

A story about the left periphery The functional extension of the Hungarian noun phrase

Barbara Egedi
Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences
egedib@yahoo.com

1 Introduction

Aims: – to give an account of the change that can be observed on the nominal left periphery in Hungarian from the first written sources to the present day
– to offer a possible scenario how the functional extension of the noun phrase takes place in a language, after the overt marking of definiteness has grammaticalized

The *Hungarian Generative Diachronic Syntax* Project (2009-2013)

Supported by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA No. 78074)

- to reconstruct the syntax of early synchronic systems, and to model the syntactic changes
- to digitize the Old Hungarian records (+some Middle Hungarian), and to build an on-line searchable historical language corpus

The Old Hungarian Corpus query: <http://ohc.nytud.hu>

2 The noun phrase in Modern Hungarian

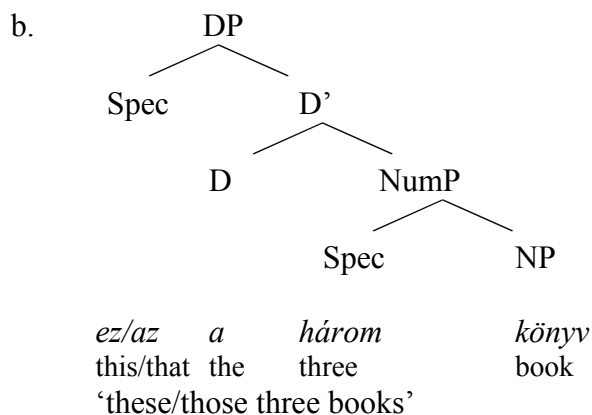
The structure of the noun phrase in Present Day Hungarian: based on the analysis of Szabolcsi 1994, modified by É. Kiss 2000 and Bartos 2000, 2001

2.1 DEMONSTRATIVES

- (1) a. ez-ek a könyv-ek b. az-t a könyv-et c. az-ok-at a könyveket
this-PL the book-PL that-ACC the book-ACC that-PL-ACC the book-PL-ACC
'these books' 'that book' 'those books'

Demonstratives in the Spec,DP (After Bartos 2000, 2001)

- (2) a. [DP ez/az [D' a [NumP három [NP könyv]]]]



2.2 POSSESSIVES

Two types of possessor expressions: a dative-marked and a nominative-marked/unmarked

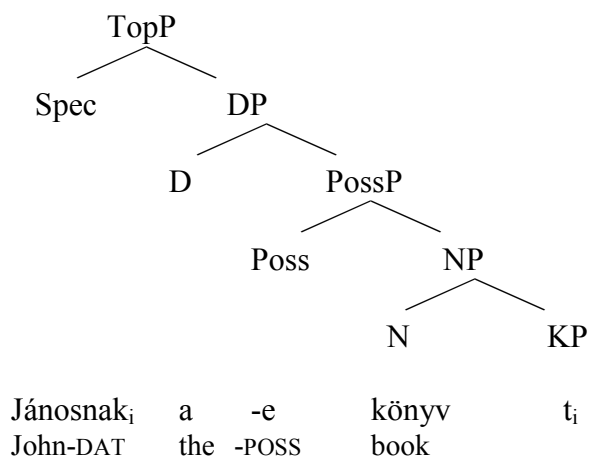
- (3) a. a szerzetes-nek a könyv-e b. a szerzetes könyv-e
 the monk-DAT the book-POSS the monk book-POSS

É. Kiss (2000: 134; following Szabolcsi): POSS on the N licenses the possessor as an argument

- (3b): Caseless possessor has a [+determiner] feature → *Spec,DP*
 ⇒ No definite article

- (3a): Dative case marked possessor has to leave its (post-nominal) complement position for the so called Case Constraint → noun phrase internal topicalization: *Spec,TopP*
 ⇒ Definite article in D position (4)

- (4) (After É. Kiss 2000:139)



The combination of demonstratives and possessives:

- (5) a. a szerzetes-nek ez a könyv-e
 the monk-DAT this the book-POSS
 ‘this book of the monk’

- (5) b. * ez a szerzetes-nek a könyv-e
 this the monk-DAT the book-POSS
 ‘this book of the monk’

- (5) c. * a szerzetes ez a könyv-e
 the monk this the book-POSS
 ‘this book of the monk’

- (6)
-
- The diagram shows a syntax tree for the phrase 'a szerzetesnek ez a könyv-e'. The root node is TopP, which branches into Spec and DP. DP branches into Spec and D'. D' branches into D and PossP. PossP branches into Poss and NP. NP branches into N and KP. Below the tree, the words and their grammatical functions are listed: a szerzetesnek_i (the monk-DAT), ez (this), a (the), könyv-e (book-POSS), and t_i.

3 The noun phrase in Old Hungarian

Table 1. Language stages of Hungarian and types of sources

Proto-Hungarian		1000 BC – 896 AD	No written documents; reconstructed
Old Hungarian	Early Old Hungarian	The age of the Árpád dynasty	Sporadic records, glosses, a few short texts, e. g. <i>Funeral Sermon and Prayer</i> (ca.1195)
	Late Old Hungarian	From around 1370 (time of compilation of Jókai Codex) to 1526	Mainly codices: translations of Latin religious literature + original Hungarian compositions (documents, poems and letters)
Middle Hungarian		1526-1772	Book printing New secular genres appear Significant increase in quantity
Modern Hungarian		1772- present day	

3.1 ARTICLE AND DEMONSTRATIVES

Modern Hungarian

- (7) ez/az **a** könyv (8) a szerzetes-nek **a** könyv-e
 this/that *the* book the monk-DAT *the* book-POSS
 ‘this/that book’ ‘the book of the monk’

Old Hungarian

- (9) e(z)/a(z) **o** könyv (10) a(z) szerzetes-nek **o** könyv-e
 this/that book the monk-DAT book-POSS
 ‘this/that book’ ‘the book of the monk’

Old Hungarian definite article:

- is a fully grammaticalized category encoding definiteness
- but with a more restricted use: only appears in the cases where referential identification is not encoded otherwise
- absent with nouns modified by a demonstrative and in the presence of a possessive expression

Table 2. The proportion of definite determiners (a/az) in five Old Hungarian codices

Codex	Date	Tokens	a/az	%
Jókai Codex	a.1370/c.1448	22733	550	2,42
Vienna Codex	a.1416/c.1450	54423	2225	4,09
Guary Codex	before 1495	20288	1387	6,84
Booklet	1521	8745	621	7,10
Kazinczy Codex	1526-1541	23591	2042	8,66

Distal demonstrative modifier > definite article

⇒ they cannot be distinguished from each other merely on formal grounds: formal and positional equivalence, and functional overlap (e.g. anaphoric use)

- (11) a. *az* kapu b. *az* kapu
 the gate *that* gate

Tendency in the literature on Old Hungarian: ‘pre-articles’, or ‘pronoun-articles’
 i.e. transitional word-class with dual nature (Bakró-Nagy 1999: 7; I. Galassy 1992: 721-722)
 For the same problem in Old English, see e.g. Sommerer (2011) with references

Detailed arguments for the Old Hungarian definite determiner to function as a true article, and the identification of the contexts in which it is still absent, see Egedi (*forthcoming*).

Giusti (2001: 167) for the reanalysis of Latin *ille* in Romance languages:

- (12) a. ⇒ b.

Cf. the ‘Head Preference Principle’ (van Gelderen 2004, 2008)

3.2 POSSESSIVES

Table 3. Positions of dative-marked possessors in Jókai Codex*

Constructions with dative-marked possessors in the text	756
Possessor and possessed noun are adjacent	613
Possessor and possessed noun are separated by attributes, or quantifiers	122
Possessor extracted out from the NP	21

*postpositional constructions and pronominal possessors excluded

- (13) a. a(z) szerzetes könyv-e b. a szerzetes-nek ∅ könyv-e
 the monk book-POSS the monk-DAT book-POSS
 ‘the book of the monk’

Possessives and demonstratives probably occupy the same structural position (*Spec, DP*)

Gospel of Matthew 24:14

- (14) a. Latin: Et praedicabitur **hoc evangelium regni** in universo orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus
 b. KJV: And **this gospel of the kingdom** shall be preached in all the world for the witness unto all nations.
 c. *Munich Codex* [1466] → ignores the demonstrative
 És prédikáltatik **az ország-nak** **evangéliom-a** mend ez világ-ban
 and be.preached the kingdom-DAT gospel-POSS all this world-INE

- d. *Jordánszky Codex* [1516-19] → attribute instead of a possessor
 És prédikáltatik **ez mennyei szent evangéliom** mind ez teljes világ-on
 and be.preached this heavenly holy gospel all this whole world-SUP
- e. *New Testament of Pesti Gábor* [1536] → relative clause
 És **ez evangéliom, ki mennyből vagy**on, hirdettetik ...
 and this gospel which heaven-ABL is be.preached ...

4 Middle Hungarian phenomena

4.1 DEMONSTRATIVES

A new pattern with demonstratives: *determiner doubling* (Cf. (1) for PDH)

- (15) a. azok *is* az esküvések
 those *also* the swearings
 ‘also those swearings’
 (Pázm. Öt lev 131)¹
- b. azok az esküvések *is*
 those the swearings *also*
 ‘also those swearings’
 (in PDH)

- (16) a. Mit választasz inkább? ezt-*e* a pénzt? (Káldi: Préd. 209)
 what choose-you more? this.ACC-INT.PRT the money.ACC
 ‘What do you prefer to choose? This money?’

- b. ezt a pénzt-*e* (in PDH)
 this.ACC the money.ACC-INT.PRT

- (17) [DP [DP ez-t] [DP a pénz-t]] → *adjunction*
 this-ACC the money-ACC

Table 4. The spread of the constructions ‘ez/az az ajtó’ (Figures after Dömötör 2008: 24-25)

	16 th c.	17 th c.	18 th c.	For the entire period
‘ az az N’	54,5%	91,7%	92,6%	85,5%
‘ az N’	45,5%	8,3%	7,4%	14,5%

	16 th c.	17 th c.	18 th c.	For the entire period
‘ ez az N’	3,8%	21,5%	40,8%	20,4%
‘ ez N’	96,2%	78,5%	59,2%	79,6%

4.2 POSSESSIVES

Increased frequency of structures headed by the article

- (18) a. [DP [DP a szerzetes-nek] [DP a könyv-e]] besides
 the monk-DAT the book-POSS
- b. [DP a szerzetes-nek [D-∅ [könyv-e]]
 the monk-DAT book-POSS

¹ The MH examples are taken from Simonyi (1914: 122-123)

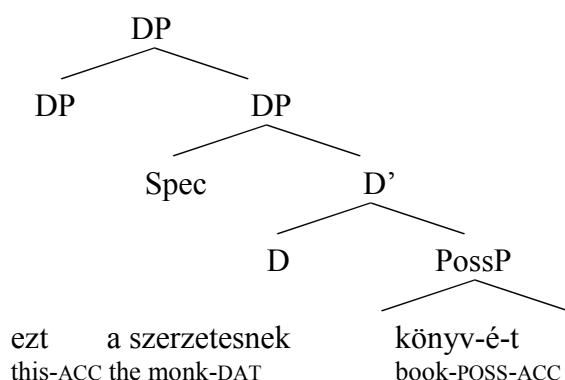
The combination of demonstratives and possessives:

- (19) Azok a szerzetes-nek könyv-e-i
 that-PL the monk-DAT book-POSS-PL
 ‘Those books of the monk’
- (20) Az-ok az Angliá-nak nemes-e-i (Fal. 63)
 that-PL the England-DAT nobleman-POSS-PL
 ‘Those noblemen of England’
- (21) Ar-rul is az bibliá-nak rész-é-rül (Pázm. Kal. 473)
 that-DEL also the Bible-DAT part-POSS-DEL
 ‘Also about that part of the Bible’

The old, articleless possessive structure combines with the new demonstrative construction

Combination of (17) and (18b):

- (22) [DP [DP ez-t] [DP a szerzetes-nek [D,∅ [könyv-é-t]]]
 this-ACC the monk-DAT book-POSS-ACC
 ‘This book of the monk’



Matthew 24:14 in the Bible of Vizsoly (1590)

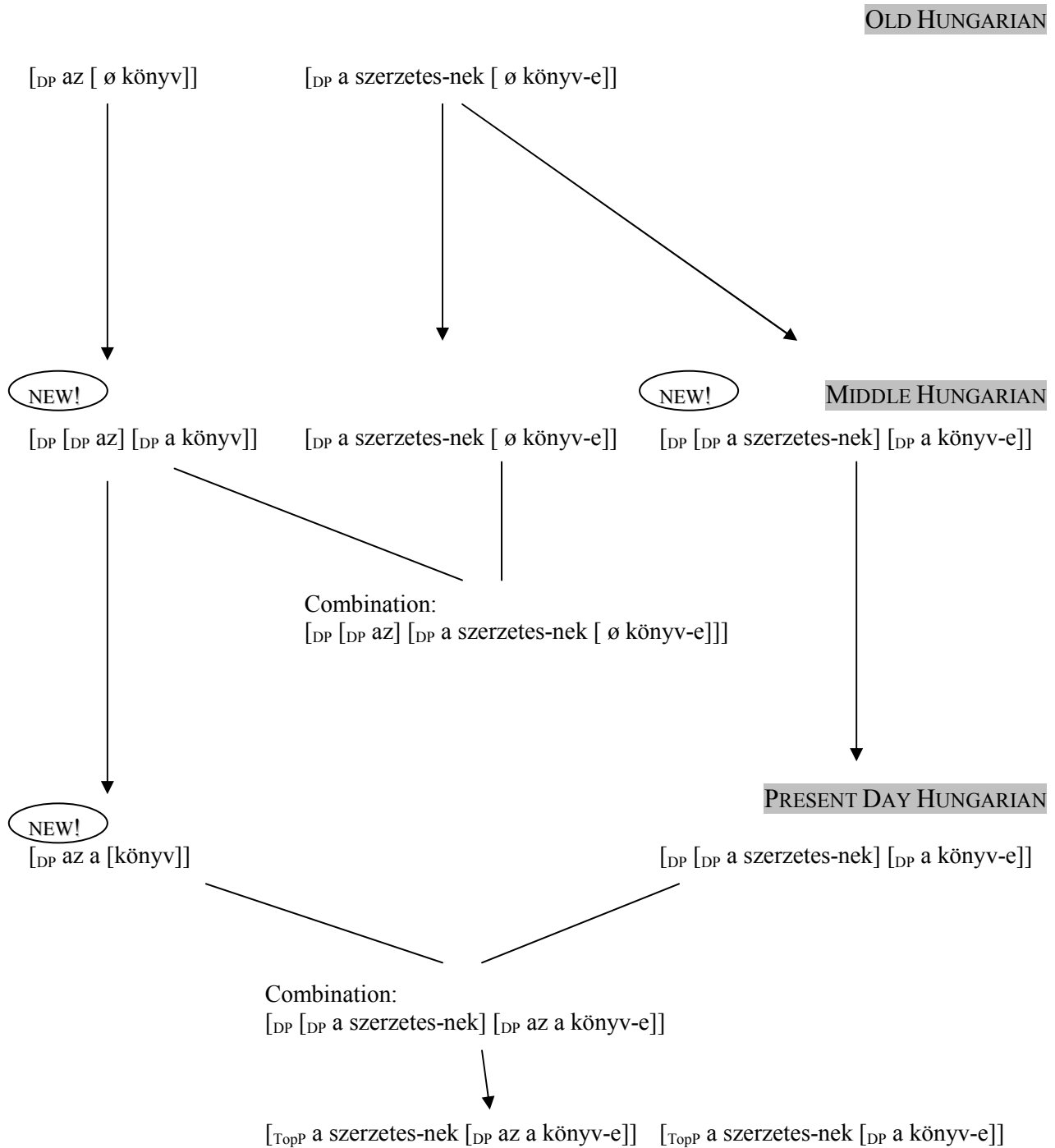
- (23) Es predikáltatic **ez Isten ország-á-nak** **Evangelium-a** mind az egész föld-ön
 and be.preached this God kingdom-POSS-DAT gospel-POSS all the whole land-SUP

In Modern Hungarian: demonstrative integrated again into the DP domain

Cf. Elly van Gelderen's (2008: 250) so-called 'Specifier Incorporation'

→ elements coming from outside tend to be a specifier rather than an adjunct.

Schema of variation and change



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