

THE HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN COMPLEX COMPLEMENTISERS

0. The problem

Four complementisers in Modern Hungarian: *ha* ‘if’, *hogy* ‘that’, *mert* ‘because’, *mint* ‘than’

Combinations historically:

(1)

	ha	hogy	mert	mint
ha	–	hahogy	–	hamint
hogy	hogyha	–	hogy mert	hogymint
mert	–	merthogy	–	–
mint	mintha	minthogy	–	–

Questions:

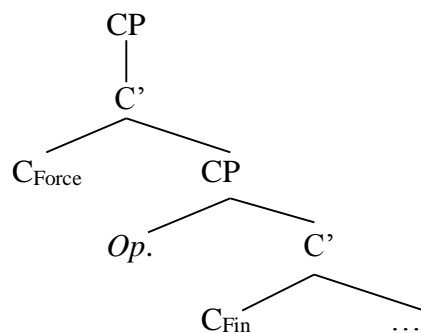
- certain theoretically possible combinations do not exist (e.g. *mert* + *mint*)
- symmetrical pattern: if a combination is possible in the order XY, it is also possible in the order YX

→ Proposal: the four C heads were in different stages of development in Old Hungarian, which resulted in fixed underlying order – reverse order possible via movement.

1. The structure of the Left Periphery

Rizzi’s analysis (Rizzi 1997: 297):

(2)



Two C heads (Force and Finiteness)

Operators: in the lower [Spec; CP] position

Movement: ordinary *wh*-movement (Chomsky 1977; Kennedy and Merchant 2000)

Constraints:

- in Modern Hungarian, the two C heads cannot be filled at the same time (~ Italian)
- Doubly Filled COMP Filter

Positions in Modern Hungarian (cf. Kántor 2008):

hogy in C_{Force}

ha in C_{Fin}

mint in C_{Force}

mert in C_{Force}

- *hogy*, *mint*, and *mert* cannot be preceded by anything
- *ha* can be preceded by a Topic:

(3) Péter ha megjön, küldd hozzám.
 Peter if arrives send-Imp. I-Dat.
 'If Peter arrives, send him to me.'

2. The etymology of complementisers

Originally, they were pronouns, later becoming operators. (Juhász 1991, 1992; Haader 1991, 1995)

Functional split → etymologically related operators:

hogy — *hol* 'where'

ha — *hová* 'where to'

mint — *miként*, *miképpen* 'how'

mert — *miért* 'why'

Split took place in different periods:

- *hogy* and *ha*: before the Old Hungarian period
- *mint* and *mert*: during the Old Hungarian and the Middle Hungarian period

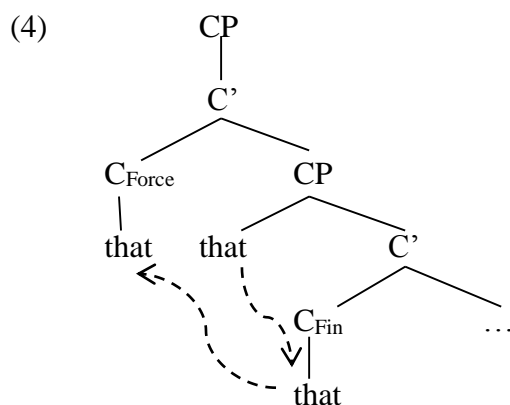
3. The history of simplex complementisers

Development from operators to C heads: reanalysis

Second stage in reanalysis: from C_{Force} head to C_{Fin} head

The relative cycle as a grammaticalization process: an original determiner becomes first a relative operator, and subsequently the relative operator is reanalysed as a C head. (Roberts–Roussou 2003: 119; van Gelderen 2009)

e.g. the development of the English *that*:



→ operator function of *mint* and *mert* preserved in Old Hungarian, alongside the new one (C heads)

→ operator function of *hogy* ‘how’ and *ha* ‘when-Rel.’ new: the latter was rare but the former is still possible in Modern Hungarian:

- (5) Láttam, hogy úszik a dinnyehéj.
 saw-I that/how drifts the melon rind
 ‘I saw that/how the melon rinds were drifting.’

4. Two complementisers in one Left Periphery

Proposal: *hogy* and *ha* developed into C heads earlier

→ in Old Hungarian, they are C_{Force} heads

↔ *mint* and *mert* are later developments and are either in the lower [Spec; CP] or in C_{Fin}

→ development of *hogymint*, *hamint*, and *hogy mert*

hogy mint ‘that than’ (cf. Bacskai-Atkari 2011) – comparatives:

- (6) édességet érze nagyobb **hogy mint** annak előtte
 sweetness-Acc. felt-(s)he greater that than that-Dat. before-Poss.1.Sg.
 ‘(s)he felt sweetness even more than before’ (LázK. 140)

hamint ‘if than’ – conditional comparatives:

- (7) **ha mint** csak el aludtak volna lelküket Istennek meg adák
 if than only PREVB slept-they be-Cond. souls-Poss.3.Pl. God-Dat. PREVB gave-they
 ‘as if they had only fallen asleep, they gave their souls to God’ (SándK. 28)

hogy mert ‘that because’ – clauses of reason:

- (8) **Dehogy mert** szent Ferenc igen szereti vala őtet tisztaságáért
 but.that because Saint Francis well liked-he be-Past. him for.purity-Poss.3.Sg.
 ‘but because Saint Francis liked him well for his purity’ (JókK. 46)

other C_{Force}+operator combinations in the period with *hogy* and *ha*, e.g. *hogy ki* ‘that who’, *ha mi* ‘if what’ (Juhász 1992; Galambos 1907)

→ *hogy* and *ha* had to be C_{Force} heads

5. Movement and complex complementisers

Proposal: the underlying order changes when the C_{Fin} head moves up to be adjoined to the C_{Force} head, cf. Kayne’s Linear Correspondence Axiom (Kayne 1994)

→ development of *minthogy*, *mintha*, *merthogy*, *hogyha*, and *hahogy*

minthogy ‘than that’ – comparatives:

- (9) semmi nagyobb nem mondathatik: **mint hogy** legyen Istennek anyja
 nothing greater not say-Pass.Cond.3.Sg. than that be-Subj.3.Sg God-Dat. mother
 ‘nothing can be said to be greater than that she be the mother of God’ (TihK. 143)

mintha ‘than if’ – conditional comparatives:

- (10) És kimenének szokásuk szerint **mint ha** az imádságra mennének
 and out.went-they custom-Poss.3.Pl. according than if the prayer-Subl. go-Cond.3.Pl.
 ‘and they went out as was their custom, as if going for prayer’ (GuaryK. 113—114)

merthogy ‘because that’ – clauses of reason:

- (11) **Mert hogy** bizonynal volt volna Krisztusnak tökéletes tanítványa
 because that definitely was-3.Sg.be-Cond. Christ-Dat. perfect student-Poss.3.Sg.
 ‘because he was a perfect student of Christ’ (JókK. 20—21)

hogyha ‘that if’ – conditional clauses:

- (12) víg orcával elmegyén vala, **hogyha** ingyen nem hallanája
 happy face-Instr. away.went-3.Sg. be-Past. that.if absolutely not hear-Cond.3.Sg.
 ‘(s)he went away with a happy face, as if (s)he had absolutely not heard it’ (VirgK. 81)

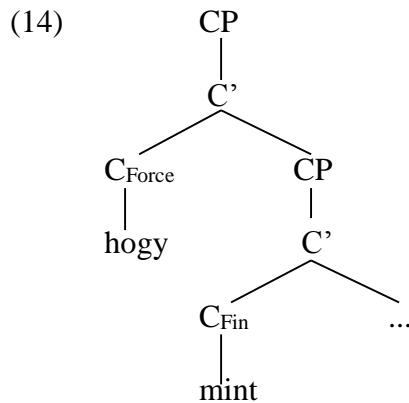
hahogy ‘if that’ – conditional clauses:

- (13) **hahogy** annak leírásában túl nem járok a kellő rövidségben
 if.that that-Dat. description-Poss.1.Sg.Iness. over not go-I the
 appropriate length-Iness.
 ‘if I do not exceed the appropriate length in its the description’ (Ferenc Molnár, 1788)

6. Conclusions

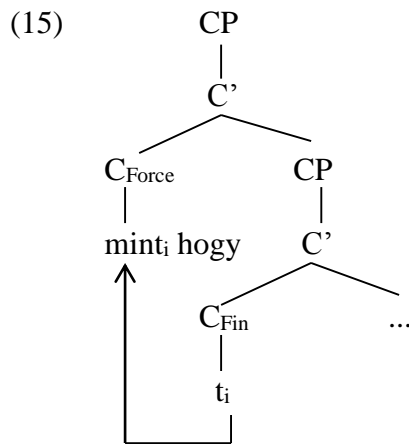
Default word order: $C_{\text{Force}} + C_{\text{Fin}}$

→ gives *hogy + mint / mert* and *ha + mint*



Movement: if the C_{Fin} head moves up to the C_{Force} head, adjunction will happen in the reverse order (cf. Kayne's Linear Correspondence Axiom)

→ gives *mint / mert + hogy* and *mint + ha*



Movement ultimately leads to complex complementisers that are base-generated as a complex C_{Force} → no further need for movement.

Advantages:

- the orders XY and YX are just variations of one another – the original meaning is always the same

- explains the diachronic difference: the ones with the reverse word order survive into Modern Hungarian ↔ the ones with the default word order have disappeared from the language
 - change in the constraint: Old and Middle Hungarian allowed the two C heads to be filled simultaneously, Modern Hungarian does not
 - configurations having two separate C heads overtly had to disappear
 - complex C heads could remain
- explains why certain configurations (i.e. *mint + mert*) are impossible: two C_{Fin} heads not allowed

The case of *hogy* ‘that’ and *ha* ‘if’:

- *hogyha*: *hogy* in this case moved from C_{Fin}
 - (← new operator *hogy* ‘how-Rel.’ developed into a C head) – *hogyha* is first used in conditional comparatives, just like *mintha* ‘than.if’
- *hahogy*: later (rare) development, when *ha* changed from C_{Force} to C_{Fin} – prohibition on two C heads making movement necessary but no development into a proper complex C head

References

- Bacsikai-Atkari, Julia (2010) *A komparatív operátor esete a mondatbevezetővel: Szintaktikai változások a magyar hasonlító mellékmondatokban*. Talk delivered to: *Nyelvelmélet és diakrónia*, Piliscsaba, Department of Theoretical Linguistics– Department of Hungarian Linguistics, Pázmány Péter Catholic University. 16–17 November 2010.
- Chomsky, Noam (1977) On WH-movement. In Culicover, Peter W. et al. (eds.), *Formal Syntax*. New York: Academic Press. 71–132.
- Galambos, Dezső (1907) *Tanulmányok a magyar relatívum mondattanáról*. Budapest: Athenaeum.
- Haader, Lea (1991) Az alárendelő mondatok: Az alanyi, állítmányi, tárgyi és határozói mellékmondatok. In: Benkő, Loránd (ed.), *A magyar nyelv történeti nyelvtana I.: A korai ómagyar kor és előzményei*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 728–741.
- Haader, Lea (1995) Az alárendelő mondatok: Az alanyi, állítmányi, tárgyi és határozói mellékmondatok. In: Benkő, Loránd (ed.), *A magyar nyelv történeti nyelvtana II/2.: A kései ómagyar kor: Mondattan. Szöveggrammatika*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 506–665.
- Juhász, Dezső (1991) A kötőszók. In: Benkő, Loránd (ed.), *A magyar nyelv történeti nyelvtana I.: A korai ómagyar kor és előzményei*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 476–500.
- Juhász, Dezső (1992) A kötőszók. In: Benkő, Loránd (ed.), *A magyar nyelv történeti nyelvtana II/1.: A kései ómagyar kor: Morfematika*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 772–814.
- Kántor, Gergely (2008a) On Hungarian Relative Operators. *The Even Yearbook* 8. 1–12.
- Kayne, Richard (1994) *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT.
- Kennedy, Christopher and Jason Merchant (2000) Attributive Comparative Deletion. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 18. 89–146.
- Roberts, Ian and Anna Roussou (2003) *Syntactic Change: A Minimalist Approach to Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- van Gelderen, Elly (2009) Renewal in the Left Periphery: Economy and the Complementiser Layer. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 107:2. 131–195.