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


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

(1)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{hogy} \\
\text{hogy} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{hogy} \\
\text{...}
\end{array}
\]

Economy: both steps motivated by economy
- Head Preference Principle
- Late Merge Principle

(cf. van Gelderen 2004)
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
- 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

4. Multiple complementisers
Two complementisers in one Left Periphery allowed in Old/Middle Hungarian

(2) edesseget erze nagyoban hogyminthannakeltette
sweetness-Acc. felt-(s)he greater that than that-Dat. before-Poss.1.Sg.
‘(s)he felt sweetness even more than before’ (LázK. 140)

(3)

Fixed word orders:

hogy typically in the upper C head

→ hogymint ‘that than’
→ hogymert ‘that because’
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[in] 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)

(5) CP
   /
  C’

CForce CP
   /
mint, hogh C’
   /
   CFin ... ti

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 hogh

Underlying order: typically of the form hogh+X

← hogh typically in the higher C head

→ generally combinations of the form X+hogh remain in the language

Exception: combinations of hogh and ha ‘if’

underlying order: ha+hogh

Evidence: intervening elements possible:

(6) Ha kézen hogh el nyogot az nap, hamar esıt 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 → hogh could only be base-generated in the lower C head

But: movement preferred for hogh

→ 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] raýtad 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. Bacskaï-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


