

THE RELATIVE CYCLE IN HUNGARIAN DECLARATIVES

0. The problem

Modern Hungarian *hogy* ‘that’:

- introduces finite declarative content clauses – located in higher C (cf. Rizzi 1997)
- appears as parts of certain complex complementisers (e.g. *merthogy* ‘because that’)

↔ Old and Middle Hungarian:

- *hogy* had various other functions (e.g. comparative complementiser)
- reverse order of complex complementisers also existed (e.g. *hogymert* ‘that because’)
- *hogy* also appeared in relative clauses (e.g. *hogy ki* ‘that who’)
- meaning of *hogy* in combinations: transparency

→ proposal:

- *hogy* developed via the relative cycle
- *hogy* became a general marker of subordination in Old and Middle Hungarian

1. The data

- functions of *hogy* ‘that’ present in Old, Middle and Modern Hungarian

– simple embedded declaratives:

- (1) Láttam, **(hogy)** esik az eső.
saw-I-Decl. that rains-Decl. the rain
‘I saw it was raining.’

– embedded imperatives:

- (2) Azt mondták, **(hogy)** menjek Portóba.
that-Acc. said-they-Decl. that go-I-Subj. Porto-III.
‘They told me to go to Porto.’

– embedded *wh*-interrogatives (*hogy*+interrogative pronoun):

- (3) Azt kérdeztem, **(hogy)** mikor indulsz.
that-Acc. asked-I-Decl. that when leave-you-Decl.
‘I asked when you were to leave.’

– clauses of purpose:

- (4) Elmentem, **hogy** vegyek kenyeret.
 went-I-Decl. that buy-I-Subj. bread-Acc.
 ‘I went to buy some bread.’

– resultatives (*úgy+hogy, olyan+hogy* ‘so that’):

- (5) Mari úgy elesett, **hogy** két hétig kórházban volt.
 Mary so fell-she-Decl. that two weeks.for hospital-ine. was-she-Decl.
 ‘Mary fell so badly that she spent two weeks in hospital.’

• new function: embedded yes/no questions (with *-e* particle):

- (6) Azt kérdeztem, (**hogy**) éhes vagy-e.
 that-Acc. asked-I-Decl. that hungry are-you-Decl.PARTICLE
 ‘I asked whether you were hungry.’

• obsolete functions:

– introducing comparative subclauses (*hogynem* ‘that not’):

- (7) Mert job hog megfog’dofuā algukmég’ vrat **hog né**
 because better that caught-Past.Part. bless-we-Subj.PREV Lord-Acc. that not
 mēghal’l’ōc
 die-we-Subj.

‘because it is better that we should bless the Lord caught than die’ (BécsiK. 25)

– introducing embedded conditionals:

- (8) inkább job volna □ neki, **hog** eg źamar tereh k□ttētnec □
 rather better be-it-Cond. he him-Dat. that a donkey burden bound-it-Cond. his
 űnaka k□rñ□l
 neck-Poss.3Sg. around

‘it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck’ (MünchK. 45va)

• combinations in Modern Hungarian with other complementisers:

minthogy ‘than that’, *merthogy* ‘because that’, *hogyha* ‘that if’

• historical combinations (besides the ones above):

hogymint ‘that than’, *hogymert* ‘that because’, *hahogy* ‘if that’

small corpus analysis: the Gospel of Mark in 3 translations

Munich Codex (1466) – Old Hungarian

György Káldi's translation (1626) – Middle Hungarian

Káldi-Neovulgata (1997) – Modern Hungarian

altogether: 255 locuses

(9)

| | 1466 | 1626 | 1997 |
|---------------------------|------|------|------|
| <i>hogy</i> 'that' | 117 | 166 | 182 |
| Ø alternates | 11 | 18 | 21 |
| <i>hogynem</i> 'that not' | 5 | – | – |
| <i>hogyha</i> 'that if' | 5 | 6 | 1 |

2. Grammaticalisation and the relative cycle

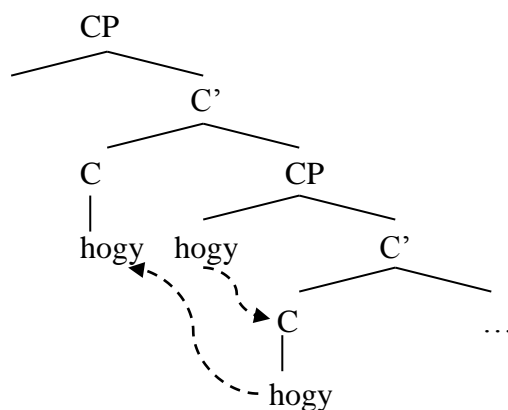
relative cycle (cf. van Gelderen 2009; Roberts–Roussou 2003):

- a pronoun becomes first an operator moving to [Spec; CP]
- subsequently this operator is reanalysed as the head of that CP

further possibility: reanalysis from lower C to higher C

(for English *that* see van Gelderen 2009)

(10)



both steps motivated by economy (cf. van Gelderen 2004):

- Head Preference Principle
- Late Merge Principle

3. Simplex complementisers

development of other complementisers: by way of the relative cycle

ha ‘if’, *mint* ‘than’ and *mert* ‘because’

- originally pronouns, which came to be operators

(11) *furifcte mufia!|| etety ýmletí. ug hug ana fciluttet.*
 bathes washes feeds breastfeeds so how mother child-Acc.-Poss.3Sg.
 ‘she bathes, washes, feeds and brestfeeds him as a mother does her child’ (KT.)

chronology:

- functional split for *hogy* and *ha* took place before the Old Hungarian period
 → position: *ha* always in the higher C head
hogy typically a higher C head and rarely a lower one
- for *mint* and *mert*: split only during the Old and Middle Hungarian periods
 → position: *mint* and *mert* either operators in the lower [Spec; CP] or in the lower C head

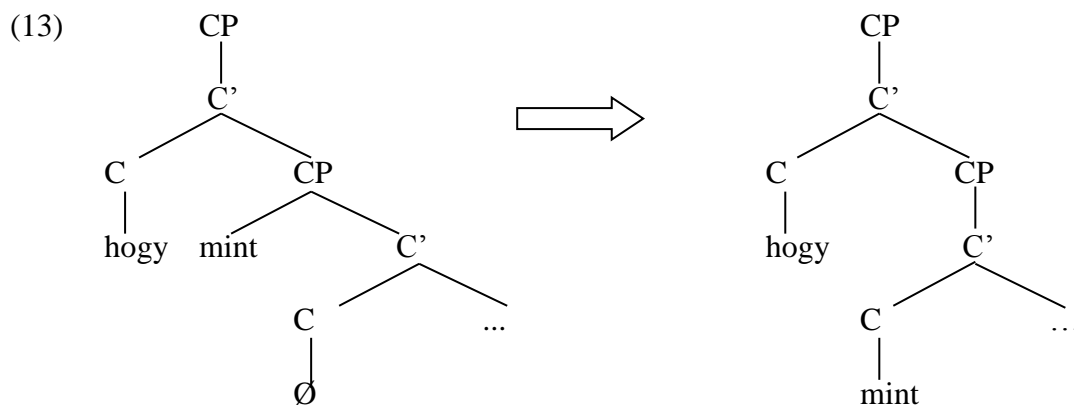
4. Multiple complementisers

two complementisers in one Left Periphery allowed in Old/Middle Hungarian

higher C + lower C ← higher C + operator

(12) *edesseget erze nagyoban hogymint annak el□tte*
 sweetness-Acc. felt-(s)he greater that.than that-Dat. before-Poss.3.Sg.
 ‘(s)he felt sweetness even more than before’ (LázK. 140)

structure:



fixed word orders:

hogy typically in the upper C head

→ *hogymint* ‘that than’, *hogymert* ‘that because’

with *ha*: *ha* in the upper C head

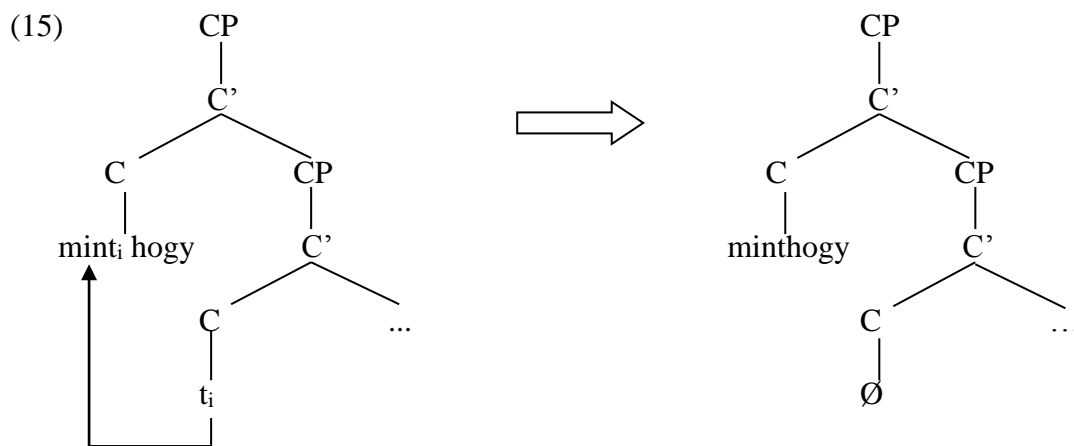
5. Complex complementisers

movement of the lower C head to the upper one: adjunction results in the reverse order

← Linear Correspondence Axiom, cf. Kayne (1994)

- (14) *semi nagob nem mondathatik: mint hogh leg□n istenek ania*
 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)

structure:



grammaticalization: complex complementisers base-generated as such

← economy: base-generation preferred over movement

→ *minthogy* ‘than that’, *merthogy* ‘because that’

Modern Hungarian: does not allow two separate C heads

→ reverse order combinations preserved

→ original C+C combinations are extinct

6. The position of *hogy*

underlying order: typically of the form *hogy*+X

← *hogy* typically in the higher C head

→ generally combinations of the form X+*hogy* remain in the language

exception: combinations of *hogy* and *ha* ‘if’

underlying order: *ha*+*hogy*

evidence: intervening elements possible:

- (16) **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)

explanation:

ha invariably in the higher C head → *hogy* could only be base-generated in the lower C head

but: movement preferred for *hogy*

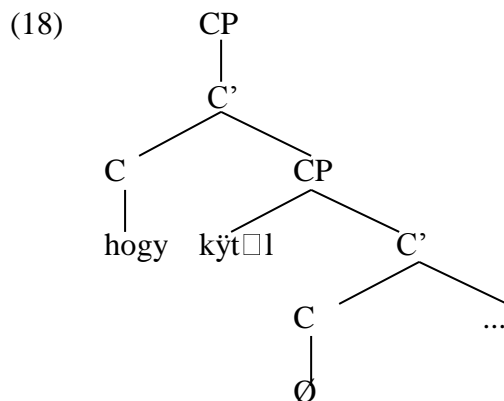
→ reverse order (*hogyha*) more frequent even in Old and Middle Hungarian

7. Relative clauses

relative clauses containing *hogy* + a relative operator

possible in Old and especially in Middle Hungarian (cf. Galambos 1907)

- (17) olýaat tezők ráytad **hog** **kýt** felz
 such do you that who fear
 ‘I will do such on you that you fear’



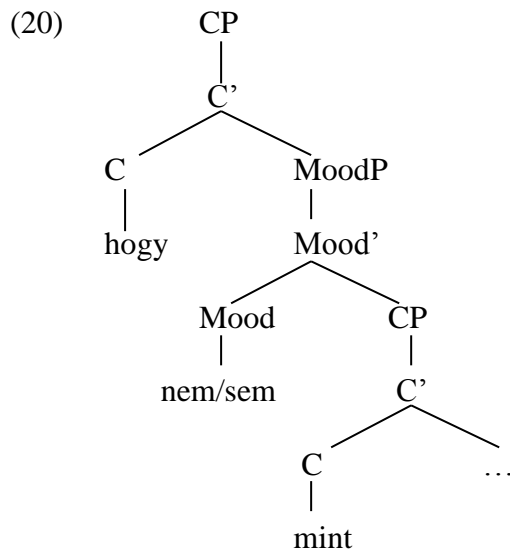
8. Further combinations

negative-like Mood heads:

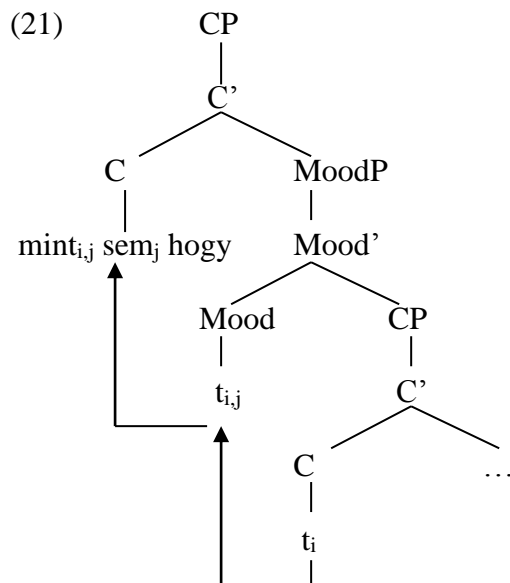
→ *hogynemmint* ‘that not than’, *hogysemmint* ‘that neither than’

- (19) az mentól alsobýkban is tob angýal uagon **honnem mýnth** 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:



no longer in Modern Hungarian – but: reverse order: *mintsemhogy* ‘than neither that’



9. Functions of *hogy*

recall:

(22)

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original specific functions: comparative, partly also conditional

- change in Old Hungarian: *mint* ‘than’ appeared in the subclause (cf. Bacskai-Atkari 2011)
- *hogy* losing the function of marking comparative Force

loss of specific functions \Rightarrow *hogy* became the marker of subordination

Modern Hungarian: extension to embedded yes/no questions

subordination: increase in the number of finite clauses

(23)

| | 1466 | 1626 | 1997 |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|
| infinitival | 16 | 11 | – |
| other participial | 6 | 2 | – |
| phrasal | 10 | 7 | 1 |

extension: *hogy* appeared in other clauses functioning as a general subordinator head

→ combinations, relative clauses

- appearance in a wide range of clauses: conditionals, clauses of reason, relative clauses
- the meaning of a combination *hogy*+X or X+*hogy* did not initially differ from the meaning of X on its own

later: other complementisers becoming (higher C) subordinators too

→ *hogy* no longer used as a general declarative marker

Conclusion

hogy developed via the relative cycle

relative cycle can be extended to other C heads

combinations dependent on the timing of the relative cycle

hogy: general subordinator head

References

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