THE DIACHRONIC SYSTEM OF THE LEFT PERIPHERY OF SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN HUNGARIAN*

0. The problem

elements introducing subclauses in Modern Hungarian:

- simplex complementisers (C heads)
  
  *hogy* ‘that’, *ha* ‘if’, *mint* ‘than/ as’, *mert* ‘because’

- complex complementisers (C heads)
  
  e.g. *hogyha* ‘that if’, *mintha* ‘as if’, *minthogyha* ‘than that if’

- relative pronominal operators (DPs, AdvPs)
  
  e.g. *aki* ‘who-Rel.’, *ahol* ‘where-Rel.’

- combinations of simplex complementisers and relative pronouns
  
  e.g. *mint amilyen* ‘than how’

positions (cf. Rizzi 1997):

(1) 

```
 CP
  |   C'
  |   CP
  |   hogy
  |   aki
  |   ha
  |   ahol
  |   mint
  |   amilyen
  |   mert
  |   hogyha
  |   ...
  |   ...
  C
   ... 
  Ø
```

relative operators – move to [Spec; CP] via operator movement


C heads: base-generated in C – Modern Hungarian: only one C head is filled (~ Italian)

system: dynamic from a diachronic perspective

question: how the relation of the individual processes can be described

different processes vs. different timing

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1. Operators

*hogy* ‘that’, *ha* ‘if’, *mint* ‘than’, *mert* ‘because’: originally operators

*hogy* ‘how’, *ha* ‘when’, *mint* ‘how’, *mert* ‘why’

relative pronouns – e.g. *ki* ‘who’, *mi* ‘what’

position:

(2)

```
          CP
          |
         C’
         |
          C
          |
         Ø   CP
       ha
     hogy
     mint
     mert
     REL Ø
```

2. Grammaticalisation

reanalysis: from operator to C head

relative cycle: an operator (an original pronoun) is reanalysed as a complementiser head
(Roberts and Roussou 2008; van Gelderen 2009)

~ English *that*

further reanalysis: from lower C heads to upper C heads ~ English *that*

(3)

```
          CP
          |
         C’
         |
          C
          |
         CP
       X
     C
     C’
     …
         X
```

```
          CP
          |
         C’
         |
          C
          |
         CP
       X
     C
     C’
     …
         X
```
functional split taking place in different times

*hogy* and *ha*: before the Old Hungarian period and in Early Old Hungarian

*mint* and *mert*: in Old and Middle Hungarian

→ difference in typical positions in Old and Middle Hungarian

*ha* ‘if’: upper C

*hogy* ‘that’: upper or lower C

*mint* ‘than’, *mert* ‘because’: lower C or lower [Spec; CP]

relative pronouns (e.g. *ki* ‘who’) do not develop into C heads – lack of feature loss

positions (Old Hungarian):

(4)

```
  CP
   C'
   C
   | ha
   | mint
  CP
   C'
   C
   | mert
   | REL
   mint
   mint
   mert
   (hogy)
```

3. Combinations

possible co-occurrences in Old and Middle Hungarian:

- upper C + lower C
- upper C + operator (cf. Galambos 1907)

→ *hamint* ‘if as’, *hahogy* ‘if that’, *ha* ‘if’ + relative pronoun

(5) **Ha** késen **hogy** el nyugot az nap, hamar ésőt 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)

→ *hogymint* ‘that than’, *hogymert* ‘that because’, *hogy* + relative pronoun

(6) **olýaat** tezők raýtad **hog** kýtöl felz
    such-Acc. do-1.Sg. you-Sup. that what-Abl. fear-2.Sg.
    ‘I will do such on you that you fear’ (SándK. 28)
structures:

(7) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{ha} \\
\text{mint} \\
\text{ki} \\
\text{C'} \\
\emptyset \\
\text{CP} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\end{array}
\]

negative-like MoodP may appear between the two CPs (cf. Bácskai-Atkári 2011):

\textit{hogynemmint} ‘that not than’, \textit{hogysemmint} ‘that neither than’

(8) \textit{az mentől alsobykban is tob angýal uagon honnemýnth 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:

(9) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{MoodP} \\
\text{hogy} \\
\text{Mood'} \\
\text{Mood} \\
\text{nem/sem} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{mint} \\
\end{array}
\]

English: similar combinations in Middle English – \textit{if that, for that} (van Gelderen 2005)

(10) Blameth nat me \textbf{if that} ye chese amys. (Chaucer: \textit{The Canterbury Tales: Prologue})
4. Movement

lower C may move up to the upper one even if the latter is filled → adjunction

Kayne’s Linear Correspondence Axiom: adjunction results in the reverse order (Kayne 1994); cf. also the Mirror Principle of Baker (1985, 1988)

→ mintha ‘as if’, hogyha ‘that if’, minthogy ‘than that’, merthogy ‘because that’

(11) ki menének ʒoçaʃoc ʒerent mint ha aʒ imadʃagra mēnenec ʒ out went-they custom-Poss.3.Pl. according than if the prayer-Subl. go-Cond.3.Pl. ‘they went out as was their custom, as if going for prayer’ (GuaryK. 113–114)

(12) hogyha, mintha, minthogy and merthogy in the gospels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hogyha</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mintha</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minthogy</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>merthogy</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hogy/ha ‘that/if’ + relative pronoun combinations: no inverse order as there is no movement either (not C heads)

grammaticalization: base-generation as a single C head (base-generation more economical than movement; cf. van Gelderen 2004)

structures:

(13) CP
    C
    C’
    mint, ha

(14) CP
    C
    C’
    mintha
similarly in structures containing a negative-like MoodP:

(14) 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{MoodP} \\
\text{mint}_{i,j} \text{ sem}_{i,j} \text{ hogy} \\
\text{Mood} \\
\text{t}_{i,j} \\
\text{t}_i \\
\end{array}
\]

English: no such complex complementisers

- movement of *that* to higher C: no head adjunction
- morphological restrictions – cross-linguistic differences
- timing – appearance in combinations vs. moving up

5. Further combinations

- the new grammaticalized simplex upper C heads may co-occur with new operators in the lower [Spec; CP]

→ *mint amilyen* ‘than how-Rel.’, *mint ahány* ‘than how many-Rel.’ (cf. Bácskai-Atkári 2011)

structure:

(15) 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{CP} \\
\text{mint amilyen ahány} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\emptyset \\
\end{array}
\]
grammaticalized complex upper C may co-occur with another in the lower C

earliest grammaticalized complex C: hogyha ‘that if’ (hogy: preferably moved up)

Haader (2003): hogyhamint ‘that if than’, minthogyha ‘than that if’

hogyhamint:

(16)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{hogyha} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{CP} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{mint} \\
\end{array}
\]

minthogyha:

(17)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CP} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{mint, hogyha} \\
\text{C'} \\
\text{CP} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{t} \\
\end{array}
\]

6. Changes

grammaticalization of complementisers in higher C

to lower C remains unfilled, in Modern Hungarian there are no C + C combinations

(hamint ‘if than’, hahogy ‘if that’, hogymint ‘that than’, hogymert ‘that because’)

↔ fully grammaticalized complex C heads

hogy ‘that’: functional change (cf. Bácskai-Atkári 2012)

• general marker of subordination ~ in English (that)

• wide range of structures – relative clauses, clauses of reason

• hogy + X vs. X + hogy complex complementisers usually meaning ‘X’
**Conclusion**

changes in the Left Periphery: grammaticalization (e.g. the relative cycle)

diachronic processes are similar – differences in timing

**References**


