Syntactic change in the licensing of prenominal PPs in Hungarian

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Background: prenominal PP modifiers

- cross-linguistically restricted: right-branching modifiers prenominally (Head Final Filter)
  
  (1) a. *a [full of people] room  
      b. a room [full of people]

- in languages with postpositions, PPs are still often restricted prenominally, e.g. Hungarian
  
  (2) a. *a [ház mellett] erdő  
      the house beside forest  
      ‘the forest next to the house’  
      b. az erdő [a ház mellett]  
      the forest the house beside  
      ‘the forest next to the house’

- if PPs are still prenominal, we may find licensing strategies
- a change from head-final to head-initial structures may result in word order change of such modifiers
**Modern Hungarian descriptively**

Hungarian uses various ways to make suitable modifiers out of PPs/adverbs

▶ **való**

(3) a. a Péter-rel való beszélgetés  
the Peter-INSTR MOD talking  
‘chatting with Peter / the chat with Peter’

b. Péter ebéd után való megérkezése  
Peter lunch after MOD PRT.arrival  
‘Peter’s arrival after lunch’

▶ **lévő/levő**

(4) a ház előtt lévő fa  
the house before be-PART tree  
‘the tree in front of the house’
Modern Hungarian descriptively (cont.)

- the suffix -i

(5) a holnap-i / szünet után-i megbeszélés
    the tomorrow-MOD / break after-MOD meeting
    ‘the meeting tomorrow / after the break’

- furthermore: történő ‘happening’, történt ‘happened’, szóló ‘about, lit. sounding’, etc.: participial verb forms

(6) a János-ról szóló film
    the John-DEL sounding film
    ‘the film about John’
The diachronic change

- Old Hungarian had *való*: the participial form of *van* ‘be’ originally.
- By the end of Old Hungarian *levő* ‘being’ appeared, it became general in Middle Hungarian as the participial copula.
- *-i* had a limited distribution in Old Hungarian; by the end of Middle Hungarian, *-i* was also widely used in modifier contexts.

⇒ The use of *való* became more restricted after these changes.
Aims

- present a survey of grammaticalization and syntactic changes in prenominal PP modifiers in Hungarian
- outline an analysis underlying the changes
Proposal

való
- grammaticalized from the copula, became a general functional head by Old Hungarian
- it is used to license PPs and adverbs prenominally in a head-final NP (Szabolcsi & Laczkó 1992, Laczkó 1995)
- it is still the participial copula in Old Hungarian

levő
- replaces való as the participial copula

-i and participial verbs
- new ways of licensing prenominal PPs/adverbs in Middle Hungarian
- their appearance cuts down the contexts of való

Furthermore:
- there is a growing number of postnominal PPs (Simonyi 1914, Honti & H. Varga 2012)
Való-less PPs prenominally

- the historical descriptive works claim these to be novelty in Old Hungarian
- they existed and are still present in some contexts, e.g. with the directional complement of nouns derived from motion verbs

(7) a. kétség-be esés
despair-ILL falling
‘falling into despair; despair’

b. Pest-re érkezés
Pest-SUB arrival
‘arrival in Pest’
they are often predicative complements that would be preverbal in a (finite) clause as well
→ their movement precedes nominalization (already noted by Kertész)
→ no need for való

(8) Mari kétség-be esett.  
Mary despair-ILL fell  
‘Mary became desperate.’

(9) [ [ kétség-be es ] -és ] 
despair-ILL fall  -NOM
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The distribution of *való* in Old Hungarian

- **PP predicate with regular N: participial form of the copula**

  (10) mend paradisum-ben uol-ov gimilc-íc-tul
  all Paradise-INe be-PART fruit-PL-ABL
  ‘from all fruits in Paradise’
  (Funeral Sermon, c. 1195)

- **PP complement of derived N**

  (11) az-on valo feeltem-ben
  that-SUP be.PART fear.Poss1sg-INe
  ‘in my fear of that’
  (Jordánszky C. 25, 1516–1519)

- **PP adjunct of derived N**

  (12) Mosdatlan k`ez-z`el ualo kener etel
  unwashed hand-INST be.PART bread eating
  ‘eating bread with unwashed hand(s)’
  (Munich C. 22ra, 1416/1466)
appears on adverbs

(13) sok keppén valo toruenemet
    many kindADV be.PART law.POSS1SG.ACC
    ‘my law of many kinds/ways’
    (Vienna C. 192)

(14) titkon valo taneythwanya
    secretly be.PART disciple.POSS3SG
    ‘his secret disciple’
    (WinklK 114r)

sometimes it does not seem necessary, based on our present-day intuitions (see also Dékány 2014)

(15) zenetlen valo felelm
    constant be.PART fear
    ‘constant fear’
    (BodK 1r)
The origin of *való*

- The construction with the present participle form of the copula is claimed to be shared within the Ugric languages of the Finno-Ugric family (Honti & H. Varga 2012).
- The construction was probably originally a genuine participial clause which appeared prenominally in the head-final NP. However, most uses of *való* had become more grammaticalized.
- By the early texts of Old Hungarian, it was generally used with prenominal PPs (including DPs with an oblique suffix) and adverbs, and since the NP tended to be head-final, these pre-modifiers were quite frequent.
Copular use

(16) tauol-ualo helyekben far-be.PART place.PL.INE
    ‘in far away places’ (JókK 114)

(17) az vt mellet-ualo nemý fakra the road beside-be.PART some tree.PL.SUB
    ‘onto some trees next to the road’ (JókK 138)
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Conclusions
in Late Old Hungarian, a new participial copula appeared and started to spread: levő / lévő ‘being’

it became general in Middle Hungarian

(18) Az Gondolatok kerol leuo uetkek
the thoughts around be.PART sins
‘the sins surrounding thoughts’
(Thewrewk C., beginning of 16th c.)

(19) az ablakom-on lévő kis lyuk-on
the window.POSS1SG-SUP be.PART small hole-SUP
‘on the small hole on my window’
(Witch trial, 1732)
Late Middle Hungarian, Early Modern Hungarian

- An alternative construction began to spread (supported by prescriptive grammarians) in Late Middle Hungarian and Early Modern Hungarian: the suffix \(-i\) became a marker of modifiers

\[(20)\]
holnap-i
\text{tomorrow-MOD}
‘tomorrow’s’

\[(21)\]
a. gyakorta való
\text{frequently be.PART}
‘frequent’

b. gyakor-i
\text{frequent-MOD}
‘frequent’
Distribution of -i

(22) tauol-ualo helyekben far-be.PART place.PL.INE
    ‘in places far away’

(23) távol-i helyek-en far-MOD places-SUP
    ‘in places far away’

(JókK 114)
Distribution of -i (cont.)

- This suffix cannot be added to suffixal PPs (due to a morphological restriction), but it became the construction used e.g. with adverbs

- in early modern Hungarian, some grammarians were favoring it, even with suffixes (Hámori 1954); today it is ungrammatical except for some lexicalized items

(24) a. *a város-ban-i templom
    the city-INE-MOD church
    ‘the church in the city’

b. *a Péter-rel-i beszélgetés
    the Peter-INSTR-MOD talking
    ‘talking with Peter / the talk with Peter’

(25) nagy-ban-i piac
    big-INE-MOD market
    ‘wholesale market’
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Postnominal PPs

- literature on the history of Hungarian: “postposed adverbial modifiers” (Hámori 1954, Honti & Varga 2012)
  - they became more frequent during the written period (Hámori 1954)
  - some say it is contact-induced, a foreign influence
- it is in fact in line with the change from OV to VO and changes where the head-finality of phrases is no longer strict
- the NP is still often head-final, but postnominal complements or adjuncts are allowed,
- the NumP, DP is head-initial
- the distribution of postnominal PPs is restricted because of case marking on the head noun
(26) a. Hallottam az interjú-t Péter-rel.
   hear.PST.1SG the interview-ACC Peter-INSTR
   ‘I heard the interview with Peter.’

b. ?(?){Érdeklődtem az interjú-ról Péter-rel.
inquire.PST.1SG the interview-DEL Peter-INSTR
   ‘I inquired about the interview with Peter.’
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Való is a functional head

▸ for Modern Hungarian, Laczkó & Rákosi (2007) claim that *való* has three different variants: an adjective, a participle and a ‘function word’
the one in nominal constructions is not a real participle, it has a different distribution

▸ I propose that *való* was still used as a real participle in nominal constructions in Old Hungarian, although it had also grammaticalized into a functional head by then.

▸ By middle Hungarian, only the functional head use was productive in nominal constructions
The grammaticalization of *való*

- *való* used to be the regular present participial copula;
- in head-final NPs participial clauses were prenominal

\[(27) \quad [NP \ [CP \ ... \ való] \ N] \]

- it grammaticalized into a modifier head on the nominal spine (higher than adjectival modifiers, lower than quantifiers)
- the morphological form has not changed, but it is no longer a copula in the sense of connecting predicative PPs
- the head is spelled out when a complement or adjunct PP is moved into the prenominal modifier position

\[(28) \quad [PP2 \ [DP \ [ModP \ [PP1 \ az-on] \ [Mod \ valo \ [N \ feeltem \ t_{PP1}]]]]] -ben] \quad \text{(ex. (11))} \]
The new participial copula

- levő became the new participial copula; itt is based on the copula lenni ‘to be’
- the participial copula is spelled out in prenominal participial clauses

$$(29) \quad [NP \ [CP \ ... \ levő \ ] \ N \ ]$$
Kenesei (2014): -i is a functional head in a Modifier Phrase within the NP

- it licenses prenominal PPs/adverbs; but cannot be attached to locative/directional suffixes

- the distribution of való and -i overlap to some extent
Diversification in the prenominal field

- these changes resulted in a group of functional elements
- the distribution of való became more restricted compared to its fully generalized use in Old Hungarian
- from Middle Hungarian, való is not used as the participial form of the copula, levő ‘being’ is.
való vs -i

- in Modern Hungarian, the selection of functional elements licensing prenominal modifiers depends on:
  - the eventive vs. non-eventive,
  - dynamic vs. stative nature of the nominal(ization) (Laczkó 1995)

- való stands with eventive (complex event) nominals; -i can be used with non-eventive nominals as well

(30) Péter ebéd után-i / *ebéd után való beszéde
Peter lunch after-MOD / lunch after VALO speech.POSS ‘Peter’s speech after lunch’

(31) Péter ebéd után-i / ebéd után való
Peter lunch after-MOD / lunch after VALO felszólalása
up.speaking.POSS ‘Peter’s remarks / contributing (by remarks) after lunch’
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- I have given an outline of the changes concerning prenominal PP/adverb modifiers in Hungarian
- I proposed that the old participial copula való grammaticalized into a functional head on the nominal spine
- It was shown that levő became the new participial copula
- -i became a general non-eventive, stative modifier head (incompatible with local suffixes)
- Postnominal PPs became more general due to the loss of strict head-finality
- The change from OV to VO didn’t result in the loss of prenominal PPs/adverbs, their licensing is done by functional heads
Thank you

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