

Competing strategies: demonstrative renewal in Hungarian

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1 Introduction

DEM_{distal} > DEF.ART. ⇒ Demonstrative system renewed via two different strategies;
REINFORCEMENT and DETERMINER DOUBLING

- ◆ Why did two constructions emerge rather than only one?
- ◆ Reinforcement strategy preceded the doubling strategy → why did the second develop?
- ◆ Why is the second strategy the winner?

Table 1. Historical language stages of Hungarian and types of sources

Proto-Hungarian		1000 BC – 896 AD	no written documents
Old Hungarian	Early Old Hungarian	896 – 1370	sporadic records, glosses, a few short texts
	Late Old Hungarian	1370 – 1526	mainly codices; translations of Latin religious literature + original Hungarian compositions
Middle Hungarian		1526 – 1772	increase in quantity; new secular genres

2 Demonstrative renewal: how and why?

2.1 Typical strategies for demonstrative renewal

DEM renewal typically takes place by one of the following strategies (van Gelderen 2011)

- by reinforcing the old form with a locative adverb
 - the new element comes from below
- by the incorporation of an additional demonstrative into the construction
 - the appositive pronoun incorporates rather high in the DP structure

The simultaneous application of both strategies can only exceptionally be attested (e.g. in Old Norse, cf. van Gelderen 2007: 295 and 2011: 207–208).

2.2 The case of Hungarian

DEM_{distal} > DEF.ART.

- ◆ The exact date cannot be determined: by the time of the first coherent written sources of Old Hungarian, the definite article had grammaticalized to systematically encode the definiteness of the noun phrase
- ◆ The early use of the article was considerably different from the way it functions in Modern Hungarian (Egedi 2013, 2014)
- ◆ Ambiguity: the two patterns, the one with the definite article and the one with the distal demonstrative determiner, have the same surface appearance

New constructions to express the demonstrative modification:

- two pairs of reinforced demonstratives from the Old Hungarian period
- determiner doubling from the Middle Hungarian period
- the old construction also continued to be used

3 Hungarian strategies for demonstrative renewal

3.1 The original construction with *e(z)/a(z)* ‘this/that’

- (1) *hogy ez kener-ek-re tegyed zent keresztnek yegyett* **OH**
 so-that **this** bread-PL-SUB put-SBJV-2SG holy cross-DAT sign-POSS-ACC
 ‘so that you put the sign of the holy cross onto these breads’ (Jókai C. 76)
- (2) *im eg Cananeai nemberi a vidèc-ből ki iouē iuoltuala* **OH**
 behold one Canaanite woman **that** region-ELA out coming was.crying
 ‘behold, a Canaanite woman, coming out of that region, was crying’ (Munich C. 22ra)
- (3) *kérlek hogy ez level-et tedd jó helyre* **MH**
 I.ask.you so-that **this** letter-ACC put.IMP good place-SUB
hogy el ne vesszen
 so-that PRT not be.lost
 ‘I ask you to put this letter to a safe place so it would not be lost’ (Nád. 47-51. 1559)

MORPHOLOGY: proximal/distal contrast

Adnominally: No number/case agreement

Pronominally: they get all nominal inflections except for possessive suffixes

3.2 The reinforced demonstratives *ezen/azon* ‘this/that’

- (4) *Azert mert ezen ember három nènèckèl nènèztètìc* **OH**
 that-for because **this** man three name-PL-INS be.named-3SG
 ‘Because this man is called by three names’ (Vienna C. 234)
- (5) *Azon idò-ben az kÿralnak uduaraba uala ég uitez* **OH**
that time-INE the king-DAT court-POSS-ILL be-PAST one hero
 ‘In that time, there was a hero in the king's court’ (Kazinczy C. 45r)
- (6) *Én most sem tudom Szívem ha vissza adtad-e* **MH**
 I now not know my.heart if back give.PST.2SG-Q
komám Aszonnak azon pohar-ak-at vagj sem
 my.fellow woman-DAT **that** glass-PL-ACC or not
 ‘Now I do not know whether you have given back those glasses
 to my sister-in-law or not?’ (Kár. 76. 1705)

MORPHOLOGY: proximal/distal contrast

Adnominally: No number/case agreement

Pronominally: inflected, but pronominal use is extremely rare! (absent in ModH)

ORIGIN: basic forms + pronominal derivational suffix *-n* (Benkő 1993: 62, 345)

FIRST ATTESTATION: Königsberg Fragment and Ribbons (end of 12th c. – beginning of 13th c.)

3.3 The reinforced demonstratives *ime(z)/ama(z)* ‘this/that’

- (7) veeseetők óketh **imez** palotaa-ban **OH**
 throw-SBJV-2PL them **this** palace-INE
 ‘throw them into this palace’ (Sándor C. 12v)
- (8) tawol legen te telled hogy **amaz** ember-t zeressed **OH**
 far be-SBJV-3SG you ABL-2SG that **that** man-ACC love-SBJV-2SG
 kyt mindenbe ellensegesth vallaz
 who-ACC everything-ILL enemy-like have-2SG
 ‘Beware of loving that man who is your enemy in everything’ (Lobkowitz C. 297)
- (9) Az Urnak a’ juhoknak **ama** Mennyei nagy Pásztor-á-nak **MH**
 the lord-DAT the sheep-PL-DAT **that** heavenly great shepherd-POSS-DAT
 légjen ditsőség most és mind örökké
 be-SBJV-3SG glory now and all ever
 ‘Glory to the Lord, that great shepherd of the sheep, now and for ever’ (Peregr1. 93. 1721)

MORPHOLOGY: proximal/distal contrast

Adnominally: No number/case agreement

Pronominally: inflected; pronominal use is much more frequent!

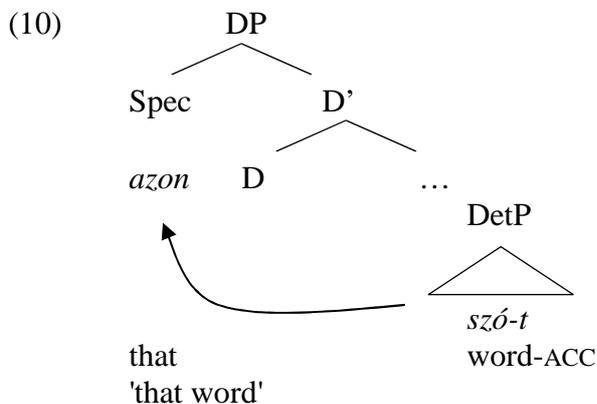
ORIGIN: *íme* and *ám* ‘look, behold’ + basic forms (Benkő 1993: 32, 318, and 608)

FIRST ATTESTATION: 15th century, Late Old Hungarian period

NB: *imez* > *eme(z)* ‘this’ from the 17th c.

Note: the similar formation of Romance compounds *eccum* + *iste/ille* (Giusti 2011: 170)

The STRUCTURE of the old and the new, reinforced patterns:



Demonstratives base-generated in a position lower than DP (cf. Giusti 1994, Bernstein 1997, and Szabolcsi 1994 for distinguishing a D and a lower DET position in Modern Hungarian).

Indirect evidence for a lower DET position in OH:

- (11) a ti e/eme/ezen kívánság-a-i-tok **ModH**
 the you_{PL} this wish-POSS-PL-2PL
 ‘these wishes of yours’
- (12) a te minden/melyik/valamennyi/egyik kívánság-od **ModH**
 the you every/which/all/one_{+SPEC} wish-POSS.2SG
 ‘all/which/one of your wishes’

- (13) es te *menden* òllènsegid èluèznèc **OH**
 and \emptyset you *all* enemy-POSS.PL-2SG parish-3PL
 ‘and all your enemies parish’ (Vienna C. 2)

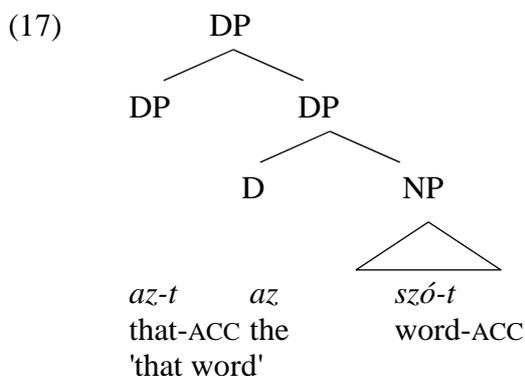
3.4 The determiner doubling construction

- (14) miért mondottad te én ream **az-ok-at** **az** szo-k-at **MH**
 why say-PST-2SG you I onto-me **that-PL-ACC** **the** word-PL-ACC
 ‘Why did you say those words onto me?’ (Bosz 274. 1740)
- (15) **ez-ek-et** **az** szo-k-at a fatens mind az kettutul hallotta **MH**
this-PL-ACC **the** word-PL-ACC the witness all the two-ABL hear-PST-3SG
 ‘The witness heard these words from both of them.’ (Bosz 33. 1722)
- (16) **ar-rul** is az bibliá-nak rész-é-rűl **MH**
 that-DEL also the Bible-DAT part-POSS-DEL
 ‘also about that part of the Bible’ (Péter Pázmány, after Simonyi 1914: 123)

MORPHOLOGY: proximal/distal contrast

Old pronominal demonstratives co-occur with the definite article, and unlike other modifiers, they agree in number and case with the head noun.

STRUCTURE: the old demonstrative pronoun, agreeing in number and case, is adjoined to the noun phrase already determined by the definite article (17).



Later: DEM → Spec,DP
 Reintegrated into the DP domain

Cf. van Gelderen's (2008: 250)
 ‘Specifier Incorporation’

Table 2 The properties of the doubling pattern in Middle and Modern Hungarian

Middle Hungarian	Modern Hungarian
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ DEM is loosely adjoined ◆ DEM and ART may be separated by various elements (e.g. conjunctions, question particle, auxiliary verb) ◆ word order: DEM possessor possessum (16) <p style="text-align: center;">⇓</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Adjunction (apposition)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ prosodic unity ◆ nothing can intervene ◆ ART cannot be omitted ◆ word order: possessor DEM possessum <p style="text-align: center;">⇓</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The two determiners are in the same DP (cf. Bartos 2000, É.Kiss 2000, Kenesei 1994)</p>

3.5 The appearance in time

Table 3. The emergence and use of the strategies in time

Period	Original		Reinforced 1	Reinforced 2	Doubling	
Early Old Hungarian	<i>ez</i> N	<i>az</i> N	<i>ezen/azon</i> N			
Late Old Hungarian					<i>imez/amaz</i> N	
Middle Hungarian						<i>ez/az a</i> N
Modern Hungarian						

3.6 The proportion of their use: Corpus Queries

Old Hungarian Corpus (<http://omagyarkorpusz.nytud.hu>, Simon 2014)

→ 2.2 million tokens, 47 codices and some minor manuscripts

→ The annotation levels are different: all digitized in their original orthographic form, but only a subpart has been normalized and morphologically analyzed.

Historical Corpus of Hungarian Private Language (<http://tmk.nytud.hu>, Novák et al. 2013)

→ approx. 600.000 tokens, samples of private correspondence and testimonies of witnesses in trials covering a period of three centuries from the end of the 15th century till the end of the 18th century

→ morphologically analyzed

Table 4. Demonstrative determiners (including articles) in ten normalized codices of the **Old Hungarian** Corpus (175540 tokens)

(after Egedi 2014: 71)

Original		Reinforced 1		Reinforced 2		Doubling	
<i>e(z)</i>	<i>a(z)</i>	<i>ezen</i>	<i>azon</i>	<i>ime(z)</i>	<i>ama(z)</i>	<i>ez a</i>	<i>az a</i>
1782	7451	28	84	6	9	0	0

↑
DEF.ART.S
included

↑ higher numbers in the distal DEM columns

Table 5. Demonstrative determiners (including articles) in the **Middle Hungarian** Historical Corpus of Hungarian Private Language (592.811 tokens)

Original		Reinforced 1		Reinforced 2		Doubling	
<i>e(z)</i>	<i>a(z)</i>	<i>ezen</i>	<i>azon</i>	<i>ime(z)</i>	<i>ama(z)</i>	<i>ez a</i>	<i>az a</i>
1358	22728	1708	1963	3	9	249	391

↑
DEF.ARTS
included

↑ higher numbers in the distal DEM columns

Table 6. Proportional distribution of DEM determiners and articles within the two corpora

Type of DEM strategy	Original		Reinforced 1		Reinforced 2		Doubling	
	<i>e(z)</i>	<i>a(z)</i>	<i>ezen</i>	<i>azon</i>	<i>ime(z)</i>	<i>ama(z)</i>	<i>ez a</i>	<i>az a</i>
OH	19%	79.5%	0.3%	0.9%	0.07%	0.1%	–	–
MH	4.78%	80%	6%	6.9%	0.01%	0.03%	0.87%	1.37%
	↘	↘ ↗ _{ART}	↗	↗			↗	↗

Results:

- In Old Hungarian, the proportion of the reinforced determiners is relatively low with respect to the old construction, but is definitely growing during the Middle Hungarian period. NB. only one of the reinforced demonstratives appears to take part in the competition.
- The determiner doubling construction only emerges in the Middle Hungarian period, but its use can be shown to be definitely increasing.
- The use of the original demonstrative modifiers decrease
- Apparently no change in the use of the determiner *az* 'that'
 - decrease in the ratio of the original distal demonstratives
 - increase in the ratio of definite articles that appear in new contexts

The competing strategies coexist from Middle Hungarian onward.

The doubling construction will be the winner! → more frequent, unmarked

4 Observations and proposal

- ♦ What is the reason for the new doubling construction to emerge at all?
- ♦ Why do the strategies compete for centuries and why does the doubling strategy triumph?

The different semantic and pragmatic properties of the renewed strategies of DEM modification!

The four major pragmatic uses of demonstratives (Himmelman 1996; Diessel 1999):

→ exophoric use, anaphoric use, discourse-deictic use, recognitional use

The two strategies are interchangeable in anaphoric context:

- (18) a. **azon** macská-k-at b. **az-ok-at** **az** macská-k-at
 that cat-PL-ACC **that-PL-ACC** **the** cat-PL-ACC
 'those cats' 'those cats' (Bosz 95. 1750)

- (19) midün a kalhabul ki húszták a tüzet Jobbágy Örsé két fele
 when the stove-ELA out pull-PST-3PL the fire-ACC Jobbágy Örsé two half
 csapta **az-t** **a** tüz-et és azon szappant közibe
 hit-PST-3SG **that-ACC** **the** fire-ACC and that soap-ACC middle-POSS-ILL
 tévén **azon** tűznek úgy hengergette
 putting **that** fire-DAT so roll-PST-3SG
 'When the fire was pulled out of the stove, Jobbágy Örsé split that fire in two and putting
 that soap in the middle of that fire, she rolled it' (Bosz 114. 1721)

i.) The properties of *ezen/azon* ‘this/that’

identity marker > anaphoric use > ~~exophoric use~~

- (20) *masod napon mykoron azon frater ewlne az aztalnal*
second day-SUP when **that/same** frater sit-COND.3SG the table-ADE
neze zent ferencznek kepere **OH**
look-PST Saint Francis-DAT picture-POSS-SUP
‘on the second day, when the same frater was sitting at the table,
he had a look at the picture of Saint Francis’ (Jókai C. 66)

- (21) *s ő Excell[enc]iájának azon só-k-ot mondotta,*
and he Excellence-POSS-DAT **that** word-PL-ACC tell-PST-3SG
melyeket e minap magamnak **MH**
which-PL-ACC this what.day self-1SG-DAT
‘and he told His Excellence that/the same words that he told me the other day’
(Kár. 254. 1722)

Note the emergence and increasing use of the adverb *ugyan* ‘same’ in combination with pronouns and other adverbs to express referential identity (e.g. *ugyan-azon*, *ugyan-az* same-that ‘the same’, *ugyan-ott* same-there ‘the same place’).

ii.) The properties of *imez/amaz* ‘this/that’

- preserved the original meaning of the reinforcing element → “this/these N here”, “the following N” or “that N over there”.
- never used in unmarked, anaphoric contexts.
- the distal member is also used in contrastive listing, or in emphasizing context
- the so called *recognitional use* (Diessel 1999:105-109).
→ recognitional demonstratives modify discourse-new entities, whose reference must be familiar for the hearer through a special shared knowledge of the interlocutors.

- (22) *mig csaszartól amaz dolog-ról, kit tudsz,*
while emperor-ABL **that** thing-DEL who-ACC know-2SG
választom nem jű
reply-ACC-1SG not come-3SG
‘While no reply comes to me from the emperor concerning that thing you know about’
(Nád. 40-41. 1559)

Attestation in doubling constructions

→ *rule generalization* or *analogy* (cf. Hopper - Traugott 2003: 63-68)

- (23) *adománt csalt el illy formán et-tül*
donation-ACC cheat-PST-3SG PRT such form-SUP this-ABL
vagy amat-tul a személy-tül
or **that-ABL the** person-ABL
‘this way he cheated out donation of this or that person’ (Bosz 270. 1732)

iii.) Determiner doubling strategy fills the gap

(24) nesze ez az két kis darab kötél
 here.you.are this the two little piece rope
 ‘Here you are, these two little pieces of rope’ (Bosz. 47. 1746)

(25) én úgy mond ezt a felyhőt (mutatván az ég felé)
 I so say-3SG this-ACC the cloud-ACC pointing the sky toward
 el tudom olvasny
 PRT know-1SG read-INF
 ‘I can read – she said, pointing to the sky – this cloud’ (Bosz. 61. 1716)

- neutral with respect to the various pragmatic contexts
- naturally appears both in exophoric and endophoric contexts

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