

ON THE DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT OF A HUNGARIAN DECLARATIVE COMPLEMENTISER

1. The problem

Function of Modern Hungarian *hogy* ‘that’: introduces finite declarative content clauses

↔ Old and Middle Hungarian: various functions

e.g. *hogy* appeared in comparative or conditional subclauses

Complex complementisers:

- several combinations did not survive into Modern Hungarian (e.g. *hogymint* ‘that than’)
- other combinations still exist (e.g. *minthogy* ‘than that’)

→ from a pair of combinations *hogy*+X and
X+*hogy*, always only one survives

- also appeared in relative clauses: combinations with *ki* ‘who’ and *mi* ‘what’: *hogyki*, *hogymi*

Proposal:

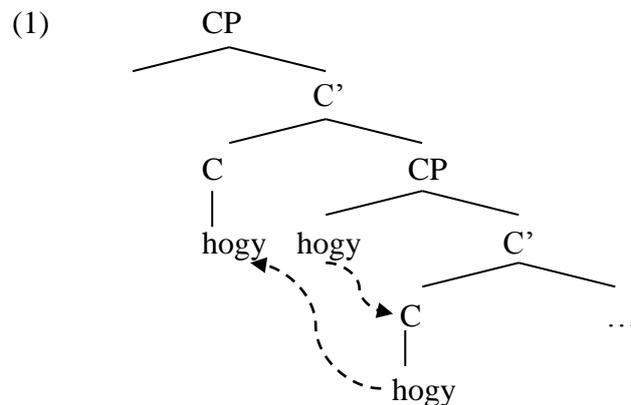
- *hogy* developed via the relative cycle
- *hogy* became a general marker of declarative Force in Old and Middle Hungarian

2. The relative cycle

Relative cycle: a pronoun becomes first an operator moving to [Spec; CP], and subsequently this operator is reanalysed as the head of that CP

(van Gelderen 2009; Roberts–Roussou 2003).

Reanalysis from lower C to higher C (for English *that* see van Gelderen 2009)



Economy: both steps motivated by economy

- Head Preference Principle
- Late Merge Principle

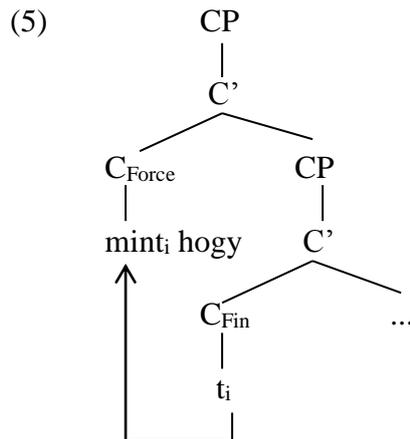
(cf. van Gelderen 2004)

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

- (4) *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)



Grammaticalization: complex complementisers base-generated as such

← economy: base-generation preferred over movement

→ reverse order combinations preserved even in Modern Hungarian, whereas original C+C combinations are no longer grammatical

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:

- (6) **Ha** késen **hogy** el nyugot az nap, hamar es□t 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

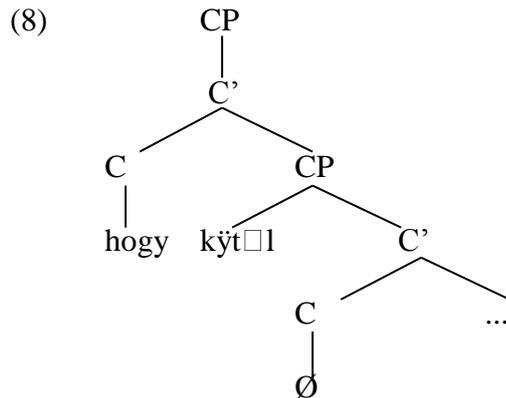
But: movement preferred for *hogy*

→ 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

- (7) olýaat tez□k raýtað **hog** **kýt□l** felz
 such do you that who fear
 ‘I will do such on you that you fear’



8. Functions of *hogy*

Comparatives: originally *hogy* was the comparative complementiser too

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

Loss of specific functions → *hogy* became the marker of declarative Force only

Extension: *hogy* appeared in other clauses functioning as a general declarative C head

- 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

Later: other complementisers consistently marking declarative Force besides their specific functions

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

References

- Bacskai-Atkari, Julia (2011) A komparatív operátor esete a mondatbevezetővel: Szintaktikai változások a magyar hasonlító mellékmondatokban. In: É. Kiss, Katalin and Attila Hegedűs (eds.) *Nyelvelmélet és diakronia*. Budapest–Piliscsaba: Szent István Társulat. 103–119.
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