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

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 hogy-mint
  sweetness felt greater than
  annak elotte
  that before
  ‘(s)he felt sweetness more than before’

(3) hogy
  hogymint
  hogymert
  ‘that than’
  ‘that because’

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

(cf. van Gelderen 2004)

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)

(1)

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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’

(5) CP C’ mint hogy C’ CP

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 (*hogy*ha) 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) olyaat tezok rajtad *hogy* kýtol felz such do you that who fear ‘I will do such on you that you fear’

(8) CP C’ hogy kýtol C’ CP Ø

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