Competing strategies: demonstrative renewal in Hungarian

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1 Introduction

DEM$_{\text{distal}}$ > DEF.ART.  $\Rightarrow$ 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 $\rightarrow$ why did the second develop?
- Why is the second strategy the winner?

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Hungarian</th>
<th>1000 BC – 896 AD</th>
<th>no written documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Hungarian</td>
<td>Early Old Hungarian</td>
<td>896 – 1370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Old Hungarian</td>
<td>1370 – 1526</td>
<td>mainly codices; translations of Latin religious literature + original Hungarian compositions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Hungarian</td>
<td>1526 – 1772</td>
<td>increase in quantity; new secular genres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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$_{\text{distal}}$ > 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 kerestnek yeagyett 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 nèmberi a· vidèc-bol ki iouë iuòltuala 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 èzen èmber harom nèuèckèl nèuèztètic 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 kỳralnak 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 visza adtad-e MH
I now not know my.heart if back give.PST.2SG-Q
kom'àm 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) veesetők 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’ (Lobkowicz 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
    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:

(10) DP
    Spec      D’
    azon     D       …
    DetP
    that
    ‘that word’


Indirect evidence for a lower DET position in OH:

(11) a ti **e/eme/ezon** kívánság-a-i-tok ModH
    the youPL 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’
3.4 The determiner doubling construction

(14) miert 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).

(17) Later: DEM → Spec,DP
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle Hungarian</th>
<th>Modern Hungarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>♦ DEM is loosely adjoined</td>
<td>♦ prosodic unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦ DEM and ART may be separated by various elements (e.g. conjunctions, question particle, auxiliary verb)</td>
<td>♦ nothing can intervene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦ word order: DEM possessor possessum (16)</td>
<td>♦ ART cannot be omitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‖</td>
<td>♦ word order: possessor DEM possessum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♦ The two determiners are in the same DP</td>
<td>‖</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5 The appearance in time

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Reinforced 1</th>
<th>Reinforced 2</th>
<th>Doubling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Old Hungarian</td>
<td>&quot;ez N&quot;</td>
<td>az N</td>
<td>ezen/azon N</td>
<td>imez/amaz N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Old Hungarian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ez/az a N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Hungarian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Hungarian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Reinforced 1</th>
<th>Reinforced 2</th>
<th>Doubling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e(z)</td>
<td>a(z)</td>
<td>ezen</td>
<td>azon</td>
<td>ime(z)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1782</td>
<td>7451</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Reinforced 1</th>
<th>Reinforced 2</th>
<th>Doubling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e(z)</td>
<td>a(z)</td>
<td>ezen</td>
<td>azon</td>
<td>ime(z)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1358</td>
<td>22728</td>
<td>1708</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DEF.ART.s included

higher numbers in the distal DEM columns
Table 6. Proportional distribution of DEM determiners and articles within the two corpora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of DEM strategy</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Reinforced 1</th>
<th>Reinforced 2</th>
<th>Doubling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$e(z)$</td>
<td>$a(z)$</td>
<td>$ez$</td>
<td>$azon$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OH</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>79.5%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MH</td>
<td>4.78%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (Himmelmann 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’

(19) midün a kalhabul ki húszták a tüzet Jobbágy Örse két feli
     when the stove-ELA out pull-PST-3PL the fire-ACC Jobbágy Örse 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 tüzek ügy hengerette
     putting that fire-DAT so roll-PST-3SG
     ‘When the fire was pulled out of the stove, Jobbágy Örse split that fire in two and putting
     that soap in the middle of that fire, she rolled it’
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
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’

(21) ső Excell[enc]jájának azon só-k-ot mondotta, and he Excellence-POSS-DAT that word-PL-ACC tell-PST-3SG melyetak e minap magamnak 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’

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, *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 jü reply-ACC-1SG not come-3SG
‘While no reply comes to me from the emperor concerning that thing you know about’

Attestation in doubling constructions
→ rule generalization or analogy (cf. Hopper - Traugott 2003: 63-68)

(23) adományt 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 ugy 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

References


Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA No. 112828, NO. 112057)