Grammaticalization paths for spatial adpositions in Hungarian

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Adpositions in Hungarian

- postpositions
- case markers
- particles
- adverbs
- prepositions (to some extent)
Claims

- Many postpositions and case markers grammaticalized from possessive constructions: DP+Case > AxPart+Case > P
- Some grammaticalized from adjunction structures: PP > P
- New Ps - postpositions and particles - are emerging from possessive structures and spatial case marked DPs.
- The functional layer of the extended PP is (becoming) head-initial.
Outline

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Adpositions in Hungarian

- two types of postpositions
  - case-like
    
    (1) a híd alatt
    the bridge under.at
    ‘under the bridge’

    (2) (én) alatt-am
    I under.at-1sg
    ‘under me’

  - case-assigning
    
    (3) a fá-*(hoz) közel
    the tree-ALL close.to
    ‘close to the tree’

    (4) (én) hozz-ám közel
    I ALL-1SG close.to
    ‘close to me’
Adpositions in Hungarian (cont.)

- Case-like Ps are often in triplets

(5)  
   a. a ház előtt  
       the house front.at  
       ‘in front of the house’
   b. a ház elé  
       the house front.to  
       ‘(to) in front of the house’
   c. a ház elől  
       the house front.from  
       ‘(from) in front of the house’
Adpositions in Hungarian (cont.)

- oblique case suffixes

(6) spatial
   a. a kert-ben
      the garden-INE
      ‘in the garden’
   b. a kert-be
      the garden-ILL
      ‘into the garden’
   c. a kert-ből
      the garden-ELA
      ‘from/out of the garden’

(7) other
   Mari-val
   Mary-INS
   ‘with Mary’
Adpositions in Hungarian (cont.)

▷ particles

(8)  a. A labda be-gurult az ágy alá.
    the ball into-rolled the bed under.to
    ‘The ball rolled under the bed.’
  b. János meg-találta a labdá-t.
    John MEG-found the ball-ACC
    ‘John found the ball.’

(9)  Mari át-jött.
    Mary over-came
    ‘Mary came over (to our place).’

▷ adverbs

(10) A labda bent van (a kapu-ban).
    the ball inside is (the goal-INE)
    ‘The ball is in (the goal).’
Note: the syntax of particles

- particles are separable; they are immediately preverbal in so-called neutral sentences

- particles are (mostly) inserted in a PP under V as secondary predicates: they introduce internal arguments (É. Kiss 2006, Surányyi 2009), e.g. (11)

- they move to the preverbal position via a phrasal movement to create complex predicates (e.g. É. Kiss 2006), this may be disrupted by further movements (e.g. negation, (12))

(11) Jutka át-úszta a folyó-t.
Judith across-swam the river-ACC
‘Judith swam across the river.’

(12) János nem találta meg a labdá-t.
John not found PRT the ball-ACC
‘John didn’t find the ball.’
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The structure of PPs


\[(13) \quad pP > \text{PathP} > \text{PlaceP} > \text{AxPartP} > \text{DP} \]

\[(14) \quad \text{Figure} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{pP} \\
\text{p} \\
\text{PathP} \\
\text{PlaceP} \\
\text{Path} \\
\text{AxPartP} \\
\text{Place} \\
\text{DP} \\
\text{AxPart}
\end{array} \]
p: functional adposition, its specifier hosts the Figure

Path is above Place (semantically built on it; also cross-linguistic morphological order)

(15)  

a. a kert-en át
    the garden-SUP over
    ‘across the garden’

b. elalvás előtt-re
    falling.asleep before.at-SUB
    ‘for (the time) before going to sleep’

c. a ház mögött-re
    the house behind.at-SUB
    to (the area) behind the house’

AxPart: has both nominal and adpositional properties
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Grammaticalization from possessives

The original structure was the following:

(16) Possessor + Possessee + spatial CASE  
(locative: -t/-n; goal: -á/-é; surce: -l)

(17) ez homus vilag timnuce-bel-e-ul  
this false  world prison.cell.POSS-inside-POSS-ABL  
‘out of the prison cell of this insincere world’  
(Funeral Sermon and Prayer, cca. 1195)

Old Hungarian possessive+directional case

(18) a kenyér bel-e  
the bread inside-POSS  
the inside of a loaf’  
Modern Hungarian possessive
Grammaticalization from possessives - Step 1

- Certain relational nouns, e.g. *top*, *bottom*, *side*, *front*, *back*, *gut*, *chest* etc. (Svenonius 2006: „axial parts”), were losing their nominal properties (Hegedus 2015)

- in Old Hungarian: dative + some possessive marking (Zsilinszky 1991)

\[(19)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \quad \text{zemey} \quad \text{elewt} \\
& \quad \text{eye-POSS.3SG-PL front.at} \\
& \quad \text{‘in front of his eyes’ (Jókai C. 121, 1372/1448)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \quad \text{baratok-nak} \quad \text{elewtt-e} \\
& \quad \text{brothers-DAT front.at-POSS} \\
& \quad \text{‘in front of (the) brothers’ (Jókai C. 84)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(20)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Possessor} & \quad + \quad \text{Possessee} & \quad + \quad \text{CASE} \\
\downarrow & \quad \downarrow & \quad \downarrow \\
\text{Ground} & \quad + \quad [\text{AxialPart} + \text{CASE}]
\end{align*}
\]
Grammaticalization from possessives - Step 2

- The [AxialPart + CASE] was reanalyzed into a monomorphemic P; the original possessor is the Ground complement of the new P (see Lehmann 2015 [1995])

(21) a. uromc scine eleut
    Lord.POSS.1PL face.POSS front.at
    ‘before our Lord’
    (Funeral Sermon and Prayer)

b. nekyk elue
    DAT.3PL before.to
    ‘(to) before them’ (Jókai C. 21)

c. ő orcaioc élől
    they face-POSS.3PL before.from
    ‘from before their faces’ (Vienna C. 32, 1416/1450)
Grammaticalization from possessives - Step 3

In some cases the morphologically independent P was reanalyzed as a bound case suffix (monosyllabic; these exhibit vowel harmony)

(22) paradisum-ben
    Paradise-INE
    ‘in Paradise’
    (Funeral Sermon and Prayer)

(23) ez vilag-bol
    this world-ELA
    ‘from this world’
    (Jókai C. 62)
Grammaticalization path (Hegedűs 2015)

(24)

PlaceP
  AxPartP
    AxPart
      DP
      zemey
    -t
    -tt-e
      AxPart
        elew-
      baratoknak

Grammaticalization of Hungarian Ps
(25)  a. paradisum-ben
    Paradise-in
    ‘in Paradise’ (Funeral Sermon and Prayer)

    b. PlaceP

    DP Place
    paradisum -ben

(26)  a. vilagbele
    world-into
    ‘into (the) world’ (Funeral Sermon and Prayer)

    b. PathP

    PlaceP Path
    DP Place -bele
    vilag
this is part of the P-cycle (Waters 2009): e.g. *in front of*, *outside* etc.

Roberts and Roussou (2003): P elements completely grammaticalize when they lose their spatial meaning

at that point, new items can enter the cycle
New case-like postpositions from possessive structures

- normally, case-like Ps are perceived by speakers as monomorphemic; they do not contain possessive marking any more

- a few case-like Ps still have a transparent possessive structure: base + possessive marking + oblique case

- these are still complex adpositions, with AxPart and Place/Path filled (Hegedűs & Dékány 2016)
New case-like postpositions from possessive structures

*számára, részére:* ‘for’ – these are not spatial

(27) X szám-á-ra, X rész-é-re
X number-POSS-SUB, X part-POSS-SUB
both: ‘for X’

(28) én szám-om-ra, ti szám-otok-ra
I number-POSS.1SG-SUB you.pl number-POSS.2PL-SUB
‘for me, for you(pl)’

(29) én rész-em-re, ti rész-etek-re
I part-POSS.1SG-SUB you.pl part-POSS.2PL-SUB
‘for me, for you(pl)’

cf. the old ones:

(30) én fel-ett-em
I top-LOC-POSS.1SG
‘above me’
New case-like postpositions from possessive structures

*helyében*: ‘in X’s shoes/place’ – spatial origin

(31) X hely-é-ben  
X place-POSS-INE  
‘in X’s place/shoes’

(32) én hely-em-ben, ti hely-etek-ben  
I place-POSS.1SG-INE you.pl place-POSS.2PL-INE  
‘in my shoes, in your(pl) shoes’

▶ still transparent possessive structures
Grammaticalization from adjuncts

- a PP with a case suffix can be modified by an appositive (locative or directional) PP adjunct containing only a free-standing adposition
  → loose relationship between the adposition and the case marked N

(33)  fy-al  usve
      son.INS together
      together with (her) son’
      (Königsberg Fragment, cca. 1350)

(34)  az  udvar-on kint
      the yard-SUP outside
      ‘outside in the yard’
Grammaticalization from adjuncts

- an adjunct can grammaticalize into a head on the main projection line in line with Van Gelderen’s (2004) Head Preference Principle.

- proposal: some adpositions adjoined to pP/PathP were reanalyzed as a head on the main projection line: as the p/Path head itself.

- the original adjunct then takes the case marked noun phrase (a PP) as its complement, a very local relationship → this resulted in complex adpositional phrases.

- Old Hungarian has very few such postpositions, many of them emerged in the Middle Hungarian period (1526-1772) or later.
Grammaticalization from adjuncts

(35)

(36) èn varos-om-nac kapu-i-n bêlôl
I city-poss.1sg-dät gate-poss.pl-sup inside
lit. ‘within the gates of my city’ (Vienna C. 7)

(37)
New Ps in adjunction structures

- Even the older ones are not that old (they are secondary to the grammaticalization of case suffixes)

- No new complex Ps from adjunctions?

- Harder to see the change?
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Grammaticalization of particles

- particles are generated in $p$ in the extended structure

\[(38) \quad (39) \quad pP > \text{PathP} > \text{PlaceP} > \text{AxPartP} > \text{DP}\]

- the oldest particles are: $\text{meg}$ ‘orig. back, now only telicizer’, $\text{el}$ ‘away’, $\text{be}$ ‘into’, $\text{ki}$ ‘out’, $\text{fel}$ ‘up’, $\text{le}$ down

- old particles are monomorphemic; we can’t see their grammaticalization only their semantic bleaching to some extent

\[(40) \quad \text{Es fèlèlèt vèuèn almoçban hog ne and reply taken dream-POSS.3PL-INE that not mennenèc } \text{meg herodèshèz go.COND-3PL back Herod.to ‘And being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to Herod’ (Munich C. 9ra, 1466)}\]
Grammaticalization of particles

(41) Tahat **meg** haga ṣtèt az ṣrdog
then **PRT-left** him the devil
Then the devil leaveth him’ (Munich C. 10ra)

(42) Ottan **el**-hagya hewtet az erdeg
there **away-left** him the devil
Then the devil leaveth him’ (Jordánszky C. 363, 1516-19)

▶ **meg** is the only one that has no real spatial use in Modern Hungarian

(43) a. **meg-ad**
back-give
give back (e.g. loan)’

b. **meg-jön**
**PRT-come**
‘arrive’
New particles from case marked DPs

- newer particles are more transparently complex

(44)  
a. \( [PathP [DP \text{ hát}] -ra ] \)  
back onto behind

b. \( [PathP [DP \text{ fél}] -re ] \)  
side onto aside, mis-V

c. \( [PathP [DP \text{ vég}] -be ] \)  
end into complete
New particles from case marked DPs

*agyón* ‘to death / to exhaustion’ is one of the newest particles (D. Mátai 2007); speakers still perceive it as having an N+CASE internal structure, but the meaning is bleached (Hegedűs & Dékány 2015)

(45) agy-on ver valaki-t
    brain-SUP beat somebody-ACC
    ‘hit somebody on the head’

(46) agy-on-ver valaki-t
    brain-SUP-beat somebody-ACC
    ‘beat somebody to death’

(47) agy-on-dicsér valaki-t
    brain-SUP-praise somebody-ACC
    ‘praise somebody to the skies / heap praises on somebody’
New particles from case-marked DPs

- other newly grammaticalizing particles: bele ‘into’, rá ‘onto’, hozzá to’, neki to’
- they are more complex: have agreement morphology

(48)  
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{János rá-lépett a lábam-ra.} \\
& \text{John onto(.3SG)-stepped the foot.POSS.1SG-SUB} \\
& \text{‘John stepped on my foot’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{Az autó neki-ment a fal-nak.} \\
& \text{the car to(.3SG)-went the wall-DAT} \\
& \text{The car drove into the wall.’}
\end{align*}

(49)  
\begin{align*}
\text{János csak RÁ-D nézett rá-d.} \\
& \text{John only onto.2SG looked onto.2SG} \\
& \text{‘John only looked at YOU.’}
\end{align*}

(50)  
\begin{align*}
\text{neki megyen a Fatens-nek} \\
& \text{go.3SG the witness-DAT} \\
& \text{‘he attacks (lit. goes to) the witness} \\
& \text{(Witch trial 59, before 1712 )}
\end{align*}
Prepositions from postpositions

- In Old Hungarian and Middle Hungarian all case assigning adpositions are postpositions.
- In Modern Hungarian some case-assigning Ps can also be prepositions.

(51) a fal-on át  the wall-SUP through  ‘through the wall’
(52) át a fal-on  through the wall-SUP  ‘through the wall’

- pP is changing from a head-final to a head-initial projection (Dékány & Hegedűs 2014)
- This is possibly a late follow-up of the large scale head-last to head-first change on the clausal and the phrasal level that happened in OH and MidH (É. Kiss 2014)
pP: headedness

- Hungarian: Place/PathP are head-final, pP is head-initial
- Interestingly this is the opposite of German ‘circumpositions’, where the p head has been argued to be head final (Van Rimesdijk 1990, 1998)

(53) \[
[pP [PP unter der Brücke] durch]
\]
under the bridge through
‘through under the bridge’
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- case-like Ps grammaticalized in possessive constructions with a directional case marker
- some case-like Ps then grammaticalized into case markers
- case-assigning Ps grammaticalized from adjuncts to case marked noun phrases
- particles grammaticalize from Path-denoting Ps (that were more complex originally)
Thank you!

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Sources

Jókai Codex (after 1372 / around 1448) P. Balázs, János (ed.), Jókai-kódex. (Transcription of the original record, the corresponding Latin text, with introduction and notes) Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981.

Grammaticalization of Hungarian Ps


