

# 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'

► futhermore: *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'



## Való-less PPs prenominally (cont.)

- ▶ 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

# Roadmap

Old Hungarian

Middle Hungarian and later

An additional, independent change

Analysis

Conclusions

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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 kèz-zèl ualo kener etel  
 unwashed hand-INST be.PART bread eating  
 'eating bread with unwashed hand(s)'

(Munich C. 22ra, 1416/1466)

# The distribution of *való* in Old Hungarian (cont.)

▶ appears on adverbs

- (13) sok keppén való toruenemet  
 many kind.ADV be.PART law.POSS1SG.ACC  
 'my law of many kinds/ways'

(Vienna C. 192)

- (14) titkon való taneythwanya  
 secretly be.PART disciple.POSS3SG  
 'his secret disciple'

(WinkIK 114r)

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

- (15) zenetlen való feelm  
 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 nemÿ fakra  
the road beside-be.PART some tree.PL.SUB  
'onto some trees next to the road'  
(JókK 138)

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# Late Old Hungarian and Middle Hungarian

- ▶ 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  
tomorrow-MOD  
'tomorrow's'

(21) a. gyakorta való  
frequently be.PART  
'frequent'

b. gyakor-i  
frequent-MOD  
'frequent'

# Distribution of *-i*

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

(JókK 114)

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

# 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

# Postnominal PPs (cont.)

- (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)  $[_{NP} [_{CP} \dots \text{való} ] N ]$

- ▶ 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)  $[_{PP2} [_{DP} [_{ModP} [_{PP1} \text{az-on} ] [_{Mod} \text{valo} [_{N} \text{feeltém } t_{PP1}]]]] -\text{ben} ]$  (ex. (11))

# The new participial copula

- ▶ *levő* became the new participial copula; it is based on the copula *lenni* 'to be'
- ▶ the participial copula is spelled out in prenominal participial clauses

(29)      [NP [CP ... levő ] N ]

# The suffixal functional head *-i*

- ▶ 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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