

## THE DIACHRONIC SYSTEM OF THE LEFT PERIPHERY OF SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN HUNGARIAN\*

### 0. The problem

elements introducing subclauses in Modern Hungarian:

- simplex complementisers (C heads)

*hogy* ‘that’, *ha* ‘if’, *mint* ‘than/as’, *mert* ‘because’

- complex complementisers (C heads)

e.g. *hogyha* ‘that if’, *mintha* ‘as if’, *minthogyha* ‘than that if’

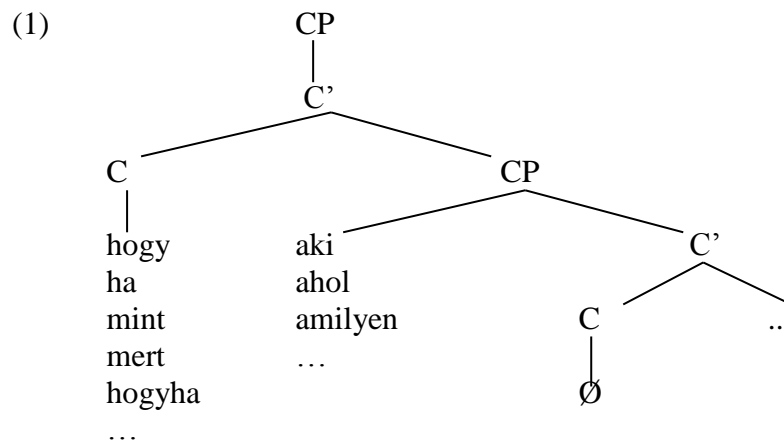
- relative pronominal operators (DPs, AdvPs)

e.g. *aki* ‘who-Rel.’, *ahol* ‘where-Rel.’

- combinations of simplex complementisers and relative pronouns

e.g. *mint amilyen* ‘than how’

positions (cf. Rizzi 1997):



relative operators – move to [Spec; CP] via operator movement  
 (cf. Chomsky 1977; Kennedy and Merchant 2000; Kántor 2008)

C heads: base-generated in C – Modern Hungarian: only one C head is filled (~ Italian)

system: dynamic from a diachronic perspective

question: how the relation of the individual processes can be described

different processes vs. different timing

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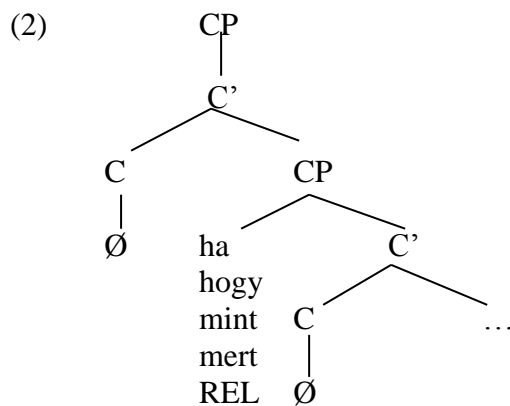
### 1. Operators

*hogy* ‘that’, *ha* ‘if’, *mint* ‘than’, *mert* ‘because’: originally operators  
(cf. Juhász 1991, 1992; Haader 1991, 1995)

*hogy* ‘how’, *ha* ‘when’, *mint* ‘how’, *mert* ‘why’

relative pronouns – e.g. *ki* ‘who’, *mi* ‘what’

position:



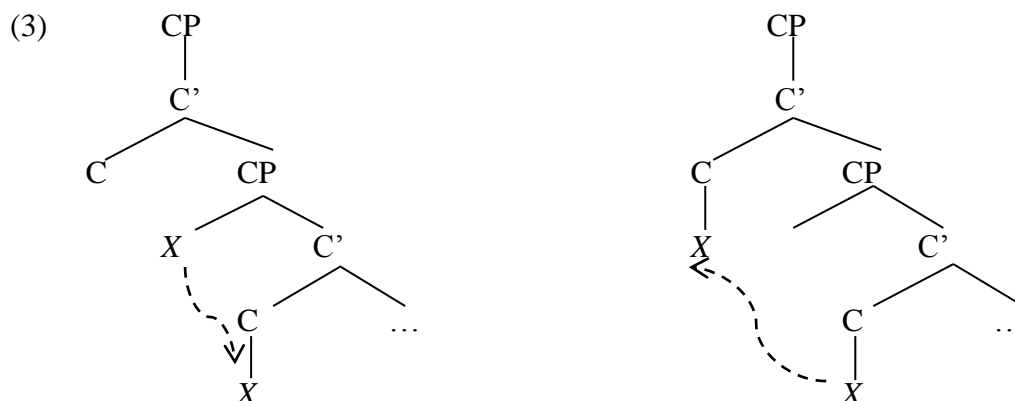
### 2. Grammaticalisation

reanalysis: from operator to C head

relative cycle: an operator (an original pronoun) is reanalysed as a complementiser head  
(Roberts and Roussou 2008; van Gelderen 2009)

~ English *that*

further reanalysis: from lower C heads to upper C heads ~ English *that*



functional split taking place in different times

*hogy* and *ha*: before the Old Hungarian period and in Early Old Hungarian

*mint* and *mert*: in Old and Middle Hungarian

→ difference in typical positions in Old and Middle Hungarian

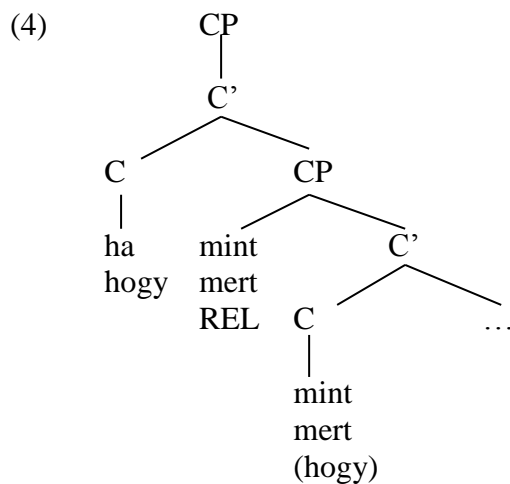
*ha* ‘if’: upper C

*hogy* ‘that’: upper or lower C

*mint* ‘than’, *mert* ‘because’: lower C or lower [Spec; CP]

relative pronouns (e.g. *ki* ‘who’) do not develop into C heads – lack of feature loss

positions (Old Hungarian):



### 3. Combinations

possible co-occurrences in Old and Middle Hungarian:

- upper C + lower C
- upper C + operator (cf. Galambos 1907)

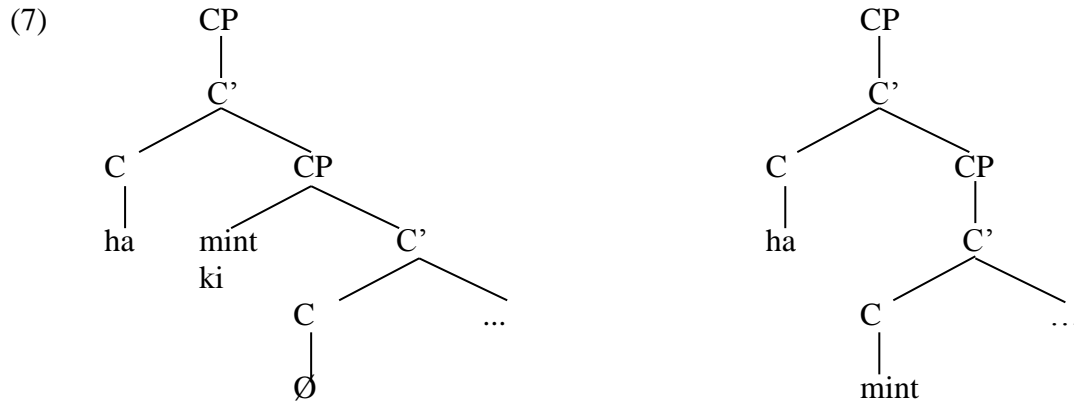
→ *hamint* ‘if as’, *hahogy* ‘if that’, *ha* ‘if’ + relative pronoun

- (5) **Ha** késen **hogy** el nyugot az nap, hamar esőt váry  
 if late that PREV set-3.Sg. the sun soon rain-Acc. expect-Imp.2.Sg.  
 ‘if the sun has set late, expect rain soon’ (Cis. G3)

→ *hogymint* ‘that than’, *hogymert* ‘that because’, *hogy* + relative pronoun

- (6) olýaat tezők raýtad **hog** kýtöl felz  
 such-Acc. do-1.Sg. you-Sup. that what-Abl. fear-2.Sg.  
 ‘I will do such on you that you fear’ (SándK. 28)

structures:

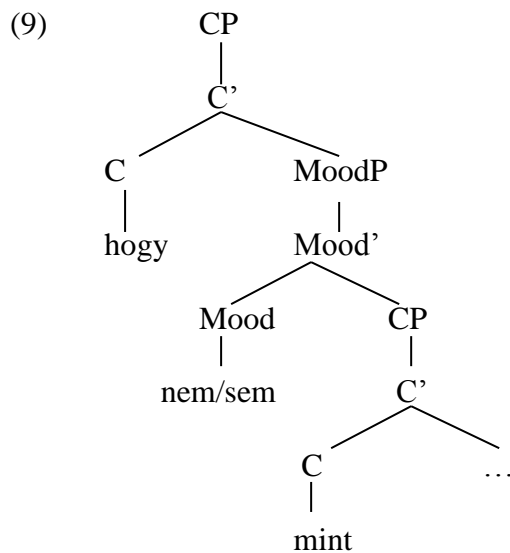


negative-like MoodP may appear between the two CPs (cf. Bacskai-Atkari 2011):

*hogynemmint* 'that not than', *hogysemmint* 'that neither than'

- (8) az mentől alsóbýkban is tob angýal uagon **honnemmýnth** az napnak feneben  
 the more down-Ine. also more angel is that.not than the sun-Dat. light-Poss.  
 'there are more angels in the basest one of them than in the sun's light' (SándK. 1v)

structure:



English: similar combinations in Middle English – *if that, for that* (van Gelderen 2005)

- (10) Blameth nat me **if that** ye chese amys. (Chaucer: *The Canterbury Tales: Prologue*)

#### 4. Movement

lower C may move up to the upper one even if the latter is filled → adjunction

Kayne's Linear Correspondence Axiom: adjunction results in the reverse order  
(Kayne 1994); cf. also the Mirror Principle of Baker (1985, 1988)

→ *mintha* 'as if', *hogyha* 'that if', *minthogy* 'than that', *merthogy* 'because that'

(11) *kí* menének zocafoc zerent **mint ha** az imadfagra mēnenec  
out went-they custom-Poss.3.Pl. according than if the prayer-Subl. go-Cond.3.Pl.  
'they went out as was their custom, as if going for prayer' (GuaryK. 113–114)

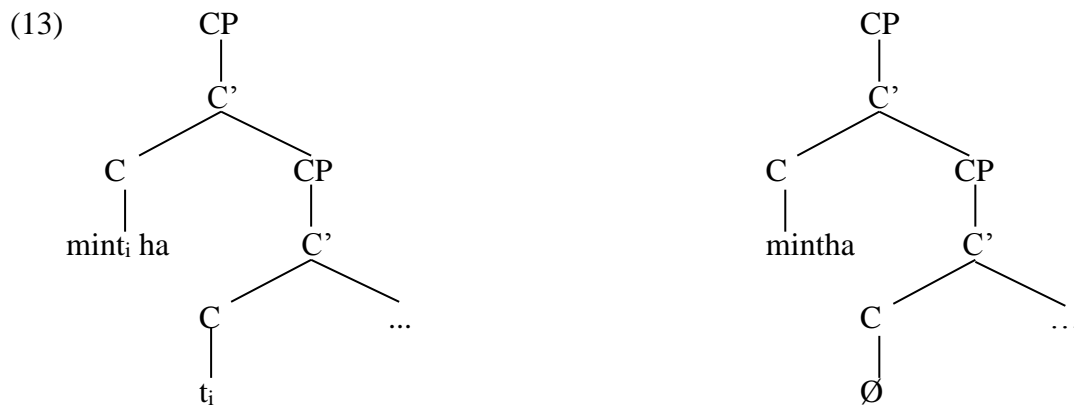
(12) *hogyha*, *mintha*, *minthogy* and *merthogy* in the gospels:

	Munich Codex (1466)	Jordánszky Codex (1516–1519)	Káldi translation (1626)	Neovulgata (1997)
<i>hogyha</i>	9	8	9	–
<i>mintha</i>	–	1	3	7
<i>minthogy</i>	–	–	4	1
<i>merthogy</i>	–	1	–	–

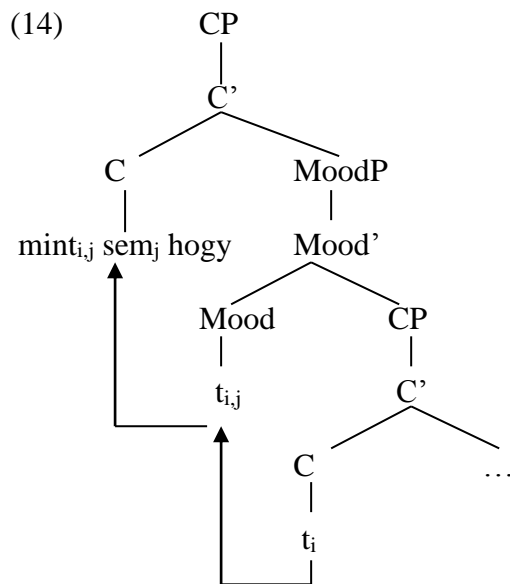
*hogy/ha* 'that/if' + relative pronoun combinations: no inverse order as there is no movement  
either (not C heads)

grammaticalization: base-generation as a single C head (base-generation more economical  
than movement; cf. van Gelderen 2004)

structures:



similarly in structures containing a negative-like MoodP:



English: no such complex complementisers

movement of *that* to higher C: no head adjunction

morphological restrictions – cross-linguistic differences

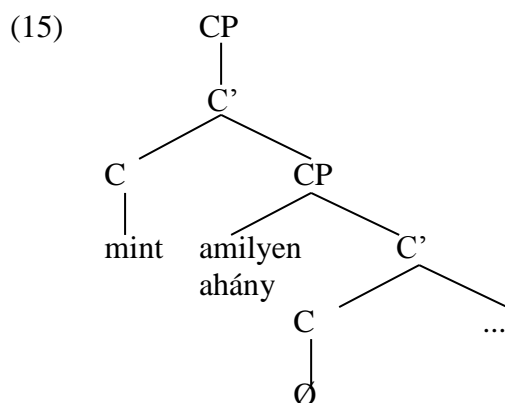
timing – appearance in combinations vs. moving up

### 5. Further combinations

- the new grammaticalized simplex upper C heads may co-occur with new operators in the lower [Spec; CP]

→ *mint amilyen* ‘than how-Rel.’, *mint ahány* ‘than how many-Rel.’ (cf. Bacskai-Atkari 2011)

structure:

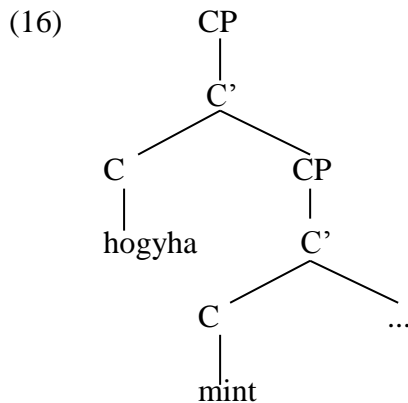


- grammaticalized complex upper C may co-occur with another in the lower C

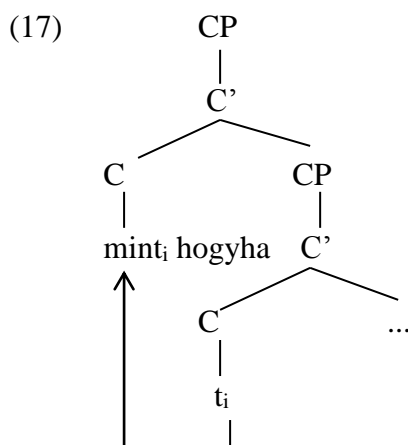
earliest grammaticalized complex C: *hogyha* ‘that if’ (*hogy*: preferably moved up)

Haader (2003): *hogyhamint* ‘that if than’, *minthogyha* ‘than that if’

*hogyhamint*:



*minthogyha*:



## 6. Changes

grammaticalization of complementisers in higher C

→ lower C remains unfilled, in Modern Hungarian there are no C + C combinations

(*hamint* ‘if than’, *hahogy* ‘if that’, *hogymint* ‘that than’, *hogymert* ‘that because’)

↔ fully grammaticalized complex C heads

*hogy* ‘that’: functional change (cf. Bacsikai-Atkari 2012)

- general marker of subordination ~ in English (*that*)
- wide range of structures – relative clauses, clauses of reason
- *hogy* + X vs. X + *hogy* complex complementisers usually meaning ‘X’

## Conclusion

changes in the Left Periphery: grammaticalization (e.g. the relative cycle)

diachronic processes are similar – differences in timing

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