Equality versus Similarity Constructions in English

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Abstract

The paper focuses on the analysis of equality comparative constructions in English with reference to the study of comparison in *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (Huddleston et al. 2002), where a distinction is made between scalar and non-scalar comparison.

The author proposes a unitary analysis of scalar and non-scalar equality comparisons and interprets the relationships between equality and similarity using two explanatory mechanisms: a similarity-identity continuum and a quantification scale. The former accounts for gradience in likeness between terms of comparison, whereas the latter explains the difference between scalar equality and non-scalar similarity constructions.

The paper also aims to clarify the nature of the mutual relations between *as-* and *like-* constructions that function as predicative and manner complements, as well as to explain the competition of *as* and *like* in manner complements.

1   Equivalence as a Cover Term

This paper examines the distinction between scalar and non-scalar equality comparative constructions through a combined semantic-pragmatic approach. I draw on Huddleston *et al.*'s (2002: 1099f) study of comparison which classifies comparative constructions along two intersecting dimensions of contrast: scalarity vs non-scalarity and equality vs inequality. Scalar comparison involves grading, while non-scalar comparison is concerned with identity and likeness. But as Huddleston *et al.* (2002: 1100) point out **"there are grounds for recognising a single contrast applying to scalar and non-scalar comparison alike: *as* is the main marker of equality comparison, whether scalar or non-scalar"**. Furthermore, they note that non-scalar equality can be interpreted as similarity or resemblance (Huddleston *et al* 2002: 1140, 1154).

In this paper, I discuss the reasons for the fuzziness between the two types of comparison and argue that the term 'comparison of equality' is not fully satisfactory, being more applicable to

scalar comparison. Likeness or similarity are more general concepts than equality, but how they interrelate needs to be clarified.

On a related note, Quirk *et al*. (1985: 1128）use the term 'equivalence' instead of 'equality', distinguishing between equivalent and non-equivalent types of comparison. The latter is grammaticalized through the comparative and superlative, whereas the former is formalised by the *as... as* correlative construction as shown in (1). Rather than the term 'comparison of equivalence', Rusiecki (1985) suggests using 'comparison of proportionality' due to the indeterminacy characteristic of the correlation between two values on the predicative scale. The correlation should be understood as greater or smaller, and not absolutely identical, implying that the relation of comparison is not precise, but relative to the speaker's intentions.[1]

The discussion in this paper is aimed at offering a unified analysis of scalar and non-scalar comparison through the concept of equivalence. Equivalence acts as a framework domain that subsumes both equality and similarity. The difference between these two concepts depends on the presence of a quantifying or non-quantifying identity operator in the semantic representation of comparative *as-* and *like*-clauses**.** Thus, equality comparison is quantifiable, as opposed to similarity, which is a broad concept that includes two subtypes of comparison: strong similarity or identity, and weak similarity. For clarity, I use the term 'identity' for strong similarity and 'similarity' for weak similarity.

The analysis is restricted to constructions that function as predicative and manner complements in the clause structure. I also employ the reduced clause analysis of *as*-constructions, and the immediate complement analysis of *like*-constructions (Huddleston et al. 2002: 1158). Deleted material in the clauses is marked by '_'. Examples used in the text have been subject to conscious oversimplification in order to demonstrate the syntactic derivation of comparative constructions in a consistent and illustrative manner.

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[1] To illustrate the indeterminacy of equivalence relation Rusiecki quotes the following example (1985: 144): *Mary is as tall as her father, in fact she is taller than him*. The expression *in fact* reinforces the indeterminate meaning of *as tall*.

It is important to emphasise that the term equivalence refers to the relationship between two terms of comparison, relative to a shared property. The equivalence markers *as/like* predicate that a participant of a state possesses a certain quality to the same or similar degree as a participant of another state, as shown in examples (1) to (2). The participant may also perform an action in the same or similar way, as shown in (3) and (4).

(1) He is as tall as she is.
(2) He is tall like her.
(3) He runs as fast as I do.
(4) He runs (fast) like me.

The first and second terms of equivalence comparison are coded by the main clause, and the comparative *as*-clause or *like*-phrase, respectively. The whole adjective phrase with *tall* as head (*as*-clause) functions as a predicative complement in (1) and as a manner complement in (3). The *like*-phrase is a prepositional complement.

However, the *as*-clause in (5) and *as/like*-clause in (6) perform the function of co-ordinative similarity adjuncts. When two similar events are joined with the purpose of emphasis on identity of predications, rather than stressing the identity of participants, the comparison relation blends with co-ordination:

(5) He is tall, as she is.
(6) He runs fast, as/like I do.

2   Semantic Classification Based on Pragmatic Factors

The semantic difference between (1) and (5) can be ascribed to pragmatic factors. The type of comparison relation depends on the functional sentence perspective[2] of the sentence with a comparative construction. The communicative goals of the speaker determine whether the comparison focuses on the participant or the event. Participant comparison foregrounds the sameness between participants (x and y) of two events as in (1)**,** while event comparison

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[2] As defined in Firbas (1992: 5).

contrasts the events themselves (5). Event or predication identity comparison is inherently non-scalar, while participant identity can be either non-scalar or scalar.

The semantic parameter that serves to distinguish non-scalar (a) from scalar comparison (b) within participant comparison involves quantification of the identity relation between the terms of comparison.

(a) Non-scalar comparison: the speaker asserts similarity of the referent x with y by way of comparing some common property whose existence is presupposed in y but is new information in x. Hence, similarity comparison functions as a grounding strategy for x by asserting likeness between x and y.

(b) Scalar comparison: the speaker asserts a certain degree of likeness between x and y relative to some shared property. The existence of a common property in x and y is presupposed in the equality comparison, while the measured degree of likeness[3] is new.

In addition to pragmatic factors that determine the type of comparison, two semantic factors play a crucial role in the derivation of comparison clauses: the temporal chaining of two similar propositions[4] and the presence of an implicit identity operator in their semantic structure.

The underlying structure of a sentence with an equivalent construction is presumed to consist of two consecutive propositions. They are formalised as conjoined simple clauses with a substantial

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[3] The information questions for the given examples are different. *Wh*-questions involve a proposition that is almost entirely presupposed except for one element (Givón 1990: 714). The response represents new information in the declarative correspondent sentence.
(i) He runs *as fast* as I do. How fast does he run? (quantification)
(ii) He runs *exactly* like me. How does he run? (manner)
In text, adverbial arguments, such as manner, may attract the focus of new information. Givón (1984: 260) claims that when an optional adverbial is added to a clause it becomes the most salient communicatively (cf. note 6).
[4] According to Stassen (1985: 105), the linguistic codification of comparison is modelled on the concept of temporal chaining. From a cognitive point of view, the mental act of comparison must be seen as a conceptual extension of the mental operation by which two events are ordered with respect to their occurrence in time. Thus, comparison is a cognitive metaphor of temporal chaining, by which the mind establishes 'the relation between two events, A and B as overlapping, preceding or following each other' (Traugott 1975: 208). Stassen (1985: 59) points out that "...the result of this mapping into language is a temporal chain, i.e. a semantic configuration in which two tensed propositions are presented successively." Co-ordination is an example of syntactic temporal chaining, i.e. the formal linguistic correlate of the semantic chaining of propositions.

amount of identical syntactic material. The syntactic symmetry between the asyndetically conjoined clauses establishes the relation of equivalence in participant and event comparison.

2.1   Participant comparison

The two sequenced events are realised by syntactically symmetrical clauses linked in asyndetic co-ordination (7). Two types of participant comparison can be produced: scalar equality (8) and non-scalar similarity (9). They are conceptually and syntactically interrelated.

    (7) He runs fast, she runs fast.
    (8) He runs as fast as she does.
    (9) He runs _ like her.

2.2   Event comparison

The compared propositions can be realised as a sequence of symmetrical simple clauses (a) and/or as a sequence of a simple and complex clause (b).

(a) Conjoining two symmetrical simple clauses: The equivalence relation between them gives rise to an implicature of comparison. This results in non-scalar comparison of identity of predication with both activity (10) and state (11).

    (10) He runs fast, as she does _ . He runs fast, like her.
    (11) He is tall, as/like she is. He is tall, like her.

(b) Conjoining a simple and a complex clause in which the subordinate is symmetrical with the simple clause: After clause reduction of (12), the comparative clause is formalised as an adjunct of comparison in (13).

    (12) He runs fast. I told him to run fast.
    (13) He runs fast, as/like I told him _.
    (14) He runs _ as/like I told him _.

However, the *as/like*-clause in (14) differs from (13) because it belongs to event-participant comparison. Functioning as a manner similarity adjunct, it asserts similarity of manner of an event p in a complex event (*I told him p*) with the manner in which a participant (*he*) carries out an identical activity with p.

3 Semantic Classification Based on Standard of Comparison

Following Huddleston (1984: 411), the existence of an implicit degree operator (m) is presumed in the semantic representation of comparative sentences. Taking the standard of comparison as a classification parameter, three types of comparison can be distinguished: state (15), manner (16), and similarity manner comparison (17).

    (15) He is as tall as she is.
    (16) He runs as fast as I do.
    (17) He runs as/like I told him.

3.1   State comparison

Example (15) illustrates comparison between two states. The two terms of comparison share some predicative property (expressed by a statal predicate) in the same degree (m); thus (m_1) = (m_2). The degree operator (m_1) that refers to the first term of comparison is coded by as_1, whereas (m_2), which is not overtly realised in the surface structure, is represented by the gap $\emptyset_2$ that co-refers with its anaphor as_2 in (19).

    (18) He is (m_1) tall. She is (m_2) tall.
    (19) He is as_1 tall as_2 she is $\emptyset_2$ _.
    (20) He is as tall as she is.

As_2 integrates the second clause in (18) into the structure of the first clause, thus producing (19). Then, (19) undergoes obligatory clause reduction that results in (20).

3.2   Manner comparison

The terms of comparison are compared with respect to a shared property of a dynamic predicate in (21). It results from (22) through a syntactic derivation of (23).

(21) He runs as fast as I do.
(22) He runs (m_1) fast. I run (m_2) fast.
(23) He runs as_1 fast as_2 I do $\emptyset_2$ _.

The operator (m) expresses an identical measure of the common property on the predicative evaluative scale.[5] This establishes a relation of strong equivalence between the two compared entities through the state predicate itself (24) or via the manner 'modifier'[6] of an activity verb (25).

(24) He is as tall as she is.
(25) He runs as fast as I do.

4   Semantic Classification Based on Degree Operator

Depending on the degree of identity (m) of the common property in two compared terms, the equivalence relation can be identified as equality, identity, and similarity comparison. The underlying measure operator may code quantifiable identity (m_q), non-quantifiable identity (m_i), and similarity (m_{-i}). The quantifying operators (m_q) rank the compared terms the same on the scale in equality comparison, in identity comparison non-quantifying operators (m_i) establish high degree of likeness between the terms of comparison; and the degree of likeness is approximate (m_{-i}) in similarity comparison.

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[5] On the presence of the underlying measure phrase (*e*-phrase) in the underlying structure of the comparative, see Seuren (1973) and Kuno (1981).

[6] It seems that the function of manner adverbials in clauses is closer to predicative complements than to adjuncts. A manner adverbial codes some predicative property of the verb; this semantic characteristic may classify it as an adverbial predicate. The predicative nature of manner adverbials explains why the semantics of a verb restricts its co-occurrence with certain manner adverbials, as in *He runs high*.

The predicative nature of adverbs can be explained by invoking Heine's claim that manner, as a part of quality, is one of categorial metaphors (1991: 48). They represent domains of conceptualization that on account of their degree of metaphorical 'abstraction' can be arranged along the following chain: person> object> activity> space> time> quality.

4.1 Equality comparison

In equality comparison the degree adverb as_1 codes the underlying operator of equality (m_{q1}). It governs its correlate (m_{q2}) establishing the relation of equality between the participants ($m_{q1}=m_{q2}$) shown in (26). In turn, (m_{q2}) is realised by the gap that co-refers with as_2 illustrated in (27). This means that the government relation in the comparison clause is complex and indirect: as_1 governs (m_{q2}) in the gap slot; and the gap ($Ø_2$) governs as_2.

(26) He is (m_{q1}) tall as$_2$ she is (m_{q2}) tall.
(27) He is as$_1$ tall as$_2$ she is ($Ø_2$) _.

4.2 Identity comparison

There are two subtypes of comparison of identity: identity of manner and identity of predication. As noted earlier, identity is considered to be synonymous with strong similarity.

4.2.1 Identity of manner

In comparison of identity of manner, the standard of comparison is the manner in which two participants perform identical activities.

(28) He speaks English as I do.
(29) He speaks English (m_{i1}) as I speak English (m_{i2}).
(30) He speaks English ($Ø_1$) as$_2$/like$_2$ I do _ ($Ø_2$).

The implicit identity adverb *in the same way*, positioned inside the VP, codes the semantic operator (m_i). The gap ($Ø_1$) of the operator (m_{i1}) governs the *as*-clause through its anaphoric[6] correlate (m_{i2}); this results in the relation of identity of manner ($m_{i1}=m_{i2}$) between the two activities.

4.2.2   Identity of predication

The comparison of identity of predication is not a true comparison *per se* because the terms of comparison are events, not participants. The sequence of two events with identical formalisation gives rise to an implicature of comparison. The speaker focuses on the existence of likeness, not the degree of likeness between the terms. The presence of the identity adverb *the same* is assumed in the underlying representation of such 'comparison' clauses. Its semantic operator (m_{ip}) occupies the position outside the VP, as opposed to the position of the quantifying operator (m_q). The gap ($\emptyset_1$) of the operator (m_{ip1}) governs the *as*-clause via its implicit correlate (m_{ip2}), thus establishing the relation of identity of predication ($m_{ip1}=m_{ip2}$). This enhances the co-ordination function of *as* at the expense of its comparison function.

> (31) He is tall (m_{ip1}), as she is _ (m_{ip2}).
> (32) He is tall ($\emptyset_1$), as$_2$ she is _ ($\emptyset_2$).
> (33) He runs fast (m_{ip1}), as/like I do _ (m_{ip2}).
> (34) He runs fast ($\emptyset_1$), as$_2$/like$_2$ I do _ ($\emptyset_2$).

4.3   Similarity comparison

In similarity comparison, the governor of the *like*-construction is the implicit adverb *to a similar degree* or *in a similar way* represented by an approximate identity operator (m_{-i}) and (m_{-ip}) that will be referred to as a similarity operator. Depending on its position in the clause, the similarity operator can be manner (m_{-i}) or predication (m_{-ip}). The former is applicable to situations where the terms of comparison refer to participants of events, while the latter is used when the events themselves are compared. This results in different syntagmatic positions of the similarity operator: the manner similarity operator (as_1) is inside the VP in (35), while the implicit predication similarity operator occupies the gap ($\emptyset_1$) outside the VP in (36).

> (35) He runs as$_1$ fast as$_2$ I do $\emptyset_2$ _.
> (36) He runs fast ($\emptyset_1$), as$_2$/like$_2$ I do _ ($\emptyset_2$).

Approximate identity between the operators ($m_1 \approx m_2$) imposes the relation of similarity between the two terms in formally identical sentences.

(37) He is (m-i1) tall like her (m-i2) _.
(38) He is ($\emptyset_1$) tall like$_2$ her ($\emptyset_2$) _.
(39) He runs (m-i1) fast as/like I do (m-i2) _.
(40) He runs ($\emptyset_1$) fast like$_2$ me _ ($\emptyset_2$)_.

5   The Semantics of Comparison Markers

The antecedent discussion on the distribution of *as* and *like* is based on the assumption that equality *as*-constructions in (41) and (42) are related to the similarity *like*-construction in (43) and (44).

(41) He is as tall as she is.
(42) He runs as fast as I do.
(43) He is tall like her.
(44) He runs (fast) like me.

The predication identity *as*-construction (45) and the manner identity construction (46) display split behaviour, as semantically they are closer to similarity, but they make use of finite *as/like*-clauses in spoken language. Identity clauses are characterised by omission of the first *as* shown in (46); in predication identity the absence of *as* is coupled with comma intonation as in (45).

(45) He is tall, as/like she is.
(46) He speaks English as/like I do.

Both equality and identity comparisons make use of *as*+S complement, while similarity comparison employs *like*+NP. Categorial restrictions determine the distribution of the comparative markers: *as* has the syntactic status of a complementizer that introduces a dependent clause (*as*+S); whereas the preposition *like* governs a nominal (*like*+NP). What should be clarified is the nature of the mutual relations between *as* and *like* in (41), (42) and (43), (44) respectively, as well as the competition of *as* and *like* in (45) and (46).

Apart from the syntactic reasons for this distribution, it appears that the use of *as* and *like* is semantically motivated, in that the *as*- and *like*-constructions operate in interrelated functional

zones of identity and similarity. The two domains are linked by scalar opposition of contrast.[7] The similarity-identity continuum in figure 1 represents a gradient coding of two related domains depending on the degree of likeness.

similarity _____ identity

Figure 1
Similarity-identity continuum

I propose a semantic explanation for the shift of *as* into *like* as illustrated in examples (41), (42) and (43), (44). The modality status of the comparison markers contributes to their distribution: *as* is used in factive, realis clauses, whereas *like* is used in non-factive clauses. The non-factive similarity *like* is located in the domain of the imaginary world on the similarity-identity continuum. The factive *as* represents the identity[8] domain that is located in (or on the periphery of) the real world (see figure 2).

like _____ as
similarity   *identity*
Figure 2
Central exponents of similarity-identity continuum

When the identity operator changes into a similarity operator, the non-factive *like* replaces the factive *as*. *As* expresses a greater degree of overlap between the two participants because they share the same predicative property in the same degree ($m_{q1}=m_{q2}$). Approximate sameness of m_{i1} and m_{i2} ($m_{i1} \approx m_{i2}$) is coded by *like*, indicating that the objects of comparison are merely similar,

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[7] It seems that the similarity-identity continuum represents an example of a family-resemblance relation between its various members. Membership in such categories is based on gradual, cumulative resemblance of their members rather than on binary opposition of their distinctive features. A meta-category of similarity codes a cognitive continuum space between fuzzy-edged categories of similarity and identity. For more explanation on non-discrete categories, see Jackendoff (1985: 119).

[8] The non-comparative *as* cannot replace the similarity *like* without change of meaning. Due to its identification function, *as* is factive in (i) and non-factive in (ii). The examples are from Quirk et al. (1985: 662).
(i) *He spoke as a leader of mankind*
(ii) *He spoke like a leader of mankind*

rather than being entirely the same. This is supported by Schourup's findings (1985: 40) that *like* has the meaning of 'approximately'.[9]

6   Functional Domains

To offer a holistic explanation for all types of comparison covered by equivalence, it can be argued that the functional domains of equality, identity, and similarity are conceptually related. I have already put forward an assumption about the existence of a gradient similarity-identity continuum when the speaker asserts scalar likeness between two terms. However, when the speaker chooses to measure the degree of likeness between the two terms of comparison, s/he introduces a quantification scale. The predicative scale that cuts across the identity domain is used to measure and hence to grade the degree of property shared by both terms. Graphically, the horizontal line of similarity-identity continuum covers the domain of non-scalar comparison of similarity (-i) and identity (+i), while the vertical line represents the domain of scalar comparison including equality (+q) and non-equality (-q) as in figure 3. Equality lies at the intersection point. The quantification scale of the quantifiable comparison (non-equality) extends in both directions above and below the equality point.

more contrast   *less contrast*
$\approx$(-i) $\approx$(+i)/(-q)   (+q)
                                                                                |
_____ ● Equality
                                                                                |
Similarity   Identity   Non-equality

Figure 3
The similarity continuum and the quantification scale

The systematic nature of relations between the domains becomes more evident in figure 4. It represents the equivalence relation characterised by two types of oppositions: gradient and binary. In the first opposition, the presence of approximate +/- identity feature (i) involves a

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[9] Schourup's findings (1985: 40) are based on a corpus analysis of American speech. In cases where *like* does not mean 'approximately' as a conversational device, it is often used to express a possible unspecified minor inequivalence of what is said to what is meant. *Like* can also be used as a discourse marker.

fuzzy split between similarity and identity comparison; the second binary opposition of +/- equality (q) determines identity versus equality comparison.

In figure 4, the domain of equivalence is determined by two-tier dichotomies in which the upper dichotomy represents the gradient opposition of similarity versus identity, whereas the lower dichotomy depicts the binary opposition of identity vs equality. The first dichotomy is based on gradient degree of likeness between two terms of comparison where less likeness defines similarity comparison. The second dichotomy involves the binary opposition of quantifying (+q) versus non-quantifying identity (-q) of the compared property in both terms. However, the term 'quantifying' implies a relative, rather than absolute, quantification since the value of the deictic *the same*, referring to the first object, is determined via comparison with the second object.

Both the equality comparison (+i/+q) and identity comparison (+i/-q) possess an identity operator ($\approx$i), but the equality comparison additionally possesses a quantifying identity operator. Considering that it expresses a measurable relation on the quantification vertical scale (figure 4), the equality comparison falls under the scope of scalar comparison. Thus, the introduction of a quantifying identity operator in the semantic structure of comparison clauses explains the difference between scalar and non-scalar comparison.
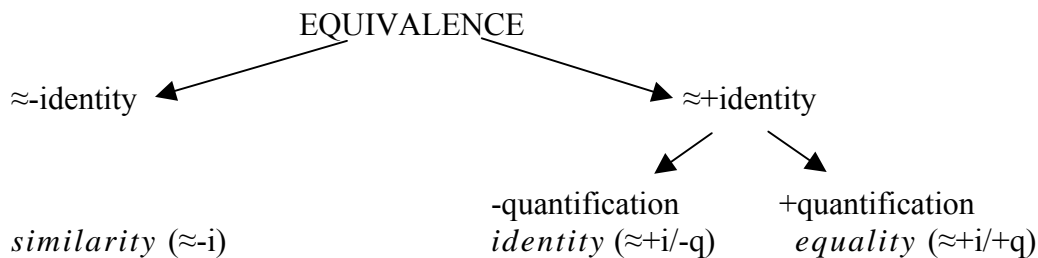
EQUIVALENCE

$\approx$-identity $\approx$+identity

                                         -quantification   +quantification
similarity ($\approx$-i)   *identity* ($\approx$+i/-q)   *equality* ($\approx$+i/+q)

Figure 4
The hierarchies in the equivalence domain

7   The Categorial Status of *as* and *like*

The categorial status of *as* and *like* is defined according to functional criteria. In comparison of equality, the correlative pair *as… as* codes the relation of quantifiable equivalence between two terms. *As* functions as a complementizer that links the subordinate comparative *as*-clause to the main clause. Structurally, the *as*-clause resembles a relative clause whose head is the deictic adverbial *as*.[10]

Semantically, the linking operator as_2, being anaphoric with the gap $\emptyset_2$, is governed by as_1, i.e. the implicit identity operator (m_{i1}) in the matrix clause. In fact, as_1 represents a special type of a relativizer because it relativizes indirectly, via equality relation with the antecedent gap $\emptyset_2$. Hence, as_2 functions as a comparative relativizer. By the same token, *like* codes the anaphor of the similarity operator represented by the gap $\emptyset_2$ in *like*-complements as illustrated in (47).

(47) He runs ($\emptyset_1$) fast like$_2$ me _ ($\emptyset_2$)_.

Evidence from Balkan Slavic languages confirm that the correlative pair *as...as* consists of a deictic adverbial manner proform ($as_1/taka$) and its relative counterpart ($as_2/kakošto$) with anaphoric function.[11] As_2 functions as a relativizer[12] that links a reduced finite clause (S_2) to the

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[10] According to Huddleston et al. (2002: 1106), comparative clauses form a subcategory of subordinate clauses that contrast with relative and content clauses. English comparative clauses, as opposed to relatives, allow for inversion and a greater amount of reduction. Lehmann (1988: 185) believes that there are degrees of clause integration between the main and subordinate clauses. The degree of linking depends on the amount of shared material. Thus, correlative clauses are halfway between parataxis and hypotaxis; relative clauses are subordinate but not embedded. It seems that comparative clauses are embedded in the VP.

[11] English $as_1...as_2$ correlative pair corresponds to iconic structures in Russian *tak…kak*, Polish *tak…jak* (Borsley, 1981), Greek *toso...oso*, etc. The relative meaning of as_2 is coded in Balkan Slavic languages; e.g. in Macedonian, the relativizer *što* ('that') with *kako* forms a correlative pair *taka… kako što*.
Toj zboruva angliski   (isto)   taka dobro kako   (što)   zboruvam jas.
He speaks   English   (the same)   as   well   as   (that)   speak   I.
'He speaks English as well as I do'.

[12] According to Topolińska (2001) relativizers are semantically empty but:
a)   anaphorically refer to an NP in the matrix clause and b) carry grammatical information about the syntactic function of the relativized NP. She notes that the notion of a pronominal correlate, that need not have a surface realisation, can be used in description of relative clauses. Pronominal correlates function as a cataphora, whereas relativizers perform *ex definitione* an anaphoric function. Demonstrative pronouns serve as cataphoric and relative pronouns as anaphoric devices: e.g. *'The fact that S^R frightens me'* can be rendered in Slavic languages by the compound *'This that S^R frightens me'* where S^R is a relative clause that has derived from a subject complement clause *'S frightens me'*. What is important is that the cataphoric *demostrativum* creates a new argument slot in the propositional frame of the matrix clause to be occupied by

matrix clause. When S_2 is nominalized into an NP_2, *like* replaces as_2. Consequently, in the position preceding an NP_2, *like* is reanalysed into a preposition that governs the pronominalized NP (*mene*/'me'), assigning it accusative case in English (48) and in Balkan Slavic languages, e.g. Macedonian (49).[13]

> (48) She is like *I/me.
> (49) Taa e kako *yas/mene.
> (50) Ona kak ya/*menya.

On the other hand, Russian *kak* does not become a preposition (50); the pronominal NP_2 (ya/'I') remains in the nominative because it derives its case from the nominative of the subject NP_1. The NPs that code the two terms display parallelism in case assignment.

The relativizer function of as_2 raises the question as to whether comparative *as*-clauses represent a special kind of complement relative clauses. In the following sections, I argue in favour of the existence of such clauses, with the aim of redefining the status of *as*. I also explain the relation between *as* and *like* in four types of constructions: manner complements (3), predicative complements (1), manner similarity adjuncts (17), and co-ordinative adjuncts (5), (6).

8   Competition of *as* and *like* in Manner Similarity Adjuncts

It is important to point out that in spoken English, especially in the American vernacular,[14] *like* intrudes into the functional zone of *as*. In colloquial American English, there is a pronounced

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   a relative clause. This line of reasoning can be applied to comparative clauses: they can be considered relative only in function. The cataphoric manner demonstratives *as*, *the same way* create a slot for comparative adjunct *as*-clauses in the matrix clause.

[13] The case parallelism of the two NPs coding the terms of comparison is well manifested in the following Russian example, where NP_2 in the accusative case is derived from the accusative of the object NP.

(i) Ya tebia uvazhayu   kak i ego
   I you$_{ACC}$ respect$_{PR.1SG}$ as and he$_{ACC}$
'I respect you like him'.

[14] Gelderen (2002: 132) notes that *like* has expanded its uses, especially since the 1980s. Prescriptive grammarians restrict the use of *like* to a preposition, but in informal American speech *like* is often used as a complementizer to introduce a clause as in the following examples: *Shop like you mean it* (advertisement). *People have never been down and out like they are today, said a candidate…* (NYT, Aug 1991).
The use of clausal *like* goes back to the Late Middle English: *all looking on, like astonisht staring* (Spencer, Fairie Queen iv, x, 56).

tendency to abandon the prescribed syntactic distinction of *as* and to replace it with *like* in manner constructions with deleted as_1. The indeterminacy of the manner standard of comparison causes omission of as_1, a manner deictic. The syntactic consequences of this indeterminacy are reflected in the expansion of *like* into the syntactic environment of *as*. The loss of distinction between the operators *as* and *like* is illustrated in the following examples (Quirk et al. 1985: 1110):

> (51) Say the word exactly as/$^?$like I did.
> (52) It was just like I imagined.

These *as*-constructions are formally characterised by the absence of the first *as* in the correlative pair *as...as*.[15] Quirk et al. (1985: 1076) define them as predicative adverbial adjuncts that represent 'a blend of similarity and manner with dynamic verbs'. However, it is presumed here that the above sentences have derived from underlying equality comparison with a blocked manner modifier. Thus, example (54) has derived from (53):

> (53) She cooks a turkey just as she wants. (*like* in American speech)
> (54) She cooks a turkey as well/badly/… as she wants.

It seems that when the speaker does not specify the shared property and replaces it with the deictic adverbs *just* or *exacty* the comparison of equality shifts to the comparison of identity producing structures as in (54). Therefore, I would argue that identity *as*-constructions constitute a specific type of relative manner clauses with semantics of similarity, as shown in the following examples:

> (55) She walks exactly as her mother used to do.
> (56) She walks in (m_{i1}) way as_2 her mother used to walk in (m_{i2}) way.

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[15] Huddleston et al. (2002: 1146) define *as* as a default degree adverb that marks scalar equality. 'When the comparative complement consists of as +NP, the first *as* is omitted. This is primarily found in familiar similies such as *good as gold*, *quick as lightning*. Quirk et al. (1985: 1138) think that "[T]he omission of *as* tends to occur particularly in more informal style, especially if only an NP follows. The single *as* provides a less emphatic comparison and is closer to *like* when is followed by an NP" e.g. *They were good as gold while you were away*. *You look pretty as ever*.

As$_2$ serves as a relativizer of the implicit phrase *in the same way,* which is an operator of identity on the predicative scale of the manner of walking. The surface realisation of   *as$_1$* is blocked because the compared property is not lexicalized, hence not specified. In (57) a woman walks in the same way as her mother, but what this way is – springy, heavy, elegant, etc. – is not specified.

(57) She walks exactly like her mother.[16]

Moreover, not only does the *like*-complement in (57) fail to specify the subject's manner of walking, but it also fails to provide any other information such as that found in (55) (e.g. temporal). The greater degree of indeterminacy in (57) over (55) is reflected in the use of *like*+NP construction.[17]

9   *Like* in Manner and Predicative Complements

As demonstrated above, the domain of manner comparison allows a variation of *as* and *like* in spoken language. In manner comparison, the semantic factor responsible for the spread of *like* into the syntactic environment of *as* is indeterminacy. Event comparison is another domain in which the competition of *as* and *like* occurs. In identity of predication, *as* and *like*, while functioning as special kinds of coordinators, are semantically motivated syntactic allomorphs. In participant comparison they are not interchangeable because they possess different semantic and syntactic features. In addition to their distinction in modality, they perform different syntactic functions: *as* serves as a special kind of relativizer, *like* as a preposition.

To support this claim, below I compare both manner complements and predicative complements in participant and event comparison. Two formally identical similarity phrases (e.g. *like me*) perform different functions in respective clauses: the function of a similarity complement and of a co-ordinative adjunct. The syntactic status of the *like*-phrase depends on type of comparison.

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[16] Leech et al. (1975: 92) give an example in which *as* functions as a preposition similarly to *like*: *She cooks a turkey the same way as I do/as me.*
[17] Quirk et al. (1985: 360) call *like* a phrasal adjunct that can be used as a conjunction, as in: *Try to write like I do*, and a preposition as in: *For someone like me.*

This is demonstrated in the analysis of the underlying structure of the comparative clauses within which the corresponding phrases occur. The following examples in (a) and (b) illustrate the four-step derivation of the sentences *He speaks English like me* and *He speaks English, like me* from their co-ordinative sources (58) and (62), respectively.

(a) *Like* in participant manner comparison: *He speaks English like me*

(58) He speaks English (m_{q1}) fluently. I speak English (m_{q2}) fluently.
(59) He speaks English as_1 fluently as_2 I speak/do (English (m_{q2}) fluently.
(60) He speaks English $\emptyset_1$ _ (exactly) as/like$_{-i2}$ I do $\emptyset_2$ _.
(61) He speaks English $\emptyset_1$ _ like$_{-i2}$ me $\emptyset_2$ _.

It should be emphasised that this semantic derivation does not reflect the historic development of the comparative constructions.[18] Rather, the type of derivation illustrated in (58) to (61) should be understood as a result of a cognitive process that links the two related domains.

(b) *Like* in event comparison: *He speaks English, like me*

(62) He speaks English fluently (m_{q1}). I speak English fluently (m_{q2}).
(63) He speaks English (fluently) (m_{i1}), as I do (fluently) (m_{i2}).
(64) He speaks English _ $\emptyset_1$, as/like $_{i2}$ I do _ $\emptyset_2$.
(65) He speaks English _ $\emptyset_1$, like$_{i2}$ me _ $\emptyset_2$.

On the continuum of similarity-identity, the products of both scalar equality comparison and non-scalar identity of predications are *like*-phrases in (61) and (65). However, they differ in meaning because the 'manner' *like* functions as a preposition, while the similarity *like* has a blended categorial status of a comparative coordinator. The similarity manner *like* co-refers with the suppressed equality operator as_2 in (60). When the standard of comparison (*fluently*) is

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[18] The use of *like* is recorded in English before the use of *as*. Meaning 'resembling in form' *like* is recorded in OE around 1200 (OED, V: 283).
As first appeared in similes, i.e. in bound syntagmatic positions coded by a correlative construction *so… so*. It represents a contrasted form of *all so* with *all* serving as an intensifier: *swa beorht swa gold*. The phonetic blending began with the expansion of relative function of *as* in the South, producing constructions such as: *alswa bright alswa gold* in Early ME and *nowht swa beorht alse gold* in ME (OED, I: 477).

omitted, the meaning of the matrix clause becomes indeterminate.[19] Consequently, *like* (m_{-i}), replaces *as* (m_i).

Event comparison is characterised by the presence of an (m_{ip}) operator in the clause final position. Two interpretations of *like*-phrase are possible when the standard of comparison is not realised: the manner *like*-complement described above and identity of predications *like*-adjunct. The two *like*-phrases differ in comma intonation.

    (66) He speaks English $Ø_1$ _ like$_{-i2}$ me $Ø_2$ _.
    (67) He speaks English _ $Ø_1$, like$_{i2}$ me _ $Ø_2$.

The pause in (67) may be explained by the clause final position of the antecedent gap: it follows the deleted adverb. The gap (m_{ip}) governs *like*$_{ip}$ from a position outside the VP. Therefore, in (67) *as* and *like* function as coordinators that link the similarity adjuncts to the clause. This means that the clausal *like* is synonymous with *like*+NP where *like* is a preposition-coordinator.

The derivation of predicative similarity complements (68) display the same regularities as in manner adjuncts. Again, the syntactic status of the resultant *like*-phrase depends on type of comparison: participant versus event comparison. *As/like* compete in adjunct clauses where they function as coordinators (69); in (70) *like* becomes a preposition-coordinator.

    (68) He is tall like$_{-i2}$ her.
    (69) He is tall as/like she is.
    (70) He is tall, like$_{ip2}$ her.

(c) *Like* in participant manner comparison with statal predicates

This type of comparison refers to comparison of two participants in respect to a shared property coded by a predicative adjective. In such comparison, the indeterminacy of the equality relation via its operator inside the VP results in the rise of similarity meaning. This brings about the

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[19] However, in spoken language the presence of the standard of comparison (*fluently*) allows the use of *like* instead of *as* in the comparative clause.

omission of *as* coded by ($\emptyset_{q1}$) and the change of *as*-clause into similarity *like*-complement where *like* is a preposition.

(71) He is $\emptyset_{q1}$ tall as$_2$ she is $\emptyset_{q2}$ _.
(72) He is tall like$_{-i2}$ her.

(d) *Like* in state comparison

The term state comparison refers to comparison between two similar states as opposed to events. In state comparison the presence of the implicit identity operator outside the VP results in adjustment of intonation to the new semantics and competition between *as-* and *like*-clauses. Each of them can be nominalized into a *like*-adjunct.

(73) He is tall $\emptyset_{ip1}$, as/like$_2$ she is _ $\emptyset_{ip2}$.
(74) He is tall, like$_{ip2}$ her.

To summarise: the formal parallelism of (72) and (74) is solved by intonation and syntactic means. Example (74) obtains an identity predication interpretation marked by an intonational break, while (72) becomes a similarity comparison clause marked by nominalization of the *as*-clause and its integration into sentence via the preposition *like*. The two competing markers in identity predication comparison serve as comparative coordinators in adjunct *as/like*-clauses.[20]

10   Revised Similarity-Identity Continuum

It is now possible to revise the earlier representation of the similarity-identity continuum (figure 1) by incorporating the domain of equality. The quantification scale closes the continuum at its right end, cutting across the identity domain. The resultant semi-continuum represents only

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[20] The following examples are taken from the internet. They illustrate the use of (a) *like*-clauses as manner adjuncts: *There's yet another guy who speaks English like I do. I am really curious to know if your clock on that raq runs fast like all mine do.*
(b) *like*-phrases as predicative complements and co-ordinative adjuncts in colloquial English: *She is tall like her mother. McCarthy is my hero; he is tall, like I am.*

participant comparison because, as is demonstrated below, an event comparison continuum does not exist.

In participant comparison, the factive *as* is used as a marker of equality comparison not replaceable by *like*. This is as_2 on the semi-continuum of similarity-equality. Yet, in manner comparison (figure 5), the factive *as* and *like* are semantically motivated syntactic allomorphs that function as special kinds of relativizers. The two clausal operators are syntagmatically replaceable without changes in meaning. They are represented on the same continuum by $as_2/like_2$ that have retained the semantics of similarity comparison. The non-factive *like* occurs in state and manner comparison as a similarity comparison preposition $like_1$.
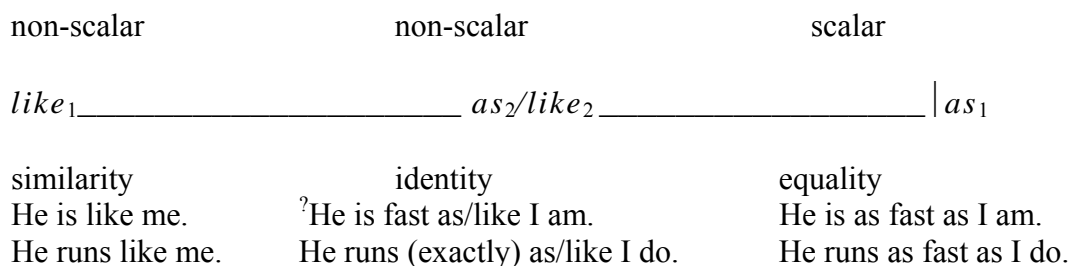
non-scalar   non-scalar   scalar

$like_1$_____ $as_2/like_2$_____ $\vert as_1$

similarity   identity   equality
He is like me. $^?$He is fast as/like I am.   He is as fast as I am.
He runs like me.   He runs (exactly) as/like I do.   He runs as fast as I do.

Figure 5
The revised similarity-equality semi-continuum

The second continuum (figure 6) relates to non-scalar event comparison. Both clausal *as*/*like* and phrasal *like* perform a co-ordinative function blended with comparison on the similarity-identity continuum. Although they belong to different syntactic categories, there are no semantic differences between them, as they both express similarity. This undermines the existence of a continuum for identity of predications. Considering that no continuum means no comparison, it can be concluded that event comparison represents a type of coordination via relativization of the clausal identity operator *the same*.

non-scalar   non-scalar

*like*₁_____ *as*₂/*like*₂

similarity   *strong similarity*
He is fast, like me   He is fast, as/like I am
He runs, like me   He runs fast, as/like I do

Figure 6
Event 'comparison'

There is a categorial difference between the two *like*s: *like*₂ is a factive comparative relativizer synonymous with *as*, whereas *like*₁ is a preposition. It follows that the categorial status of clausal *like* can be either a comparative manner relativizer, or a comparative coordinator; while the categorical status of phrasal *like* is either a non-factive similarity preposition, or a preposition-coordinator.

11   The Syntactic Status of *as*-clauses

Aside from complying with pragmatic criteria of relativization,[21] comparative clauses share some important syntactic properties with restrictive relative clauses. The formation of relative constructions involves: (a) a dual role of the head in the main and subordinate clause based on co-reference, and (b) a movement of the relative pronoun to a complementizer position. According to Comrie (1989: 149), the head NP, coded by a relative pronoun in European languages, is moved to a clause-initial position in the relative clause.

11.1   Relative comparative *as*-clauses

In regard to the function of *as*-constructions, it is important to point out that the *as*-clause functions as a relative equivalent clause whose head is the deictic adverbial *as*. At the same time,

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[21] Relativization is defined as a strategy used by a speaker to anchor a referent in discourse by giving additional information about the referent. The *as*-clauses in (1) and (3) provide more information about the referent of an event via comparison with a referent in another similar event. Yet, there is an important pragmatic difference regarding the information structure of sentences with relative clauses and sentences with comparative clauses. In relation to its matrix clause, a relative clause is backgrounded as informationally less salient. A comparative clause occupying the adverbial slot falls under the scope of assertion and hence is more informative.

it is a relative predicative clause, because it defines an element in the VP matrix clause both in state and manner comparison. Furthermore, due to speaker's uncertainty or lack of assertion that $m_1 = m_2$, the relation of sameness is downgraded into similarity. As noted earlier, the change of *as* into *like* can be attributed to the indeterminacy of the second proposition, which is reflected in its nominalization and concomitant use of *like*. The semantic change causes syntactic adjustment via reduction of a biclausal correlative structure into a simple clause.

11.2   Co-ordinative comparative *as*-clauses

In event 'comparison', *like* assumes the function of *as*, a comparative coordinator that codes the governor in the matrix clause, i.e. the operator *the same* (m_{ip1}). It governs as_2, which is a relativizer of the predication identity operator (m_{ip2}). The first operator is not realised, while the second *the same* (m_{ip2}) is marked in the surface structure by a coordinator *and* in Greek (75) and in Balkan Slavic languages, e.g. Macedonian (76). Thus, the combination of *kako* (manner adverb), *što* (relativizer), and *i* (coordinator) renders the complex meaning of the *as*-coordinator:

(75) Aftos trexi grigora_j (m_{i1}) opos   _   _   __j   ke_{i2} afti.
(76) Toj   trča   brzo_j (m_{i1}) kako   što₂ (trča) _ _j i_{i2}   taa.
        He   runs   fast   how/as that (runs)   and she
            'He runs as fast as she does'

12   Conclusion

In the previous discussion I have argued that *like* represents an example of a fused syntactic category. Originally a preposition of similarity, *like* expands its function as a clausal complementizer in non-scalar event comparison and thus acquires additional semantic features. It gains the blend of both coordinating and relative functions while retaining its similarity meaning. Due to the expansion of its function from preposition to a coordinator-relativizer, the categorial shift of *like* enables the incorporation of the second clause as an adjunct. On the other hand, *as* acts as a comparison relativizer with two parallel functions: as a complementizer in comparison clauses and a coordinator in adjunct clauses.

On the semantic plane, there are two parameters responsible for the choice of similarity or equality domain: indeterminacy and quantification of identity operators measuring the standard of comparison. Moreover, the semi-continuum of similarity-equality is applicable to manner comparison, while state comparison seems to disfavour the surface realization of identity comparison. Such *as*-clauses in a flow of speech tend to be reinterpreted as identity predication, as in the example marked by a question mark in figure 5.

On the other hand, event 'comparison' cannot be explained by the similarity-identity continuum. It seems that identity of predication belongs to the similarity domain, because there is a slight difference in modality between the examples at both ends in figure 5.

In participant comparison, a broader similarity domain merges into equality. The identity sub-domain, being intermediate, may also be subsumed under similarity. Operating in the same domain, both similarity and strong similarity/identity comparison make use of the same semantic operator marked by approximation; this is syntactically reflected in the competition of *as/like*. Therefore the split between the sub-domains is not clear-cut. Moreover, the term comparison of similarity is applicable to both participant and event comparison, while equality applies only to the former. These two facts support the initial suggestion that likeness is a more general concept than equality.

Acknowledgements

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