STRUCTURAL SYNONOMY AND FORMAL VARIANTS: RELATIVE CLAUSES AND THEIR PARALLELS IN SIX EARLY HUNGARIAN TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

ADRIENNE DÖMÖTÖR

Abstract

Structural synonymy is exhibited by sets of expressions that are capable of conveying the same denotative content but are differently constructed and hence have slightly different meanings. Synonymous structures, due to the general complexity of syntactic phenomena, are not quite coterminous semantically, stylistically, or pragmatically; hence, they are not synonyms in the strict sense. It is exactly such differences that make it possible for them to offer a choice for the language user.

Formal variants, in the author's view, are sets of syntactic structures that do not exhibit any semantic diversity despite their formal differences; hence, they are freely interchangeable (or, in the case of historical phenomena, are assumed to be such on the basis of available data). The existence of formal variants is the basis of the subsequent emergence of synonymous constructions.

This paper discusses variation and structural synonymy in one type of complex sentences: those involving relative clauses. The data are taken from parallel passages of six different Hungarian translations of the Bible written between 1416 and 1626, supplemented by two contemporary translations of the same passages.

1. Introduction

Synonymy is a well-researched area of semantics. Ever since the history of linguistics began, a host of definitions have been put forward, trying to embrace all or some of its aspects. Relevant studies have mainly been concerned with the synonymy of lexemes, and they have been primarily published in volumes on word semantics or conducted in the course of the preparation of various dictionaries of synonyms.

However, **structural** (or syntactic) **synonymy** is one of the least researched topics both synchronically and diachronically, as well as both with respect to Hungarian and as an issue in general linguistics (in spite of the fact that many analyses touch upon its effects). Language users, due to their ability of paraphrasis, can recognise the phenomena of structural synonymy and apply them more or less deliberately in their spoken

or written utterances; they even get directly confronted with those phenomena in the course of language learning, translating or interpreting.

The point of departure of the present study is the claim that language involves structural synonymy, not directly depending on the synonymy of words, in all phases of its history; such structural synonymy is based on linguistic changes of earlier periods and is the basis, in turn, of further linguistic changes to come. The fact that competing variants usually coexist for some time, with all its synchronic/diachronic effects, is common knowledge. "What may strike the strictly synchronicist student of language as a superfluous instance of variation is in fact a vehicle of linguistic motion and, as such, has a double nature. From the point of view of synchronic information flow, it ensures the efficiency of communication; from that of the history of language, it ensures its mobility" (Róna-Tas 1978, 385). But the types of variation usually discussed in handbooks of historical linguistics are mainly lexical, morphological, or phonological.

Therefore, it is in the area of syntactic structures this time that I have been trying to find answers to the question of what the characteristic stages of the development of certain synonymous forms are; and how the coexistence of older and more recent forms—as Károly (1980, 45) puts it, "the fight of competing forms that constitutes the history of a language"—actually comes about. In the context of the question raised, a category emerged that has not yet been investigated: the category of 'formal variants'.

1.1. Synonymous syntactic structures and formal variants

Structural synonymy is constituted by a pair/set of expressions that are capable of conveying the same denotative contents but are differently constructed and hence have slightly different meanings. **Synonymous structures**, due to the general complexity of syntactic phenomena, are not necessarily coterminous semantically, stylistically, or pragmatically (hence, they are never strict synonyms); it is exactly such differences that make it possible for them to offer a choice for the language user. Two syntactic structures are said to be synonymous if they can be substituted for one another without the denotative meaning of the portion of text including them undergoing a major change. (For other definitions of the synonymy of statements cf., e.g., Kiefer 2000, 26.) Kiss (1993, 115) captures the contrast between syntactic synonyms as a matter of different presentations of the same referential content, that is, as a secondary se-

mantic difference, a presentational opposition. Haader (2002, 76) defines synonymous syntactic forms as functional variants of each other, where the possibility of choice is given by the fact that identity and difference are simultaneously present in them.

Formal variants, on the other hand, are sets/pairs of syntactic structures that—despite their formal differences—do not exhibit any semantic distinction; in other words, they are freely interchangeable (or, in the case of historical phenomena: assumed to be such on the basis of available data). The basis of the emergence of synonymous constructions is the existence of formal variants: structures that are differently shaped but are probably of the same function initially may get coloured into synonyms as time goes by.

This paper discusses variation in one type of complex sentences: those involving relative clauses. It reviews the devices of creating such constructions but does not deal with lexical differences or grammatical ones that are internal to the clauses concerned.

1.2. The material investigated

The choice of material is motivated by the definite nature of the text of Bible translations: the Hungarian constructions that are intended by the translator to reflect the original as accurately as possible are undoubtedly closely related to one another as well. (It is another issue what degrees of that relatedness can be observed in the parallel texts.) On the other hand, biblical texts—just because of their definite nature—are inappropriate for the investigation of some related questions, hence an analysis of other authors and other works may reveal further aspects of the issue in the future.

The data are taken from three chapters (Matthew 10–12) of six different translations of the Bible from the Late Old Hungarian and Middle Hungarian periods (the 15–17th centuries). The approximately 130 constructions found in the material exhibit four different degrees of relationship: identity, substantial difference, formal variation, and synonymy.

It is most infrequent for identical constructions to occur in all of the parallel places. It is much more usual for some of the texts to contain identical constructions while the others have formal variants or synonymous solutions. Wherever there are identical constructions in all six translations, these are due to Latin sentences that are quite simple to in-

terpret and translate and whose Hungarian equivalents show no or little variability (even if it would be possible in principle).

The other extreme, substantial difference among our sources, occurs very rarely. János Sylvester's aspiration to Erasmian precision sometimes results in a surplus of content: SylvB.[1] 15v: "Nemde ket verebeczket egǵ kůſded pinzeñ adna kiel, *mell' pinz aſſnak mondatik*" 'Are not two sparrows sold for a small amount [*that is called an 'as'*]?' / Mt 10,29: "Nonne duo passeres asse veneunt" / PestiB. 19v: "Nemde keet werebet hoʒnake hogÿ el agÿak egÿ kÿſ penʒen" 'Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing?' (and roughly similarly in the other translations). Sometimes— apparently without reason—some piece of content is left out: KárB. 10r: "Es ne féllyetec azoktól, kic az teſtet ǒlhetic meg, *(0)* hanem féllyetec attól, à ki..." 'And fear not them which kill the body: but rather fear him which...' / Mt 10,28: "Et nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus, *animam autem non possunt occidere;* sed potius timete eum qui..." / PestiB. 19v: "Ees ne fellÿetek aʒoktol, kÿk meg ewlÿk aʒ teſtet, *aʒ lelket kegÿg nem ewlhetÿk meg*, de fellÿetek inkab aʒt, kÿ..." 'And fear not them which kill the body, *but are not able to kill the soul:* but rather fear him which...' (and roughly similarly in the other translations).

The aim of this paper is to present characteristic tendencies with respect to formal variants and synonymous constructions. For comparison, we use corresponding portions of the Vulgata and two present-day translations as well. In citing data, however, we do not necessarily list all sources in all cases. The Latin original and the modern versions are given wherever the phenomenon at hand makes in necessary; the historical sources are quoted as dictated by the distribution of the constructions analysed but—apart from rare exceptions—at least one of the Old Hungarian texts (MünchK., JordK.), one of the Middle Hungarian Protestant translations (PestiB., SylvB., KárB.), and the single Middle Hungarian Catholic version (KálB.) are invariably included.[2]

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[1] See List of Abbreviations at the end of this paper.

[2] The excerpts are taken from the following sources. **Late Old Hungarian period**: *Müncheni Kódex* (after 1416/1466) [MünchK.]; *Jordánszky-kódex* (1516– 1519) [JordK.]. **Middle Hungarian period**: *Wÿ Teſtamentum maǵjar nÿeluen.* Vienna, 1536. (translated by Gábor Pesti) [PestiK.]; *Vy teſtamentū maǵar ńelweñ.* Újsziget, 1541. (translated by János Sylvester) [SylvK.]; *Az Szent Biblianac masodic resze. (...) Wrunc Iesvs Christvsnac Wy Teſtamentuma.* Vizsoly, 1590. (translated by Gáspár Károlyi) [KárB.]; *Szent Biblia.* Vienna, 1626. (translated by György Káldi) [KálB.]. **Present:** *Biblia. Istennek az Ószövetségben és Újszövetségben adott kijelentése.* Református Zsinati Iroda, Budapest,

2. Formal variants

Formal variants, as has been mentioned, are constructions that only differ from one another with respect to their form, i.e., whose differences do not involve their meaning. In the area of relative clauses, differing conjunctions or phoric pronouns (cf. Dömötör 2001) are responsible for formal variants.

Such variants come into being when, in addition to an existing means of expressing a certain function, another form begins to be used for the same function without—intitially, at least—the constructions assuming different roles. The key constituents of constructions constituting formal variants may emerge parallelly (e.g., *mikoron / mikort* 'when') or one may historically derive from the other (e.g., *ki / aki* 'who').

Formal variants are characterised by the fact that, within a given period, the language user does not find any relevant difference between them, hence (s)he is free to make her/his choice. As time goes by, however, they may undergo differentiation of meaning and the forms that used to have the same role may cease to be interchangeable without any consequence: they either turn into synonyms (like relative clauses introduced by *ki / aki* 'who') or undergo specialisation and drift away from one another (like relative clauses introduced by *ki* 'who' vs. *mi* 'that'). In some cases, formal variants may coexist for quite a long time (like *(az) a dolog, ami... / (az) a dolog, amely...* 'the thing which...').

2.1. Constructions with *az / amaz* 'that'

In the periods under scrutiny, these constructions undoubtedly functioned as formal variants: both phoric pronouns were also able to express simple deixis. (This also applies to the phoric pronoun *azon* 'that', cf. Dömötör 1995, 671.) Before the head of an attributive clause, only a single determiner was used. *Az* could either be a definite article or a demonstrative (phoric) pronoun. On the other hand, *amaz* (and *azon*) were able to disambiguate the phoric pronoun meaning.

1995 [Prot.]; *Ószövetségi és Újszövetségi Szentírás.* Szent István Társulat, Budapest, 1996 [Cath.]. The texts are from the original or facsimile versions, except MünchK. that is quoted from Nyíri (1971); KálB. whose 1732 edition has been consulted; and the two contemporary translations that are taken from a CD-ROM entitled *Bibliatéka* (Arcanum Adatbázis Kft.). English glosses are based on corresponding passages in King James' Bible (1611).

By the Middle Hungarian period, the combination of demonstrative pronoun plus article came to be generally used, and in a construction *az a* 'that' (literally: that the) the role of *az* as a phoric pronoun became unambiguous. Nevertheless, *amaz* did not necessarily assume a special meaning at that time (cf. (1b)):

(1) (a) MünchK. 17rb: ọ Il'les ki iọuendọ

   (b) KárB. 11r: ő *amaz* Illyẹs, az ki el jő̈uendő̈ vala

   (c) KálB. 2: 283b: ő az Illyés, a' ki el-jő̈vendő̈
                    'this is Elias, which was for to come' (Mt. 11,14)

It was only later that *amaz*—with a definite article by then—specialised in the meaning of differentiation from another specified item. *Azon* remained to be used without an article and to express simple deixis.

2.2. Constructions with *ki* 'who' vs. *mi* 'that', *mely* 'which'

Occurring with antecedents whose denotations did not have the semantic feature 'human', these constructions apparently coexisted in Late Old Hungarian and Early Middle Hungarian as formal variants. In Old Hungarian, the conjunction *ki* was most generally used both for persons and for nonpersons (like Latin *qui, quae, quod*). *Mely* and *mi* hardly occurred, usually referring to non-human entities. By the Middle Hungarian period, the differentiation of these formal variants became more dynamic: *ki* began to be restricted to antecedents having the semantic feature 'human', gradually replaced by *mely* with respect to nonpersons (cf. (2d–f)):

(2) (a) MünchK. 17va: kèʒde ʒidalmaʒni mēd a· *vaʒoſocat kicbèn* ſoc ioʒagoc lọttèn^c uala

   (b) JordK. 386: kezde gonozt mondany az *varaſoknak, kykben* hw̋ naǵ ſok yozagokat tet vala

   (c) PestiB. 21v: keʒde feddenÿ aʒ *waraſokat, kÿkben* ew ſok chodakat tewt wala

   (d) SylvB. 17r: elő̈kezde ßamlalni gonoſſagokat az *vāroſoknac, az mell'ekben* ű̈ ſok iſteni tehetſighit ielentette vala

   (e) KárB. 11r: kezdé Ieſus ßemekre hánni az *városoknac, az mellyekben* Iſteni erő̈ által való tſudákat tő̈tt vala

   (f) KálB. 2: 283b: kezdé ſzemekre hánni a' *váraſoknak, mellyekben* igen ſok cſodái lő̈ttek
                    'began he to upbraid *the cities wherein* most of his mighty works were done' (Mt. 11,20)

Figure 1 shows percentages of occurrence of *ki, mi, mely* with nonhuman antecedents.
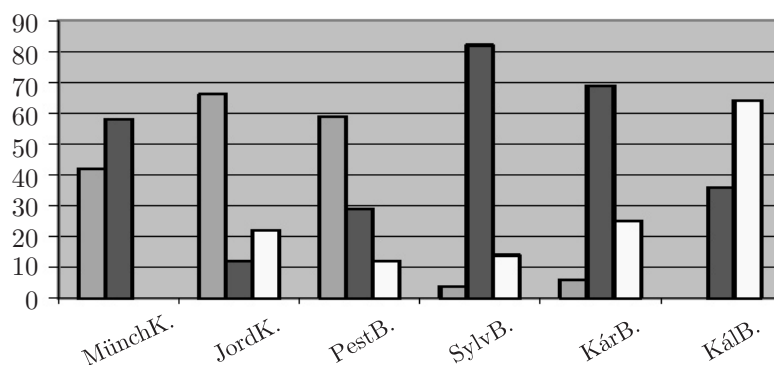

Fig. 1

The distribution (in %) of *ki* 'who', *mi* 'what', *mely* 'which' with nonhuman antecedents (*ki*: grey column, *mely*: black column, *mi*: white column)

In the earlier translations—up to and including Pesti's—*ki* refers to nonhuman antecedents in large numbers (cf. (2a–c)). In later texts— beginning with Sylvester's—this happens in exceptional cases only, and in Káldi's translation, in the 17th century, not at all. Given that the texts by Pesti and Sylvester are a mere five years apart, this spectacular difference cannot be ascribed to the passage of time (and to usage chang- ing over time); it is much more likely that an existing tendency has been recognised and deliberately used from Sylvester onwards.

In parallel with the repression of *ki*, the share of *mely* and *mi* as used with nonuman antecedents shows gradual increase beginning with JordK. In Middle Hungarian, *mely* outnumbers *mi* until Káldi (see section **2.3** on the use of these two conjunctions). It is peculiar and probably represents individual usage that in the earliest text, MünchK., *mely* occurs more frequently than *ki* (the usage of the translator thus being ahead of his time by more than a hundred years).

The Bible translations investigated here suggest that the differentia- tion of the use of *ki* vs. *mi / mely* according to their reference to human vs. nonhuman antecedents was a tendency strengthened into a rule from the middle of the 16th century. However, an analysis of texts from di- verse authors and diverse genres has shown that the use of *ki* with a nonhuman antecedent did not count as an idiosyncrasy even as late as the 18th century (Dömötör 2000, 199). This fact suggests, on the one

hand, that translators of the Bible were exceptionally conscious language users of their time. On the other hand, it cautions us not to regard our conclusions drawn from an investigation of the usage of translators of the Bible as general truths about the given period in all cases.

2.3. Constructions with *mi* 'that' vs. *mely* 'which'

The data suggest that the constructions *(az,) (a)mi...* (lit. '(that) what') and *(az,) (a)mely...* '(that) which' (i.e., constructions of the conjunctions *mi / mely* with—overt or covert—**non-attributive** phoric demonstrative pronouns) were formal variants in Old Hungarian and in Early Middle Hungarian. In translations of this period, the latter occurs more frequently (cf. (3b,c) with a phoric pronoun and (3a,d) without). Later, however, *(a)mi* begins to become generally used in this function. In Károlyi's text, in the late 16th century, such vacillation is not widespread any more, whereas Káldi consistently uses this construction as is regularly done today (cf. (3e)). By the end of the period under scrutiny here, then, differentiation of a type of constructions with nonhuman heads took place:

(3) (a) MünchK. 17ra: Meṅṅètec hiꝛdeſſetecmeg Ianoſnac / *mellèket* hallottatoc

     (b) PestiB. 21r: Menẏetek el mongẏatok meg Ianosnak aꝛokat *mellÿeket* hallottatok

     (c) SylvB. 16v: es kŏuetſigkippeñ beſſillĩtek meg az Janoſnak *ezeket az mellèket* hallotok

     (d) KárB. 10v: Mennyetec el, és mondgyátoc meg Jánoſnac, *az mellyeket* hallottoc

     (e) KálB. 2: 283b: El-menvén jelentſétek-meg Jánoſnak, *a' miket* hallottatok 'Go and shew John again *those things which* ye do hear and see' (Mt. 11,4)

The result of that differentiation survives to the present day; *(az), ami...* characterises high-standard usage (and is regarded as regular), but *(az), amely...* is also found in less fastidiously formed, especially spoken, utterances.

In constructions of the type *(az) a dolog, (a)mely...* '(that) the thing which' (i.e., constructions with—overt or covert—**attributive** phoric demonstrative pronouns), *(a)mely* exhibits rather consistent use in the periods investigated, suggesting a regularity in the making:

(4) (a) MünchK. 17va: ha Sodomaban lọttèc volna *è ioꝛagoc mellèc* te bènnèd lọttèc

    (b) PestiB. 22r: ha ſodomakba lewttenek wolna *eʒ chodak, melÿek* lewt-
tenek te benned

    (c) SylvB. 17r–v: ha az Sadamanak vāroſiban ielentettevolna az iſten *az* ů̋
ſok iſteni *tehetſighit, melleket* te benned ielente

    (d) KárB. 11r: ha Sodomában, *azoc az Iſteni erő́c* lettek vólna, *mellyec* te
benned lettec

    (e) KálB. 2: 284a: ha Sodomában lő̋ttek vólna *a' cſodák, mellyek* te-benned
lő̋ttek

                               'if *the mighty works, which* have been done in thee, had been
done in Sodom' (Mt. 11,23)

However, in this type of constructions, the choice between *ami* vs. *amely*
failed to stabilise later on; in this role these constructions remained as
formal variants to the present day, even though the construction *(az) a*
dolog, amely. . . 'the thing which' is the more prestigous variant; e.g.,

(4) (f) Prot.:   Ha Szodomában mentek volna végbe *a csodák, amelyek* benned
történtek

    (g) Cath.:   Ha Szodomában történtek volna *azok a csodák, amelyek* benned
történtek

2.4. Constructions with *ki / aki* 'who', *mi / ami* 'that', *mely /* *amely* 'which'

In the periods we are investigating, *ki / aki* etc. appear to exist as
formal variants (in the use of these pronouns as conjunctions). Their
compound form including *a(z)-*, as variants of the simple (noncompound)
translations of Latin *qui, quae, quod,* came into being by a reanalysis
of uninflected phoric pronoun + conjunction. It becomes more frequent
during the Middle Hungarian period (cf. (5d–f)):

(5) (a) MünchK. 16vb: *Ki* fogad tùtǫkèt èngemèt fogad

    (b) JordK. 385:   *ky* fogad tyteket, enghem fogad

    (c) PestiB. 20v: *Valakÿ* tÿteket fogadand engemet fogad

    (d) SylvB. 16r: *Az ki* tů̋tǒ̋kǒ̋t fogadbe hāzāba, enghemet fogadbe hāzaba

    (e) KárB. 10v: *Az ki* titeket bę fogad, engem fogad bę

    (f) KálB. 2: 283b: *A'ki* titeket bé-fogad, engem fogad-bé

    (g) Mt. 10,40:   *Qui* recipit vos me recipit
                             '*He that* receiveth you receiveth me'

Figure 2 shows percentages of occurrence of the two versions of the con-
junction: the one without an anterior constituent vs. the one with *a(z)-*.
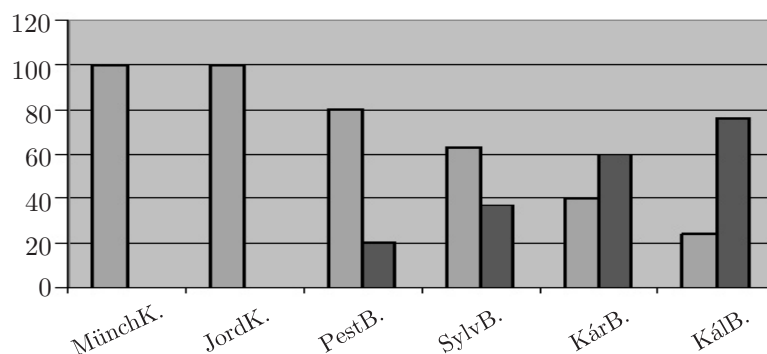
Fig. 2

The distribution (in %) of *ki* 'who'vs. *a(z)-ki* 'who'
(*ki*: grey column, *a(z)-ki*: black column)

The Old Hungarian period is predominantly characterised by the conjunctions lacking the anterior constituent (even though the material of this investigation does not include compound forms, they do sporadically occur already in that period). In the Middle Hungarian translations, conjunctions involving *a(z)-* become increasingly frequent text by text, their proportion surpasses that of plain conjunctions by the end of the period studied; the tendency thus predicts the later total victory of the compound version.

The spread of the variants involving *a(z)-* is the most conspicuous in the *ki / aki* type. Of *mely / amely*, the compound form only occurs sporadically. The noncompound corresponding to *ami* is very rare; probably *aki*—that got very frequent in the Middle Hungarian period—whirled along the conjunction *mi / ami* that began to be widely used at that time, or maybe the additional homonymy of *mi* 'what/that' with *mi* 'we' also played a role in the fast spread of the variant *ami* (Haader 1997 shares the latter view).

Due to the dash of the compound forms, constructions involving the conjunctions *ki / mi* and *aki / ami* later—after the period under scrutiny here—cease to be formal variants: because of the stylistic difference that arises between them, they join the ranks of synonymous structures by *ki* and *mi* becoming archaic or poetical. The difference between *mely* and *amely*, on the other hand, remains slight: the plain variant often occurs in texts of diverse genres; it does not count as archaic but has more prestige than the compound variant and is mainly used in writing. However, present-day translations of the Bible consistently use *amely* as opposed to *mely*, a fact suggesting that *mely*—following the lead of *ki*

and *mi*—is being ousted from modern usage, even in the most elevated styles (cf. (4f–g) above).

It is to be noted here that example (5), in addition to the alternation of *ki / aki*, exhibits another variant: *valaki* 'someone, whoever' (5c).

Relative clauses functioning as subject and object of the main clause —following the Latin model in Bible translations—are often preposed in the sentence. That position is especially favoured by conditional clauses. Thus, conditional meaning may easily be taken as implied in such constructions even where no overt marker of conditionality is present; the form prefixed by *vala-* appearing in some of the parallel places may express this possibility. Conjunctions of the type *aki* and *valaki*, often occurring parallelly in preposed clauses and both having a formal surplus over *ki*, could (have) develop(ed) a formal convergence. This is shown by cases where Latin *quicumque* 'whoever' is translated by *aki* (cf. (6b)) by translators who otherwise use all the three forms *ki*, *aki*, and *valaki*:

(6) (a) JordK. 385:   *vala ky* ytalt adand egynek ez aprok kezzel, . . . nem vezty el hw erdemeet
     (b) KárB. 10v: *az ki* italt ád ezec kŏzzűl czac az kiſſebiknec, . . . nem veßti el az ŏ iutalmát
     (c) KálB. 2: 283a: *valaki* italt ád egynek e' leg-kisſebbek-kŏzzűl . . . el nem veſzti jutalmát
     (d) Mt. 10,42:   *quicumque* potum dederit uni ex minimis, . . . non perdet mercedem suam
                           '*whosoever* shall give to drink unto one of these little ones . . . he shall in no wise lose his reward'

However, in the appropriacy of these pronominal conjunctions for such a role, their inherent meanings must have had a larger share. That inherent meaning shows a basic difference with respect to definiteness vs. indefiniteness, a crucial ingredient of the expression of conditionality, too. The significant number of counterexamples—involving postposed relative clauses and/or the lack of *vala*-prefixed paralleles—suggests that constructions involving *aki*-type forms did not, after all, become formal variants of those involving *vala-* in which conditionality is made explicit (see section **3.1** on the synonymy of such constructions).

3. Synonymous structures

As was pointed out earlier, synonymous structures differ from formal variants in that the meanings of the former (but not the latter) are slightly

different even though their contents are basically the same. Therefore, the language user chooses, either consciously or in a spontaneous manner, between constructions of non-identical meaning when (s)he selects one of the synonymous possibilities rather than the other.

The secondary semantic differences of synonymous constructions may be of various degrees. They can be slight, representing nuances of emphasis on the individual aspects of what is being said; or they can be more marked, turning some implicit piece of information into an explicit one, or enhancing one of several potential meanings that the construction is able to convey. Instances of the latter possibility are cases in which relative conjunctions of the same basic function but of partly different roles occur in parallel, or in which the relative clause itself alternates either with a syntactic constituent (a specific, infrequent version of this case involves lesser semantic differentiation) or with a coordinate clause. These types of cases constitute the subject matter of the rest of the present paper.[3]

The alternation of conjunctions shows that the generally accepted definition of synonymy—two words are said to be synonymous if they can be substituted for one another without the denotative meaning of the portion of text including them undergoing a major change—is only valid for what are known as 'autosemantic' words (i.e., content words), whereas for function words, carrying a relational meaning, it is not. With respect to the latter, it is the constructions as wholes, rather than the individual words in them, that the criterion of interchangeability defines

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[3] Synonymous possibilities that serve the purposes of slightly emphasising some aspect of what is being said will deserve further study later on. In the area of structures involving relative clauses, these show up in the following alternations: 1. Between conjunctions: parallels of the type *amely helyen / ahol* 'at which place / where'. 2. Between phoric pronouns: zero vs. overt phoric pronoun; word order of the phoric pronoun; pronouns of 'near' vs. 'distant' reference (in Hungarian, the former invariably involve front-harmonic vowels, whereas the latter involve back-harmonic ones; used as phoric pronouns, back-harmonic (distant) forms are always possible, whereas front-harmonic (near) or 'exophoric' forms constitute a marked, more emphatic solution); alternative pronouns (e.g., *az / olyan* 'that / like that': JordK. 383: "Vala ky azert meg maradand mynd veghyg, az *ollyan* ydwezwl" / SylvB. 15v: "de valaki mind vighigleñ bikeſiguel valo tŭriſben marad-meg, *az* ŭduο̊zŭl" 'but he that endureth to the end shall be saved'; Mt. 10,22). 3. Between constructions of phoric pronoun plus head: parallels of the type *azt, akit / azt a férfit, akit / ot, akit* 'that, whom / that man, whom / him, whom'. 4. Between constructions of phoric pronoun plus head plus conjunction: parallels of the type *azt a könyvet, amelyet / azt a könyvet, amely könyvet / azt, amely könyvet* 'that book, which / that book, which book / that, which book'. 5. Between various orders of the individual clauses.

as synonymous with one another. The most straightforward example of this is the relationship between conjoined clauses and pseaudo-relative clauses as shown by the parallel conjunctions *és* 'and' / *ami* 'that'; but a number of other constructions could also be mentioned as relevant evidence. For instance, such evidence is the use of diverse conjunctions for subordinate clauses of the same type (here, temporal):

(7) (a) SylvB. 18r: Eſ Jeſus *minek vtanna* megeſmerte volna maſüa mene on-
            nan
    (b) KárB. 11v: Ieſus pedig ezt *mikor* meg értette vólna, el méne onnét
    (c) Mt. 12,15: Iesus autem *sciens* recessit inde
            'But *when* Jesus knew it, he withdrew himself from thence'

Mikor 'when' introduces a simultaneous subordinate clause whenever at least one of the events (or states) is continuous. On the other hand, in cases where two non-continuous events (or states) are involved, their combination suggests sequentiality. The participle *sciens* 'knowing, understanding' (cf. MünchK. 18rb: "Ihc ke *tuduan* èlmene onnaton") is translated in (7b) by an inchoative verb form 'learned, began to understand', thus the construction expresses a sequence of events (similarly but with a participle: JordK. 389: "Jeſus kedyglen *meg thudwan* el meene oñan"). This is further emphasised by the writer of (7a) by using the conjunction of anteriority *minekutána* 'whereafter', also providing for the possibility of causal interpretation. The two constructions are synonymous, but the two conjunctions—outside of the constructions—are clearly not.

3.1. Alternation of relative conjunctions

The result of a choice between implicit meaning and that made grammatically explicit is shown by the use of alternative conjunctions (as examples (7a–b) above also demonstrate).

Conditionality can be represented in relative clauses both unmarked and marked. In the periods investigated here, plain conjunctions alternate with *vala-* and *a(z)-* forms.

Constructions including a noncompound conjunction (e.g., *ki* 'who') can have two types of relationships to conditionality: either they do not involve it at all, or they suggest it implicitly. Most constructions including a conjunction with *vala-*, by contrast, make conditional meaning explicit. The use of the indefinite pronoun (e.g., *valaki* 'someone') as a conjunction is made possible by an earlier process of reinterpretation of interrogative–

indefinite pronouns as relative pronominal conjunctions. Later on, the expression of conditionality by a mere *vala-* conjunction is mostly going out of use, but adverbial constructions of frequency (e.g., *valahányszor* 'whenever, at any time', lit.: 'in some number of cases') have preserved that possibility to the present day.

It is more difficult to take sides with respect to the relationship, in that period, between constructions involving *a(z)-* (e.g., *aki* '(he) who') and implicit conditionality. One thing is certain: this form gets stabilised later as a conjunction of nonconditional relative clauses. However, parallel sentences from the Middle Hungarian period do not give us a good enough clue to assume that some authors in some instances wanted to drop the possibility of an implicit secondary meaning by using constructions involving *a(z)*-prefixed conjunctions. All that can be said is that, as time goes by, *a(z)*-prefixed conjunctions are increasingly often used in parallel with *vala*-prefixed ones as well as in cases where such parallel is not available (see section **2.4**).

The Latin conjunction *quicumque* 'whoever' is usually translated using *vala-* forms. In such cases, with very rare exceptions, identical translations arise, a fact that shows both the unambiguousness of the Latin construction and the customary nature of its reflection in Hungarian:

(8)   (a)   MünchK. 18va: *valaki* mondand igèt embeɔfia èllèn megboʟattatic nèki

     (b)   JordK. 390:   *vala ky* mondand vala my bezedet embernek ffya ellen, meg boczattatyk hw neky

     (c)   PestiB. 24v: *walakÿ* mondand ʒoot, embernek fÿanak ellene meg bochattatÿk nekÿ

     (d)   SylvB. 19r: *valaki* valami beßidet mondānd az embernek fiānak ellene, meg boczattatik ǔneki

     (e)   KárB. 12r: *valaki* ßóland az embernec fia ellen, megbotſáttatic néki

     (f)   KálB. 2: 285a: *valaki* az ember fia-ellen ſzóll, meg-bocsáttatik néki

     (g)   Mt. 12,32:   *quicumque* dixerit verbum contra Filium hominis, remittetur ei
                          '*whosoever* speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him'

Vala- forms also often occur as translations of *qui, quae, quod* in some of the parallel places (cf. (9c–d)), whereas in the other translations nonconditional *(a)ki* is written. The examples in (9) furthermore clearly illustrate the temporal sequence of solutions. Word order follows the Latin model in all cases:

(9) (a) MünchK. 16vb: *Ki* ke· ǫ aťťat aḡ ǫ annat inkab ʒeʒeti hognē èngemèt nē mèlto èn hoʒiam

(b) JordK. 384: *Ky* hw attyat es annyat fellyeb zerethy mynt enghemet, az nem melto en hozyam

(c) PestiB. 20r: *Valakÿ* attÿat, awagy annÿat, nalamnal fewllÿeb ʒeretÿ, Nem melto een hoʒʒam

(d) SylvB. 16r: *Valaki* felľebb ßeretendi az ů aťťat, auaǵ anńāt en nālamnal, nem milto az en hoʒʒām

(e) KárB. 10v: *Az ki* ßereti attyát vagy annyát, inkáb hogy nem engemet, nem méltó én hozzám

(f) KálB. 2: 283a: *A'ki* attyát vagy annyát inkább ſzereti hogy-ſem engem, nem méltó hozzám

(g) Mt. 10,37: *Qui* amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me, non est me dignus
'*He that* loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me'

Figure 3 shows percentages of cases where conditionality is unmarked (or uninvolved) and where it is—probably—marked by *vala-* conjunctions as translations of *qui, quae, quod* (where *vala-* is involved in at least one text):
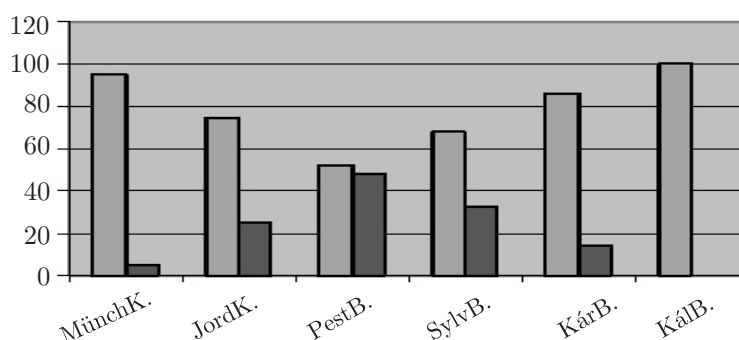

Fig. 3

The distribution (in %) of two types of translations of *qui, quae, quod* (conditionality not marked: grey column, conditionality marked by *vala-*: black column)

In parallels of *qui, quae, quod*, as in other cases, translators of the Old Hungarian period mainly use the plain conjunctions (see (9a,b)); that is, they either leave the potential secondary meaning of conditionality implicit or they drop it altogether. Several translators of the Middle Hungarian period, on the other hand, often use *vala-* conjunctions (see (9c,d)), suggesting that they recognise and wish to convey the conditional

shade of meaning. In Middle Hungarian texts prior to KálB., this change
is increasingly more pronounced first, but then it becomes less widespread
again. The two translations that exhibit a highest occurrence of *vala*-
conjunctions are Pesti's and Sylvester's (these two texts are related to one
another in some other respects, too). However, it is not in a single case
that György Káldi—who, as the author of the Catholic version published
after the Protestant ones containing a number of neologisms, returns in
his consistent conservativism to solutions closest to the Latin original—
departs from the use of relative pronominal conjunction corresponding to
the Latin model. The process of the spread of *vala*-, first rushing forward
but then stopping short around the mid-sixteenth century, exemplifies
the situation in which a linguistic possibility, even though it turns out to
be a feasible solution, nevertheless drops out of use after a while.

In later periods, then, even constructions of this type require the
conjunction *ha* 'if'—attested since the early Old Hungarian period—
to express explicit conditionality. The word *ha* and the earlier (indef-
inite) pronominal conjunction, depending on the overall structure of the
sentence, often produce what is known as double subordination.[4] On
the other hand, clauses introduced by *aki* express unconditional relativ-
ity. The modern Protestant translation often makes the former, and the
Catholic one the latter, choice, each relying on its own textual traditions.
For instance, the modern versions of (8) run as follows: "*Ha valaki* az
Emberfia ellen beszál, bocsánatot nyer" (Prot.) '*If someone* [= *anyone
who*] speaks against the Son of man, he will be forgiven' vs. "És *aki*
az Emberfia ellen beszél, bocsánatot fog nyerni" (Cath.) 'And *he who*
speaks against the Son of man will be forgiven'. cf. also the modern
versions of (10) below: "*ha valaki* nem születik víztől és Lélektől, nem
mehet be az Isten országába" (Prot.) '*if someone* [= *anyone who*] is not

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[4] This can be observed in present-day syntactic structures, too: wherever the in-
definite pronoun in the subordinate clause corresponds to the—usually covert—
phoric pronoun of the main clause in that both are subjects or both are objects,
etc., double dependence results as in *Ha valakit nem szeretek, nem hívom el* 'If I
dislike someone, I won't invite her' / 'Anyone I dislike, I won't invite'; *Ha valaki
el akar menni, ne állj az útjába* 'If someone wants to leave, don't stop her' /
'Anyome who wants to leave shouldn't be stopped'. This construction, at least
in Standard Hungarian, is best tolerated if the subordinate clause is preposed.
On the other hand, wherever no such correspondence is available and therefore
the *akkor, ha* 'then, if' construction prevails, an independent conditional clause
results as in *Eljövök, ha valaki értem jön* 'I will attend if someone comes to fetch
me'; *Tovább is itt maradna, ha valakit nem kellene meglátogatnia* 'She would stay
longer if she didn't have to go and see somebody'.

born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God'
vs. "*Aki* nem vízből és (Szent)lélekből születik, az nem megy be az Isten
országába" (Cath.) '*Who* is not born of water and of the (Holy) Spirit
cannot enter the kingdom of God'.

The fight of *ha ki (hanem ha ki) / valaki / ha valaki* 'if who (except
who) / someone / if someone' in the period under investigation is best re-
vealed by translations of constructions that involve double subordination
in Latin, too (the example in (10) comes from outside our corpus):

(10) (a) MünchK. 86vb: *hanē ha ki* èſm̄g ʒ́ùlètèndic viʒbọl ʒ ſcènt lelècbọl / nem
                          mèhètbè iſtènnᶜ o2ʒ́agaba

     (b) JordK. 630:   *hanem ha ky* wyonnan zyletendyk vyztǘl, es zent lelektǘl,
                          nem mehet be iſtennek orzagaban

     (c) PestiB. 187r: *walakÿ* nem ʒ̈yleẗyk ẅʒtewl, ees ʒent lelektewl, be nem
                          mehet iſtennek orʒagaba

     (d) SylvB. 129r: *ha valaki* viztǘl, es ßent lelektǘl nem ßǘletendik, be nem
                          mehet az iſtennek orßagaba

     (e) KárB. 82v: *ha valaki* nem ßǘletendic viztől és ßent lélektől, nem mehet
                          bẹ az Iſten orßágába

     (f) KálB. 2: 362a: *ha ki* újonnan nem ſzǘletik vizből es Szent-Lélekből, nem
                          mehet-bé az Iſten orſzagába

     (g) Jn. 3,5:   *nisi quis* renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, non potest
                          introire in regnum Dei
                          'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot
                          enter into the kingdom of God'

It is to be noted here that, due to the semantic affinity of conditionality
and concession, translations of *qui, que, quod* may also involve *akár-*
'any-' conjunctions, too. This may result in inverse word order (11b), a
very rare alteration in Bible translations:

(11) (a) MünchK. 18vb: mēden hiu iġe2ọl / *kit* èmbe2ec bèʒellèndnᶜ / okot kèl adnia
                         ọ 2olla itelèt napiā

     (b) KárB. 12v: *akarami* (!) hiuolkodó beſzédet ßóllyanac az emberec, ßá-
                         mot adnac arról az itélet napián

     (c) KálB. 2: 285a: minden hívolkodó igéről, *mellyet* ſzólnak az emberek,
                         ſzámot adnak az itélet napján

     (d) Mt. 12,36:   omne verbum otiosum *quod* locuti fuerint homines, reddent
                         rationem de eo in die iudicii
                         'every idle word *that* men shall speak, they shall give ac-
                         count thereof in the day of judgement'

An *akár-* conjunction may also occur as the translation of *quicumque*
'whoever' (12b):

(12) (a) JordK. 392:   Byzonyawal *valaky* teendy en atyamnak akarattyat ..., az en atyamffya

(b) SylvB. 18v: Mert *akarki* legen az ki az en atamnak akarattāt tiẞi ez az ki ennekem atāmfia

(c) KálB. 2: 283a: Mert *valaki* az én Atyám akarattyát cſelekſzi ..., az az én atyám-fia

(d) Mt. 12,50:   *Quicumque* enim fecerit voluntatem Patris mei ... ipse meus frater
'For *whosoever* shall do the will of my Father ..., the same is my brother'

What is more, even *vala-* conjunctions may express assent/concession. In a context where the subordinate clause refers to the totality of (certain types of) individuals, rather than to a certain individual or group of individuals, the construction may be one of assent or concession rather than a conditional one. Translations that turn the Latin participle into a subordinate clause may use a simple relative clause (13b) but it is also possible for them to convey a shade of meaning of assent or concession (13c):

(13) (a) MünchK. 18va: Mèndèn oᴣᴣag ǫnō bènne megoᴣlatot megpuᴣtoltatic

(b) PestiB. 24r: mynden oᴣᴣag *ky* ew maga ellen meg hasonlyk, el romol

(c) KárB. 12r: Minden orẞág *valamelly* magában meg haſonlíc él puẞtúl

(d) KálB. 2: 285a: Minden maga-ellen meghaſonlott orſzág, el-puſztúl

(e) Mt. 12,25:   Omne regnum *divisum contra se* desolabitur
'Every kingdom *divided against itself* is brought to desolation'

3.2. Relative clauses vs. constituents

Parallels between relative clauses and relative constituents—as structural variants of the analytic vs. synthetic type—constitute the richest domain of structural synonymy. Variants first occurring in the periods investigated here continue to function as synonyms to the present day; but the frequency of occurrence of the individual versions may differ across periods depending on the type of construction involved. Over time, we can observe a clear—albeit not linear—shift towards analytic constructions. (As time goes by, even coordinate constructions increasingly participate in this shift, again in a nonlinear manner; cf. section **3.3**).

It is characteristic of the periods under investigation that wherever the Latin text has a relative clause, it will usually (though not always) be followed by the translators. On the other hand, places where the Latin

text has a participial construction or some other nominal constituent that could also be expressed by a relative clause, exhibit a more variegated picture. The most frequent tendencies found in this area constitute the subject-matter of the present section.

3.2.1. Participial constituents vs. relative clauses

Alternations of this type are made possible by the semantic ambiguity of these expressions that may either be kept or else be disambiguated by foregrounding one of the possible meanings. The most frequent such structural parallels can be observed with time adverbials. Here, by resolving the conciseness of the participial construction, the clausal solution is capable of enhancing or disambiguating some aspect of its complex meaning. Thus, it can make the temporal relationship of events more clear-cut (14b); in cases of more complex adverbials, it can emphasise the pure time reference of the subordinate clause (15b, c) by neutralising the change-of-state aspect of (15a,d):

(14) (a) JordK. 382: *El meenwen* kedeg, predicaľľatoc

　　　(b) PestiB. 18v: Ees *mÿkoron el menendetek*, predikalÿatok

　　　(c) SylvB. 14v: *Mikoroñ* kedigleñ *elmentek*, predikalľatok

　　　(d) KálB. 2: 282a: *El-menvén* pedig praedikállyatok

　　　(e) Mt. 10,7: *Euntes* autem praedicate
　　　　　　　　　　　'And *as ye go*, preach'

(15) (a) MünchK. 18rb-va: Ihc̄ ke· *tuduā ọ gondolatťokat* mōda nèkic

　　　(b) PestiB. 24r: Ieſus kegÿg *mÿkoron latna aʒ ew gondolatÿokat* monda nekÿk

　　　(c) KárB. 12r: Ieſus pedig *mikor az ő gondolattyokat látta vólna*, monda nékic

　　　(d) KálB. 2: 285a: Jéſus pedig *tudván gondolattyokat*, monda nékik

　　　(e) Mt. 12,25: Iesus autem *sciens cogitationes eorum* dixit eis
　　　　　　　　　　　'Jesus *knew their thoughts, and* said unto them'

Simultaneously with the investigation of the distribution of participial constructions vs. subordinate clauses, we had to record parallel coordinate constructions as well (for a discussion, see section **3.3**); but since the latter occurred in rather low numbers, their share of the phenomena discussed here can only be indicative of their mere presence.

　　Figure 4 shows percentages of occurrence of the possible translations of Latin participial constructions:
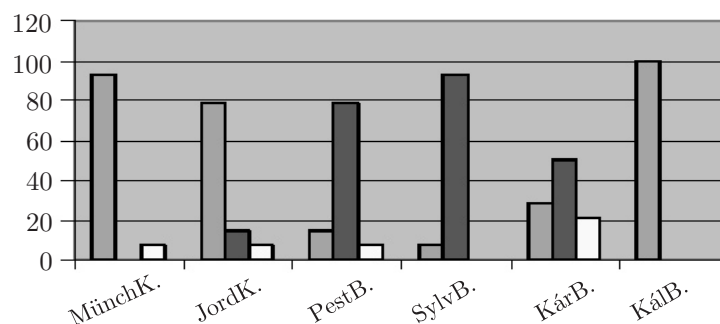
Fig. 4

The distribution (in %) of three types of translations of participial constructions
(constituent: grey column, subordinate clause: black column, coordinate clause:
white column)

As the examples show (14b,c, 15b,c), it is primarily Protestant transla-
tions of the Middle Hungarian period that expand participial construc-
tions into clauses. (However, this apparently strong shift towards analyt-
icity is deceptive in that our investigation does not cover all participial
constructions in the corpus but only those in which at least one translator
chose the clausal solution.) Káldi's Catholic Bible—in his effort, already
mentioned, to reach the highest possible grammatical faithfulness—keeps
the participles, a fact that makes his translation similar to the earliest
ones (compare (14d), (15d) with (14a), (15a)). The translator who uses
clauses the most often is Sylvester—striving, as has also been mentioned,
for accuracy of content and explicitness. It must be the case that the
individual translators had an effect on one another since it is often in
the same places that Pesti, Sylvester and Károlyi (and occasionally also
the writer of the Jordánszky Codex) opt for clauses, respectively par-
ticiples, in parallels of the Latin participial construction. At the same
time, it is conspicuous that in cases where the Latin text has a clause it
is Sylvester and Károlyi who sometimes translate it by a phrase rather
than by a clause. This reveals that the authors did not unconditionally
apply their translator's/text creator's principles but rather selected the
form they thought to be most appropriate of the synonymous possibilities
depending on the construction at hand.

The two modern translations show that, as a continuation of the
Middle Hungarian tendency, the ratio of clausal constructions has kept
growing. The translator's techniques observed reflect a further shift in
the direction of analytical constructions. In the case of complex partici-
ples, given that a corresponding clause can usually only express one of

the several meanings of the participial construction, clausal solutions in general involve the narrowing of the potential range of meaning. In the Protestant version we often find clauses, and even the Catholic text does not strictly follow Káldi's participial tradition; nevertheless, discrepancies occur both ways, suggesting that present-day translators also make their choice among the synonyms available on the basis of individual considerations:

(16) (a) Prot.:   *Ezt látva* a farizeusok szóvá tették

    (b) Cath.:   *Amikor ezt meglátták* a farizeusok, szóltak neki

    (c) Mt. 12,2: Pharisaei autem *videntes* dixerunt
              'But *when* the Pharisees *saw it*, they said'

Unlike in the cases we have seen so far, in parallels of one specific use of participial constructions the variants involve little difference in meaning. In the various forms of expressions introducing direct-speech quotations, *kiáltván mond* 'say shouting', *kiált mondván* 'shout saying', *kiált* 'shout', and *mond* 'say' all play the role of quoting head verb; of the double expressions, one expresses the fact of utterance, and the other specifies a characteristic of it (see Dömötör 2001, 351–4, for details). For instance (only different versions are given):

(17) (a) MünchK. 17rb: haſonlatnac a̋ ... gèʒmekecheʒ kic *ivoltuē mondnac* o felecn^c

    (b) PestiB. 20r: Haſonlatos aʒ olÿan gyermekekheʒ, kẙk ... *ÿweltnek* aʒ ew tarſoknak, *mondwan*

    (c) SylvB. 17r: haſonlatos az germekekhez kik ... *ẙuőltenek* az ů̋ tārſainak, eſ ezt monġāk

    (d) KárB. 11r: haſonlatos az gyermekekhőz, kic ... *kiáltnac* az ő́ tárſainac

    (e) Mt. 11,16–17: Similis est pueris ..., qui *clamantes* coaequalibus *dicunt*
               'It is like unto children ... *calling* unto their fellows, And *saying*'

3.2.2. Non-participial constituents vs. relative clauses

The alternation of these merely show a difference of degree in the enhancement of what is being said. Clausal translations of Latin constructions that are either not participial themselves or cannot be translated into Hungarian as such only make the content they express more emphatic, by their lengthier, "more verbal" character, and sometimes by the phoric pronoun they involve (see (18b), (19c) vs. (18c), (19b)):

(18) (a) MünchK. 16vb: ꝫ embeₐnᶜ ǫ haʒabèliec ǫ èllènſegi

(b) PestiB. 20r: Ees embernek ellenſegÿ leʒnek, *kÿk wannak ewnnen haʒaba*

(c) SylvB. 16r: Es az embernek ellenſighi lißnek azok *az kik ǘneki hāzabeli nipi*

(d) KálB. 2: 283a: és az ember ellenſégi, *az δ háza-népe*

(e) Mt. 10,36: et inimici hominis, *domestici eius*
'And a man's foes shall be *they of his own household*'

(19) (a) JordK. 386: Haſonlatos *az pyaczon ylǫ́* gyermekekhez

(b) PestiB. 21v: Hasonlatos aʒ olÿan gyermekekheʒ, *kÿk kÿn ÿlnek*

(c) KárB. 11r: haſonlatos az gyermekekhǒz, *kic az piátzon ǘlnec*

(d) KálB. 2: 283b: Haſonló *a' piaczon-ǘlő́* gyermekekhez

(e) Mt. 11,16: Similis est pueris *sedentibus in foro*
'It is like unto children *sitting in the markets*'

The range of synonyms is the widest in constructions in which the attributive modifier goes back to the translation of an adjective; parallel to a relative clause (20c), we can have a qualifier (20a,e), an apposition (20d), or an attributive adverb (20b):

(20) (a) MünchK. 16ra: *Cananeabèli* Simon

(b) JordK. 381: Symon *kananeabol*

(c) SylvB. 16r: Simon *ki Cananea newǘ tartomańbol valo vala*

(d) KárB. 9v: Simon *Cananeábéli*

(e) KálB. 2: 282a: a' *Kananaeus* Simon

(f) Mt. 10,4: Simon *Cananaeus*
'Simon *the Canaanite*'

Figure 5 shows percentages of occurrence of the possible Hungarian translations of non-clausal Latin constructions.

Thus, the distribution of synthetic vs. analytic constructions is roughly similar to that seen for participial constructions (since coordination is missing here, the structures are of two, rather than three types). Again, we see a dominance of Old Hungarian faithful (phrasal) translations; an upswing of clausal constructions in Pesti's and especially Sylvester's text; and their sudden lack in Káldi's. However, in these cases, the linguistically more economical solution is a lot more often chosen by Pesti, Károlyi, and Sylvester, too.

Both modern translations involve both solutions, even in contradiction to their own textual traditions (18f,g); in general, however, non-clausal (simpler) forms gain the upper hand (19f,g).
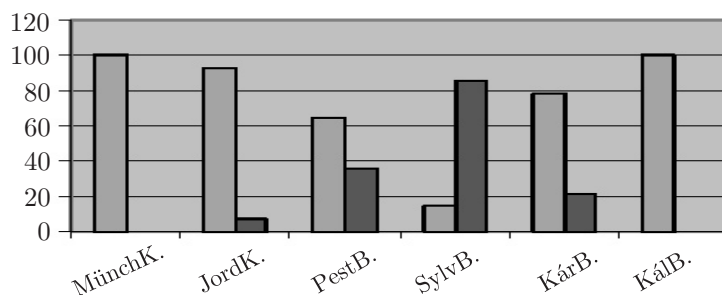
Fig. 5

The distribution (in %) of clausal / phrasal translations of non-clausal constructions
(constituent: grey column, clause: black column)

(18) (f) Prot.: Az embernek *a tulajdon családja* lesz az ellensége
'A man's *own family* will be his enemy'

    (g) Cath.: az embernek ellensége lesz *a háza népe*
'a man's enemy will be *the people of his own household*'

(19) (f) Prot.: Hasonlít *a tereken tanyázó* gyerekekhez
'It is like children *sitting in the markets*'

    (g) Cath.: Hasonlók azokhoz a gyermekekhez, *akik a piacon ülnek*
'They are like children *who are sitting in the markets*'

Note that alternation beyond structural synonymy is yielded by a procedure occasionally employed by Protestant authors of translations of an explanatory/educational kind whereby they use attributive clauses as a means of interpretative translation (see (21c,d), (22c–e)), although some translations can reach that goal by a phrasal solution, as well (21a):

(21) (a) MünchK. 16ra: Mate *a ièles bunǫs miuèlkedètbèli*

    (b) JordK. 381: *vamos* Mathe

    (c) PestiB. 18v: Mathe, *kÿ aʒ elewt nÿlwan walo bÿnes wala*

    (d) SylvB. 14v: Mathe *ki fu:kar vala annak előtte*

    (e) KárB. 9v: amaz Máthé, *ki Publicanus vala*

    (f) KálB. 2: 282a: Máte *a' publikánus*

    (g) Mt. 10,3: Matthaeus *publicanus*
'Matthew *the publican*'

(22) (a) MünchK. 16ra: *Thadeus*

    (b) JordK. 381:   *Tadeuſ*

    (c) PestiB. 18v: Lebbeus, *kÿnek weʒetek newe Thadeus*

    (d) SylvB. 14v: Lebbeus, *kinek vezetik newe vala Thaddeus*

    (e) KárB. 9v: Lebbẹus, *ki vizetéc neuéről Taddẹuſnac hiuattatic vala*

    (f) KálB. 2: 282a: *Taddaeus*

    (g) Mt. 10,3:   *Thaddaeus*
                        'Lebbaeus, *whose surname was Thaddaeus*'

These constructions containing additional information are beyond the area of structural synonymy since they involve a significant difference of meaning. Behind the clausal vs. phrasal structures there is an equivalence relation of explanandum/explicandum and explanation/explication. This phenomenon could be termed pragmatic synonymy.

3.3. Alternation of subordinate vs. coordinate clauses

This alternation—as was mentioned in section **3.2.1**—is connected with that between subordinate clauses and participial constituents. Along the scale of synthetic vs. analytical expressions, intraclausal (constituent) constructions are followed by subordinate clauses which in turn are followed by coordinate clauses. (As a most analytical solution, this could be followed by a sequence of independent sentences; but such data were not found in the corpus investigated here.) This type of alternation concerns temporal subordination vs. conjunctive coordination as well as pseudo-attributive subordination vs. conjunctive coordination. Temporal sequence can be expressed explicitly (by a time clause); but that meaning can further be covered by conjunctive coordination, as well as pseudo-attributive subordination, too.

In the texts under scrutiny here, alternation between subordination and coordination can be observed partly in places where the Latin original also has a clause (whether subordinate or coordinate) and where some translations opt for one, others opt for the other solution (and some even "turn back" to participles).

Here is an example of subordinate construction in Latin: subordinate (time) clause (23a,d), coordinate (conjunctive) clause (23b), or participle (23c) in Hungarian:

(23) (a) JordK. 388:   *Es mykoron ennen el ment vona,* yewe hw ſynagogayokban

   (b) PestiB. 23r: *De onnet towab iarula,* ees mene aʒ ew ſÿnagogayokba

   (c) KárB. 11v: *Es el ménuén onnét,* méne az ő Synagogáiokba

   (d) KálB. 2: 284b: *És midőn onnét el-ment vólna,* méne az ő ſynagógájokba

   (e) Mt. 12,9:   *Et cum inde transsiset,* venit in synagogam eorum
   '*And when he was departed thence,* he went into their synagogue'

And an example of coordinate construction in Latin: coordinate (conjunctive) clause (24a,c) or subordinate (pseudo-attributive) clause (24b) in Hungarian:

(24) (a) MünchK. 18rb: ʒ kọuètec ọtèt ſokac / *ʒ megvigaʒta ọkèt mēd*

   (b) PestiB. 23v: ees kewetek ewtet nagÿ ſok ſeregek *kÿket mÿnd meg gÿogÿta*

   (c) KálB. 2: 284b: és ſokan kőkveték őtet, *és mind meg-gyógyítá őket*

   (d) Mt. 12,15:   et secuti sunt eum multi *et curavit eos omnes*
   'and great multitudes followed him, *and he healed them all*'

Translating a participle, one can likewise use a coordinate construction (25b,e), along with the two more frequent solutions discussed above, of using a participle (25a,f) or a subordinate clause (25c,d). The occurrence of coordinate clauses is facilitated by the original participial construction being loosely added to its head noun as an afterthought:

(25) (a) MünchK. 17rb: meʒt iọt Ianɢ *nem euen ſem iuan*

   (b) JordK. 386:   Mert el ywee Janos, *ſem eweek, ſem ywek*

   (c) PestiB. 21v: El iwe Ianos, *kÿ nem eʒyk ſnem ÿʒÿk wala*

   (d) SylvB. 17r: Mert eliőue az Janos, *ki ſem īßik ſem īßik*

   (e) KárB. 11r: Mert el iőtt az (kereztelő) Iános, *ſ-nem éßik, ſem ißik*

   (f) KálB. 2: 283b: Mert el-jőtt János *ſem évén ſem iván*

   (g) Mt. 11,18:   Venit enim Iohannes *neque manducans neque bibens*
   'For John came *neither eating nor drinking*'

A coordinate clause is also capable of making a pragmatic possibility hidden in a subordinate clause grammatically explicit. If the verb of the main clause is in the imperative, the temporal subordinate clause—depending on the speaker's intention—may have imperative force, too. By turning it into a coordinate clause, that force is made explicit (see (26a) vs. (26b)):

(26) (a) MünchK. 16ra: *Meńńètec* ke· pₐedicall̇atoc

    (b) SylvB. 14v: *Mikoroñ kedigleñ elmentek,* predikall̇atok azoknak

    (c) KálB. 2: 282a: *El-menvén* pedig praedikállyatok

    (d) Mt. 10,7: *Euntes* audem praedicate
                        '*And as ye go,* preach'

The "more audacious" solution of the earliest text, that of MünchK., is confirmed by both modern translations:

(26) (e) Prot.: *Menjetek el,* és hirdessétek
              '*Go* and preach it'

    (f) Cath.: *Menjetek* és hirdessétek
              '*Go* and preach it'

Due to the small number of Old Hungarian and Middle Hungarian parallels involving a coordinate construction, statistical investigation cannot yield any reliable conclusions. But it can be seen clearly that such constructions occur more often in Middle Hungarian Protestant translations and less often in Káldi's text; again, primarily because the latter author insists on a faithful rendering of participial Latin forms. (It is primarily in Pesti's and Sylvester's translations that a more sizeable body of data shows preference for coordinate constructions, cf. Gugán 2002, 34ff.)

The modern translations contain coordinate constructions at these places more often than the earlier texts do (in accordance with its own traditions, the Protestant text more so than the Catholic version). It can be observed in a number of cases that both modern translations employ a construction that is more analytical by one degree than its own tradition: subordination (25i) rather than a participial construction; coordination (24e) rather than subordination; and coordination with a conjunction is replaced by a conjunctionless, i.e., even more independent, variant ((24f), (25h)):

(24) (e) Prot.: Sokan utána mentek, *s ő mindnyájukat meggyógyította*
              'Many people went after him, *and he cured them all*'

    (f) Cath.: Sokan követték; *ő meggyógyította mindnyájukat*
              'Many people followed him; *he cured them all*'

(25) (h) Prot.: Eljött János, *nem eszik, nem iszik*
              'John came, *he neither eats nor drinks*'

    (i) Cath.: Mert eljött János, *aki nem eszik, nem iszik*
              'For John came *who neither eats nor drinks*'

The versions employing conjunctive coordination, as they are less grammaticalised forms than those involving subordination, have a more complex meaning and a more open range of potential interpretations; in that, they resemble participial constructions of complex meaning that were used more frequently in the earliest texts.

4. Conclusion

The ongoing "cutthroat competition" of the constructions investigated here, as we saw in the foregoing sections, shows diverse scores in the various periods. In some cases, the tendencies that had developed by the Middle Hungarian period, are valid to this day. For instance, this applies to the differentiated use of constructions of *(a)ki* 'who', *(a)mi* 'that', and *(a)mely* 'which' that used to be formal variants once, or the coexistence of the synonymous versions of participial constructions and subordinate clauses (with increasing frequency of the latter). In other cases, the course of language change took another direction after the periods investigated here. For example, the meanings of the phoric pronouns *az* 'that (one)' vs. *amaz* 'that (other one)' that were formal variants in Middle Hungarian have diverged and stabilised since; and of the constructions of *ki* 'who' vs. *aki* 'who' vs. *valaki* 'whoever/someone' that were synonymous then, the first and last have been suppressed (as relative pronouns).

Most pairs of formal variants (as a pair of forms of identical meaning) are reinterpreted (their meanings begin to diverge) as time goes by. Synonymous versions (as items having a secondary difference of meaning) coexist for some time; some of them later undergo some change (as in the last example of the previous paragraph), whereas others remain stable elements of the linguistic system and continue to offer a choice for the language user (e.g., parallels of participles vs. subordinate clauses vs. coordinate clauses).

Synonymous constructions and formal variants can be made to bear evidence of shifts of parallel devices of expression from period to period, of changing linguistic habits concerning them; thus such an analysis may give us an inside view of the "life histories" of the syntactic structures concerned. An investigation carried out on a larger material might make it possible for us to study phenomena that are beyond the strictly grammatical issues we have discussed here: the distribution of forms might reveal sociocultural, genre-related, or dialectal differences as well.

The study of variants may provide valuable data for historical syntax. Hopefully, the present paper has gone some way in justifying that claim despite the relatively narrow range of the corpus studied and the limited number of phenomena looked at.

List of abbreviations

Cath. = *Ószövetségi és Újszövetségi Szentírás.* Szent István Társulat, Budapest, 1996.

Jn. = The Gospel of Jesus Christ according to St John

JordK. = *Jordánszky-kódex* (1516–1519)

KálB. = *Szent Biblia.* Vienna, 1626. (translated by György Káldi)

KárB. = *Az Szent Biblianac masodic resze. (. . .) Wrunc Iesvs Christvsnac Wy Teſtamentuma.* Vizsoly, 1590. (translated by Gáspár Károlyi)

Mt. = The Gospel of Jesus Christ according to St Matthew

MünchK. = *Müncheni Kódex* (after 1416/1466)

PestiB. = *Wÿ Teſtamentum magÿar nÿeluen.* Vienna, 1536. (translated by Gábor Pesti)

Prot. = *Biblia. Istennek az Ószövetségben és Újszövetségben adott kijelentése.* Református Zsinati Iroda, Budapest, 1995.

SylvB. = *Vy teſtamentū maǵar ńelweñ.* Újsziget, 1541. (translated by János Sylvester)

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Address of the author: Adrienne Dömötör
                         Research Institute for Linguistics
                         Hungarian Academy of Sciences
                         Benczúr utca 33.
                         H–1068 Budapest
                         domotor@nytud.hu