

On the Diachronic Development of a Hungarian Declarative Complementiser

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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*

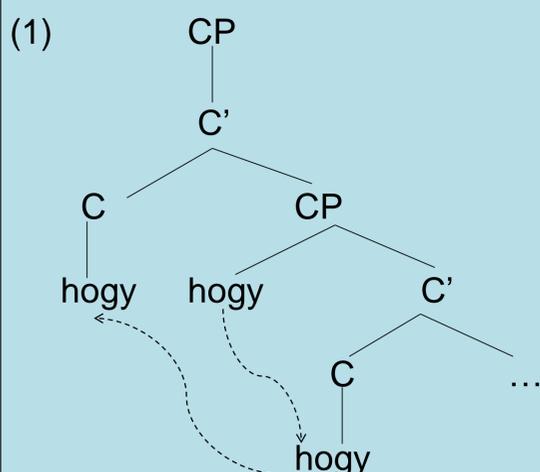
Proposal:

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

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)

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
- functional split → related operators

e.g. *hogy* ~ *hol* 'where'

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

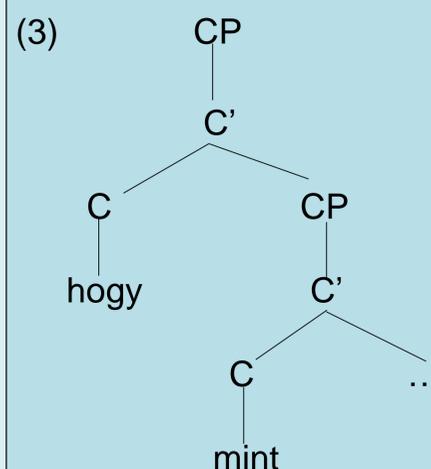
- for *mint* and *mert*: split only during the Old and Middle Hungarian periods

→ **position:** *mint* and *mert* either operators in the lower [Spec; CP] or in the lower C head

Multiple Complementisers

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

(2) edesseget erze nagyoban **hogymint**
 sweetness felt greater that.than
 annak elotte
 that before
 '(s)he felt sweetness more than before'



Fixed word orders:

hogy typically in the upper C head

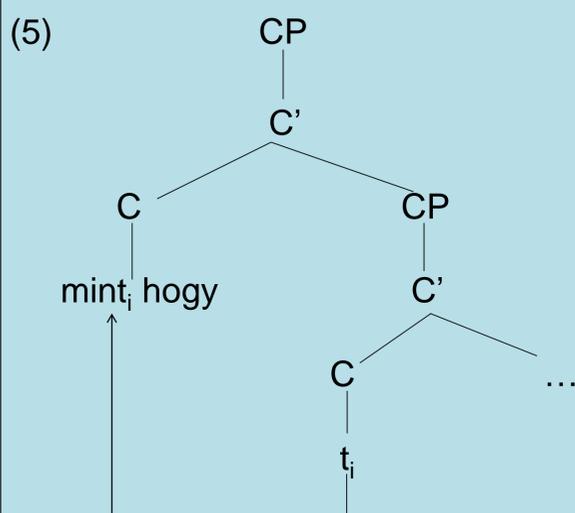
→ *hogymint* 'that than'

→ *hogymert* 'that because'

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**
 nothing greater not said than
hogh *legon* *istenek* *ania*
 that be God's mother
 'nothing can be said to be greater than
 that she be the mother of God'



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

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,*
 if late that PREV set the sun
hamar *esot* *váry*
 soon rain expect
 'if the sun has set late, expect rain soon'

Explanation:

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

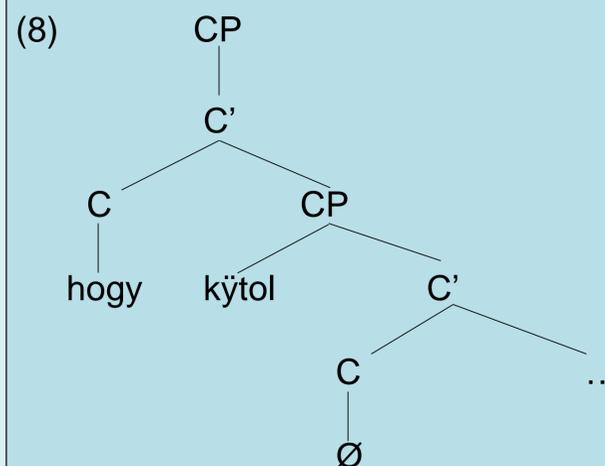
But: movement preferred for *hogy*

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

Relative Clauses

Relative clauses containing *hogy* + a relative operator: possible in Old and especially in Middle Hungarian

- (7) *olýaat* *tezoek* *ráýtad* **hog** **kýtol** *felz*
 such do you that who fear
 'I will do such on you that you fear'



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

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