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-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-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 iob hog megfog’dofuā algukmēg’ vrat **hog nē**
    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) inkab iob volna □ nēki, **hog** eg ūamar tēreh kēttētnec □
    rather better be-it-Cond. he him-Dat. that a donkey burden bound-it-Cond. his
    űaka kērhēl
    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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1466</th>
<th>1626</th>
<th>1997</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hogy ‘that’</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø alternates</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hogyenem ‘that not’</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hogyha ‘that if’</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

_‘if’, _mint_ ‘than’ and _mert_ ‘because’

- originally pronouns, which came to be operators

(11) furůcte muňa|| etet ųymlet. _ug_ _hug_ ana _ściluttet._

‘she bathes, washes, feeds breastfeeds so how mother child-Acc.-Poss.3Sg.

‘she bathes, washes, feeds and breastfeeds him as a mother does her child’ (KT.)

cronology:

- 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_ nag şioban _hogy_mint annak elítte

sweetness-Acc. _felt-(s)he greater than that-Dat. before-Poss.3Sg._

‘(s)he felt sweetness even more than before’ (LázK. 140)

structure:

(13)

```
          CP
          |
         C'  
        /  \
    C     CP
   /   \
hogy mint C' ...
    /     \
   C      Ø
```

fixed word orders:

_hogy_ typically in the upper C head

→ _hogy_mint ‘that than’, _hogy_mert ‘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 legin 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:

(15)

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** tez k ráytad **hogy** két felz
    such do you that who fear
    ‘I will do such on you that you fear’

(18)

```
CP
 /   \
C'   C
 /   /  \
C   CP   C'
 /       /  \
   hogy két I C'
       /   \
      C    ... 
         /  \\
        Ø     
```

8. Further combinations

negative-like Mood heads:

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

(19) **az** mentől alsobýkban is tob angýal uagon **honnemmy nth** 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:

(20)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{Mood} \\
\text{hogy} \\
\text{Mood'} \\
\text{nem/sem} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{...} \\
\text{mint}
\end{array}
\]

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

(21)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{Mood} \\
\text{mint}_{ij} \text{ sem}_{ij} \text{ hogy} \\
\text{Mood'} \\
\text{t}_{ij} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{...} \\
\text{t}_{i}
\end{array}
\]

9. Functions of hogy

recall:

(22)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1466</th>
<th>1626</th>
<th>1997</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hogy ‘that’</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø alternates</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hogynem ‘that not’</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hogyha ‘that if’</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1466</th>
<th>1626</th>
<th>1997</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>infinitival</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other participial</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phrasal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**


