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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ha</th>
<th>hogy</th>
<th>mert</th>
<th>mint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>hahogy</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>hamint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hogy</td>
<td>hogyha</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>hogy mert</td>
<td>hogymint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mert</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>merthogy</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mint</td>
<td>mintha</td>
<td>minthogy</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

\[
\text{CP} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C_{Force}} \quad \text{CP} \\
\text{Op.} \quad \text{C'} \\
\text{C_{Fin}} \quad ... \\
\]
Two C heads (Force and Finiteness)

Operators: in the lower [Spec; CP] position


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):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hogy} & \text{ in } C_{\text{Force}} \\
\text{ha} & \text{ in } C_{\text{Fin}} \\
\text{mint} & \text{ in } C_{\text{Force}} \\
\text{mert} & \text{ in } C_{\text{Force}} \\
\end{align*}
\]

- 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hogy} & \text{ — hol ‘where’} \\
\text{ha} & \text{ — hová ‘where to’} \\
\text{mint} & \text{ — miként, miképpen ‘how’} \\
\text{mert} & \text{ — miért ‘why’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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\text{Force} head to C\text{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:

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
    \node (CP) at (0,0) {CP};
    \node (C') at (0,-1) {C'};
    \node (C\text{Force}) at (-1,-2) {C\text{Force}};
    \node (that) at (-1,-3) {that};
    \node (C\text{Fin}) at (1.75,-2.75) {C\text{Fin}};
    \node (that') at (1.75,-4) {that};
    \node (\ldots) at (3,-3.75) {\ldots};

    \draw[->] (CP) -- (C');
    \draw[->] (C\text{Force}) -- (that);
    \draw[->] (CP) -- (C\text{Fin});
    \draw[->] (that) -- (that');
    \draw[->, dashed] (C\text{Fin}) -- (that');
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

→ 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 dinnyehék.
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\text{Force} heads

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

→ development of hogymint, hamint, and hogy mert

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

(6) édességet érze nagyobban 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.
    ‘as if they had only fallen asleep, they gave their souls to God’ (SándK. 28)

hogy mert ‘that because’ – clauses of reason:

(8) **De hogy** 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 CFin 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 voltvolna 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 elmegyen 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-1 the
    appropriate length-Iness.
    ‘if I do not exceed the appropriate length in its the description’ (Ferenc Molnár, 1788)
6. Conclusions

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

$\rightarrow$ gives *hogy* + *mint / mert* and *ha + mint*

(14) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C_{Force}} \\
\text{hogy} \\
\text{C_{Fin}} \\
\text{mint}
\end{array}
\]

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

$\rightarrow$ gives *mint / mert + hogy* and *mint + ha*

(15) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C_{Force}} \\
\text{mint, hogy} \\
\text{C_{Fin}} \\
\text{t_i}
\end{array}
\]

Movement ultimately leads to complex complementisers that are base-generated as a complex

$C_{\text{Force}} \rightarrow$ 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 CFin heads not allowed

The case of hogy ‘that’ and ha ‘if’:

● hogyha: hogy in this case moved from CFin

(← 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 CForce to CFin – prohibition on two C heads making movement necessary but no development into a proper complex C head

References


