be a regular relationship between the synonymous subordinate, coordinate and participial patterns, and the shift from participial to clausal constructions has been attested in several languages (this topic is discussed for Finnish by Hakulinen (1971), for Khanty by Csepregi (1983), and by Herman (1967) for Old French). As for the function of adverbial participles in Modern Hungarian, one can say that in those adverbial roles in which adverbial participles have become infrequent they behave similarly to "exploratory constructions", which

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[10] As *és* 'and' can appear as a conjunction of positive, negative and adversative addition as well as temporal and causal enhancement.

Harris and Campbell characterize as ones that "may be judged ungrammatical, stylistically odd, or foreign, but will nevertheless be understood. Under appropriate circumstances a native speaker might use them as a poetic expression, as a periphrasis motivated by the desperation of not finding a more appropriate means of expression, as a way of deliberately producing stylistic oddity or foreign flavour, or for other stylistic reasons or communicative needs. From our point of view, exploratory expressions are important because they sometimes become part of a grammar" (1995, 54).

Participial constructions with -*vÁn* (and also -*vA* in the above mentioned roles)[11] are in principle available in the grammar of Modern Hungarian, but whenever used, they are strongly marked stylistically (archaic, elaborate), and native speakers do not judge them unanimously grammatical. As mentioned before, the -*vÁn* form of the suffix is quite rare in Modern Hungarian. Considering these, we can agree with Haader (2001, 368) in that "the operation of syntactic synonymy has brought about slow, not extinctive (displacing), but coexisting changes in the system of complex sentences, resulting in a shift in proportions."[12] Having thus argued that this shift should be considered as a change, in the following paragraphs we will address the problems of modelling the change.

According to A. Jászó (1991, 321), the oldest Hungarian non-finite verbs show a bipartition in their development: on the one hand, they were reanalysed as finite verbs and thus integrated into the conjugation paradigm (the past tense marker -*t* derives from the ending of the perfective participle). On the other hand, they were embedded into the sentence as non-finite phrases. The adverbial participle could have developed in either direction. According to Károly, in MünchK. and BécsiK. there are numerous examples of inflected adverbial participles. He notes that there is apparently no functional difference between inflected and non-inflected participles, but via inflection the adverbial participle approaches the category of finite verbs. Furthermore, he adds that marking the agent even on non-finite verbs is characteristic of Uralic languages; this feature is so different from the Latin original that it especially emphasises

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[11]   Károly claims that the syntactic independence of the adverbial participle in the role of adverb of time or cause is stronger than in the role of adverb of condition or manner. He also points out that modern Hungarian prefers to replace the former two types with clauses, which can be explained by this greater independence (Károly 1956, 198).

[12]   Parallel cases can be found in other areas of historical development. For instance, Kiparsky notes that "in phonemic terms the Great Vowel Shift of English caused a major restructuring of the English vowel inventory; from the viewpoint of the phonological theory [...] it hardly changed it at all" (Kiparsky 1988, 390–1).

the characteristic Hungarian flavour of the translations.[13] Horváth (1991) mentions that in the first two periods examined he found more than forty cases in which adverbial participles occurred in the role of predicate, whereas in the third period there were only seven such cases. In his investigation of Modern Hungarian (Horváth 1992), however, there is only one instance of this.

There is further evidence of this possibility of participles being reanalysed as finite verbs. Velcsovné calls attention to the fact that in various periods and in the writings of several authors (codices of the 15th and 16th centuries, Bálint Balassa, Kelemen Mikes, Péter Apor), there are conjunctions between the finite verb and the adverbial participle. From this (and several other details) she concludes that in the competence of these authors an adverbial participle is equal to a third person singular finite verb in certain cases (1957, 105–10; 1981, 308–15). Examples from our segments of the Bible translations are:

(12) Mat. 27, 48
 Vulg.   Et continuo currens unus ex eis acceptam spongiam implevit aceto et imposuit harundini et dabat ei bibere.
 MünchK. Es legottan   aӡoc koӡӡọl eg èl fut-uan / vọn eg
          and immediately those out.of one pv run-vᴀn/ took one
          ӡ́oua2uā-t ꝣ bè-tọlte aӡt   èćet-tel /   ꝣ tè-uèn a· nad-2a
          sponge-acc and pv-filled that-acc vinegar-instr / and put-vᴀn the reed-sublat
          ꝣ   aduala iṅ-ṅa   nèki
          and gave   drink-inf-poss.sg3 him
 KJB   And straightway one of them ran, and took a spunge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink.

(13) Mat 26, 51
 Vulg. Et ecce unus ex his, qui erant cum Iesu, extendens manum exemit gladium suum, et percutiens servum principis sacerdotum amputavit auriculam eis.
 (a) DöbrK. Es ime   eǵ azok kọzzọl · ki-k   iesus-sal   vala-nak ·
             and particle one those out.of who-pl Jesus-comit was-pl.3
             kez-et   ki ńojt-van · ki hvza to-ret: es
             hand-poss.sg3-acc pv stretch-vᴀn pv pulled dagger-poss.sg3-acc and
             vag-van pap-ok pv́spọk-enek   zolga-iat: es el vaga
             cut-vᴀn priest-pl bishop-poss.sg3-dat servant-poss.sg3-acc and pv cut
             v́neki iob   fv́l-et   (218r)
             his   right ear-poss.sg3-acc

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[13] The only example within the analysed chapters of MünchK. is the already mentioned *gọlèkeӡ-ue-iec* 'gather-vᴀ-poss.pl3 = as they gathered') from 27,17.

(b) JordK.   Es yme   egy azokkezzel ky-k Jeſuſ-ſal   vala-nak,
              and particle one those.out.of who-pl Jesus-comit was-pl.3
              kez-eet   nyoyth-wa ky veeve hw̋ ffegywer-eeth,   es   meg
              hand-poss.sg3-acc stretch-vA pv took he weapon-poss.sg3-acc and pv
              ſeb-het-veen   az papy   feyedelem-nek egy zolga-yat,
              wound-der.-vAn the sacerdotal prince-dat   one servant-poss.sg3-acc
              es   el vaga hw̋neki ffyl-eet.
              and pv cut   his   ear-poss.sg3-acc

    KJB And, behold, one of them which were with Jesus stretched out his hand, and
         drew his sword, and struck a servant of the high priest's, and smote off his ear.

However, in Modern Hungarian the adverbial participle cannot be inflected,
and the occurrence of a conjunction between the participle and the finite verb
is ungrammatical. So one can conclude that there was a potential of reanalysis,
but it was not followed by extension, so from the point of view of historical
linguistics this is a deadlock.

Let us now turn to the properties of the shift as it actually happened.
Harris and Campbell summarize the generally accepted trigger for syntactic
change as follows: "A tension between the speaker's need for concise expres-
sions and the hearer's need for redundancy and more elaborated expressions is
often credited with causing change [...], and this is true for syntactic change,
just as for phonological or morphological change" (1995, 54). Herman pro-
posed the framework of communication theory: "there are situations in the
history of a language of which it is symptomatic that the conditions of mutual
understanding worsen to a certain extent, that is, the level of noise increases
[...] (1967, 166). By 'level of noise' he means such factors as mass influx and
assimilation of foreign speakers to a speech community; first stage of dialect
mixture; great division in a society concerning education, etc. If the level of
noise grows, its effect is counterbalanced by a more redundant code, which
in language would mean more redundant structures. He claims that "analytic
structures constructed of a larger number of words and following regular and
frequent patterns are more redundant than the so called synthetic structures
of the same function, which are condensed and correspond to rarer and more
varied structures; the spread of analytic forms is a characteristic feature of the
whole of the development of late Latin" (167). As mentioned before, a similar
shift from synthetic to analytic constructions was found in Finnish (Hakuli-
nen 1971) and in Khanty (Csepregi 1983). Both these authors mention that
this change could be motivated by contact (with Swedish in the case of Finnish,
and Russian in case of Khanty) and borrowing.

It is difficult to decide, though, what could have triggered the shift in
Hungarian. It is generally accepted that whereas the Hungarian lexicon was

strongly influenced by language contact, grammar reflects a moderate amount of direct foreign impact. Of course, contact could have served as a model, but to ascertain this would require extensive areal research. Herman's model is attractive, but the presence of the triggering factor, i.e., the increasing level of noise, is not easy to demonstrate in concrete cases. However, the phases of the shift could be hypothesized: the excessive functional load of the adverbial participle was reduced first by the functional split, and later another mechanism could have emerged, which aimed at polarizing the difference between the adverbial participle and the finite verb. This would harmonize with Károly's observation that adverbial participles are eliminated from more independent syntactic positions. Nevertheless, comparative investigations of larger sources from several periods are needed to form a true notion of the shift and the possible triggering factors. The following volume of the Historical Grammar of the Hungarian Language (investigating the Middle Hungarian period) will certainly be a mine of information in this respect, and its conclusions will be relevant for areal, typological and historical linguistics alike.

Appendix

The following charts contain the Hungarian equivalents of the Latin participium imperfectum, participium perfectum and ablativus absolutus, respectively. If the given Hungarian translation contains an adverbial participle, then its cell contains a plus, if not, then a minus sign. Non-finite verbal constructions are further highlighted by their background being shadowed: the background of adverbial participles is darker grey, whereas the background of other non-finite verbs is lighter. The abbreviation next to the plus sign stands for the role of the participle in the sentence (A_t = adverb of time, A_m = adverb of manner, A_{cause} = adverb of cause, A_{st} = adverb of state); only the first occurrence is marked thus, though. If the cell contains a minus sign, then the function of the clause is always indicated (a. subordinate clauses: S: subject clause, A_t: temporal clause, A_m: clause of manner, A_{means}: clause of means, A_{cause}: clause of cause; b. coordinate clauses: conn. = "connected sentence", referring to various kinds of loose logico-semantic relationship between coordinate clauses, including asyndetic and *and*-clauses; circ. = circumstantial clause, contr. = contrasting clause; c. div. = the translator divides the original participle and its head into two separate sentences). If the Hungarian clause contains Latin-type temporal agreement, that is also marked (Lat. = Latin-type agreement, ant. = the adverbial participle is antecedent, sim. = the adverbial participle is simultaneous).

Table 1: Hungarian equivalents of participium imperfectum

	MünchK.	DöbrK.	JordK.	Pesti	Sylvester
Chapter 26					
habens$_{6-7}$	+, A$_{st}$	−, omitted	−, omitted	−, appos. comp.	−, appos. comp.
videntes$_8$	+, A$_{t/cause}$	+	+	+	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.
sciens$_{10}$	+, A$_{t/cause/st}$	+	+	+	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.
mittens$_{12}$	+, A$_t$, -*ette*	+	+	−, attributive	−, S
edentibus$_{21}$	−, A$_t$, Lat. sim.	*v́ ettekben*	−, A$_t$, Lat. sim.	−, A$_t$, Lat. sim.	−, A$_t$, Lat. sim.
accipiens$_{27}$	−, conn	+, A$_{t/m}$	+	+	+
orans$_{39}$	+, A$_t$	+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.
dormientes$_{40}$	+, A$_{st}$, *alattoc*	*alattokban*	+	−, A$_{st}$ Lat. sim.	−, A$_{st}$ Lat. sim.
dormientes$_{43}$	+, A$_{st}$, *alattoc*	*alattokban*	+	−, A$_{st}$ Lat. sim.	−, A$_{st}$ Lat. sim.
accendens$_{49}$	+, A$_t$	+	+	−, conn.	+
extendens$_{51}$	+, A$_{m/t}$	+	+	−, conn.	+
dercutiens$_{51}$	+, A$_{m/t}$	+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.
tenentes$_{57}$	+, A$_t$	+	+	+	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.
surgens$_{62}$	+, A$_t$	+	+	+	+
sedentem, venientem$_{64}$	+, A$_{st}$ *v́lèttè, iouèttè*	+, *v́lven, ioṇi*	+, *ylwen, yewen*	−, *iewni, iewewt*	−, A$_{st}$
exeunte$_{71}$	+, A$_t$, -*ette*	−, *ki mentebe*	+	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.
Chapter 27					
videns$_3$	+, A$_{t/cause}$	+	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.	+	+
tradens$_4$	+, A$_{t/m/cause}$	+	+	−, A$_{means}$	−, A$_{means}$
abiens$_5$	+, A$_t$	+	+	−, conn.	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.
videns$_{24}$	+, A$_{t/cause}$	+	+	−, consecutive	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.
suscipientes$_{27}$	−, conn.	+, A$_t$	+	−, conn.	−, conn.
exeuntes$_{28}$	+, A$_t$	+	+	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.
plectentes$_{29}$	−, part.perf. as attrib. (*font*)	+, A$_t$	+	−, conn.	−, part.perf. as attrib. (*font*)
exspuentes$_{30}$	+, A$_t$	+	+	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.
exeuntes$_{32}$	+, A$_t$	−, *ki mentekben*	−, A$_t$, Lat. sim.	−, A$_t$, Lat. sim.	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.
mittentes$_{35}$	+, A$_m$	+	+	+	−, conn
sedentes$_{36}$	+, A$_{st}$	+	+	+	+
praeteruntes$_{39}$	−, part.imp. (*muloc*), subj.	−, part.imp. (*mvlok*), subj.	−, appositive clause	−, S	−, S
moventes$_{39}$	+, A$_{m/st}$	+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.
illudentes$_{41}$	−	+, A$_m$	−	−	+
stantes$_{47}$	−, part.imperf. (*alloc*), A$_{part}$	−, part.imperf. (*allok*), app. complement	−, appositive clause	−, appositive clause	−, appositive clause
auditenes$_{47}$	+, A$_{t/cause}$	+	−, appos. cl.	−, omitted	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.
currens$_{48}$	+, A$_{time}$	+	+	−, conn.	+
liberans$_{49}$	−, *megźa-badeitani*	−, *el zaba-deitania*	−, *meg zaba-doytany*	−, *meg ʒaba-dÿtanÿ*	−, clause of purpose
clamans$_{50}$	+, A$_{m/t}$	+	+	−, conn.	−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.
exeuntes$_{53}$	+, A$_t$	+	+	+	−, conn.
custodientes$_{54}$	+, A$_{cause/st}$	−, part.imp. (*ọri-ẓok*), appos.	+	−, appos. clause	−, appos. clause
ministrantes$_{55}$	+, A$_{cause/st}$	−, part.imp. (*zol-galok*), appos.	+	+	−, conn.
sedentes$_{61}$	+, A$_{m/st}$	+	+	−, non-restr. rel. clause	−, non-restr. rel. clause
abeuntes$_{66}$	+, A$_t$	+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.
signantes$_{66}$	+, A$_t$	+	+	+	−, conn.

Károlyi	Káldi	Prot.	Kat.	KNV
−, appos. compl.	−, appos. compl.	−, appos. compl.	−, div.	−, div.
+	+	−, A$_t$	−, *ennek láttán*	− *ennek láttán*
−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.	+	−, A$_t$	−, conn.	−, conn.
−, S	+	−, A$_t$	−, A$_t$	−, A$_t$
−, A$_t$, Lat. sim.	−, A$_t$, Lat. sim.	−, *evés közben*	−, *vacsora közben*	−, A$_t$
−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	+	+
−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.	+	+	−, div.	−, div.
+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
+	+	−, S (reorg.)	−, S (reorg.)	−, conn.
+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
−, *űlni, el iőni*	−, *űlni, el-jőni*	−, A$_{st}$	−, A$_{st}$	−, *ülni, eljönni*
−, A$_t$, Lat. sim.	+	−, A$_t$	−, A$_t$	−, A$_t$
+	+	−, A$_t$	−, A$_t$	−, A$_t$
−, A$_{means}$	+	−, A$_{cause}$	−, circ.	−, circ.
−, conn	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
+	+	−, A$_t$	−, div.	+
−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
−, part.perf. as attrib. (*tűnált*)	+	−, part.perf. as attrib. (*font*)	−, conn.	−, conn
−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
−, A$_t$, Lat. sim.	+	−, *kifelé menet*	−, A$_t$	−, A$_t$
+	+	−, *sorsvetéssel*	+	+
−, S	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
−, S	−, part.imperf. (*elő-ménők*), subj.	−, S	−, part. imperf. (*menők*), S	−, part. imperf. (*járók*), S
+	+	+	+	+
+	+	+	−, *gúnyolódtak*	+
−, appositive clause	+	−, part. imperf. (*állók*), A$_{part}$	−, part. imperf. (*állók*), A$_{part}$	−, part. imperf. (*állók*), A$_{part}$
−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.	+	−, attrib. clause	+	−, *hallatára*
+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
−, clause of purpose	+, A$_{purpose}$	−, clause of purpose	−, clause of purpose	−, clause of purpose
−, A$_t$, Lat. ant.	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
+	+	−, S	−, appositive clause	−, S
−, conn.	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
−, non-restrictive relative clause	+	−, non-restrictive relative clause	−, conn.	−, conn.
+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.

Table 2

Hungarian equivalents of participium perfectum

	MünchK.	DöbrK.	JordK.	Pesti	Sylv.	Károlyi	Káldi	Prot.	Kat.	KNV
CHAPTER 26										
contristati22	−, conn.	+, $A_{t/cause}$	+	−, conn.	+	+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
progressus39	+, A_t	−, conn.	+	−, conn.	−, A_t, Lat. ant.	+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
ingressus58	+, A_t	+	+	+		+	+	−, conn.	−, div.	−, div.
egressus75	+, A_t	+	+	+	−, A_t, Lat. ant.	+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
CHAPTER 27										
vinctum2	+, A_t	+	+	+	+	+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
ductus3	+, $A_{t/cause}$	−, conn.	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
acceptis6	+, A_t	+	+	+	−, conn.	+		−, conn.	−, contr.	−, conn.
flagel- latum26	+, A_t	−, part. perf. as app.	+	−, part. perf. as app.	+	+	−, part. perf. as attrib.	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
acceptam48	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.	+	−, A_t, Lat. ant.	−, A_t, Lat. ant.	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.

Table 3
Hungarian equivalents of ablativus absolutus

	MünchK.	DöbrK.	JordK.	Pesti	Sylvester	Károlyi	Káldi	Prot.	Kat.	KNV
Chapter 26										
facto₂₀ (p)	+, At/cause	+	+	−, At, Lat. ant.	−, At, Lat. ant.	−, At, Lat. sim.	+	−, At	−, At	−, At
cenanti-bus₂₆ (i)	+, At/cause, -atta	+	−, At, Lat. sim.	−, At, Lat. sim.	−, At, Lat. sim.	−, At, Lat. sim.	+	−, At	−, vacsora közben	−, At
dicto₃₀ (p)	+, At	+	+	−, At, Lat. ant.	−, At, Lat. ant.	−, At, Lat. ant.	+	−, At	−, conn.	−, At
adsumpto₃₇ (p)	+, At	+	−, conn.	+	+	+	+	−, conn.	−, div.	−, conn.
rectis₄₄ (p)	+, At	+	+	+	+	+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
loquente₄₇ (i)	+, At, -ette	−, ő zoltkaba	+	−, At, Lat. sim.	−, At, Lat. sim.	−, At, Lat. sim.	+	−, At	−, At	−, At
relicto₅₆ (p)	+, At	+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.		+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
Chapter 27										
tacto₁ (p)	+, At	+	−, At	+	−, At	−, reggel	+	−, At	−, At	−, At
projectis₅ (p)	+, At	+	+	+	−, conn.	+	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
initio₇ (p)	+, At	+	+	−, div.	+		+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.
congre-gatis₁₇ (p)	+, At	+	+	+	−, conn.	−, At, Lat. ant.	+	−, At	−, omitted	−, conn.
sedente₁₉ (i)	+, At, -ette	−, ölében	+	−, At, Lat. sim.	−, At, Lat. sim.	−, At, Lat. ant.	+	−, At	−, At	−, At
accepta₂₄ (p)	+, At	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.	+		−, conn.	−, div.	−, conn.
flexo₂₉ (p)	+, At/st	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−, conn.	+
viso₅₄ (p)	+, At/cause	+	+	−, At, Lat. ant.	−, At, Lat. ant.	−, At, Lat. ant.	+	−, At	−, láttára	−, láttán
accepto₅₉ (p)	+, At	+	+	−, At, Lat. ant.	−, At, Lat. ant.	−, At, Lat. ant.	+	−, conn.	−, conn.	−, conn.

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