Changing copulas
and the case of Hungarian prenominal PPs

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DiGS 18
June 29 – July 1 2016
Ghent University
Starting points

- The Hungarian copula seems to have two present participial forms: *val-ό, lev-Ő ‘being’, related to the two copular roots. Old Hungarian only has *valό. When did *levő appear? What are the changes in the distribution of *valό?

- The lexical item *valό is claimed to have three variants in Modern Hungarian: an adjective (‘real/suitable’), a participle and a ‘function word’ (Laczkó & Rákosi 2007). What is the distribution of *valό in Old Hungarian?

- The function word is obviously related to the (participial) copula. What is the ‘function word’ use of *valό and how is it related to its copular use diachronically?
Copular elements often seem to be subjects to reanalysis or grammaticalization:

- copular verbs may change into grammatical markers or affixes, may become functional heads not related to Tense (e.g. case markers; Lohndal 2009)
- copulas may develop from pronominal or adpositional elements (Van Gelderen 2011).

Prenominal adpositional phrases—which are often ungrammatical prenominally on their own—may be licensed by a functional element.
Aims

▶ present a case study of a reanalysis, whereby a copula became a non-verbal relator and another participial form took over its original function

▶ propose an analysis of the structural change of *való*

▶ additionally: outline further changes in prenominal modifiers in Hungarian
Outline

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Conclusions
Prenominal PPs

- English and other languages: head-initial phrases cannot be pre-modifiers, i.e. PPs cannot precede nouns they modify

- Williams (1982): Head Final Filter

(1) a. *an [under the city] tunnel
   b. a tunnel [under the city]

- not even possible with postpositional phrases in some languages, e.g. Hungarian

(2) a. *egy [a város alatt] alagút
    a. the city under tunnel
    ‘a tunnel under the city’
   b. egy alagút [a város alatt]
    a. tunnel the city under
    ‘a tunnel under the city’
Licensing strategies

▶ való

(3) a. a Péter-rel való találkozás
the Peter-INSTR VALÓ meeting
‘meeting Peter’

b. találkozás Péter-rel
meeting Peter-INSTR
‘meeting Peter’

▶ levő (lévő) / -i

(4) a. az út mellett levő fa / az út-on levő fa
the road beside.at being tree / the road-SUP being tree
‘the tree next to the road / the tree on the road’

b. az út mellett-i fa / *az út-on-i fa
the road beside-MOD tree / the road-SUP-MOD tree
‘the tree next to the road / the tree on the road’

c. a fa az út mellett / a fa az út-on
the tree the road beside / the tree the road-SUP
‘the tree next to the road / the tree on the road’
participial clauses prenominally: with semantically rather ‘empty’, general verbs

(5) a. [Péter-ről szóló] film
   the Peter-DEL sounding film
   ’the film about Peter’

   b. [külföld-re történő] szállítás
      abroad-SUB happening transport
      ’transportation (to) abroad’
Background assumptions

- follow others in assuming that *való* licenses PPs and adverbs prenominally in a had-final NP (Szabolcsi & Laczkó 1992, Laczkó 1995) – I will propose a syntactic structure
- acknowledge that Hungarian may have a growing number of post-nominal adjuncts and complement PPs (Simonyi 1914, Honti & H. Varga 2012) – The „growth” is hard to measure, however, as hardly any tests can be used to prove constituency
  But: The tendency is not unexpected given the changes from OV to VO and generally less strict head-finality of phrases.

(6) Hall-ott-am az interjú-t Péter-rel.
hear-PST-1SG the interview-ACC Peter-INSTR
‘I heard the interview with Peter.’
Prenominal PPs without *való*

- has been possible from the oldest texts
- related to preverbal position occupied by (secondary) predicates, directional complements

(7) a. viadal-ba ménès=nélkül
    fight-ILL going=without
    ‘without going into a fight’ (Vienna C. 24, 1416/1450)
b. Bécs-be érkezésével
    Vienna-ILL arriving-INST
    ‘with his arriving in Vienna’ (Károlyi 161., 1717)
but directional complements are found with való as well

(8) a. ketseg-ben val-o eses-nek
despair-INE be-PART falling-DAT
‘for falling into despair’ (Bod C. 5r, early 16th c.)
b. fü-am-hoz ual-o menes-ём-et
son-POSS.1SG-ALL be-PART going-poss.1sg.acc
‘my going to my son’ (Kazinczy C. 6v, 1526-41)

the distribution of való here is related to another syntactic variation

When does the prenominal element become prenominal?
Verbal Modifiers

- VM position filled in before nominalization: no *való* needed
- directional complements, secondary predicates are not always preverbal in Old Hungarian (vs. Modern Hungarian)
- variation in the presence of *való* is due to this

(9) meny-be megyen
    heaven-ILL go.3SG
    ‘He goes to heaven.’ (Jókai C. 133, 1372/1448)
Verbal Modifiers (cont.)

(10) viadal-ba mènès
fight-ILL going
’going into a fight’   (Vienna C. 24, 1416/1450)

(11) nom
PredP

viadalba

Pred

VP

men

V

PP

men viadalba

Changing copulas
Copular use

▶ prenominal clause with copula before N
▶ való: val- copular root + -ó participial suffix

(12) mend [paradism-ben uol-ov] gimilc-íc-tul
    all Paradise-INE be-PART fruit-PL-ABL
    ‘from all fruits in Paradise’
    (Funeral Sermon, c. 1195)

(13) [tauol-ual-o] hely-ek-ben
    far-be-PART placePL-INE
    ‘in far away places’
    (Jókai C. 114, 1372/1448)

(14) [az vt mellet-ual-o] nemý fa-k-ra
    the road beside-be-PART some tree-PL-SUB
    ‘onto some trees next to the road’
    (Jókai C. 138, 1372/1448)
Still copula?

- PP complement of deverbal N

(15) az-on val-o feeltem-ben
that-SUP be-PART fear.POSS1SG-INE
‘in my fear of that’

(Jordánszky C. 25, 1516–1519)

- PP adjunct with deverbal N

(16) Mosdatlan kèz-zèl ual-o kener etel
unwashed hand-INST be-PART bread eating
‘eating bread with unwashed hand(s)’

(Munich C. 22ra, 1416/1466)
Still copula? (cont.)

- PP/adverbial modifier with N

(17) titk-on val-o taneythwany-a secret-ADV be-PART disciple-POSS3SG
‘his secret disciple’

(Winkler C. 114r, 1506)

(18) ekkepp-en ual-o Cellekődeteth this.way-ADV be-PART doing
‘acting this way’

(Kazinczy C. 48v, 1526-41)

(19) zenetlen valo feelm endless(.ADV) be-PART fear
‘endless fear’

(Bod C. 1r, early 16th c.)
Another copular root

- *levő* (/lévő/) appears in texts by the end of the Old Hungarian period (beg. 16th c.)

- *le(v)*- is another copular root

- the two roots are both of (Finno-)Ugric origin; they are suppletive forms: *le(v)*- is the root with imperative, conditional, future and with participles (*lenni* to be’)

- *le(v)* originally meant ’to become’ (Klemm 1928)

(20) kazdag-ga lottèm
    rich-TRL become.1SG
    ‘I am become rich.’ (Vienna C. 197)

- this root is not used in the present participial form (*levő*) in the early texts at all, the earliest occurrences in the corpus are from the end of Old Hungarian (beginning of 16th c.)
Another copular root (cont.)

- from early Middle Hungarian it appears with predicative PPs prenominally, and replaces *való* in this use
- it quickly becomes the form used as the participle of the copula and replaces *való* in contexts with predicational PPs

(21) Az [Gondolat-ok kerol leu-o] uetk-ek
the thought-PL around be-PART sin-PL
’the sins (being) around thoughts’

(Thewrewk C., 1531)

(22) az [ablak-om-on lév-ő] kis lyuk-on
the window-POSS.1SG-SUP be-PART small hole-SUP
‘on the small hole (being) on my window’

(Witch trial 82, 1732)
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Conclusions
The original structure

- *való* originates in head-final participial clauses as the participle in T (or Asp/Pred following Dékány 2014)
- in the relevant context the participial clause appears in a modifier position in the DP, they either precede or follow quantifiers

\[
(23)
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{FP} \\
\text{TP} \\
\text{F} \\
\text{NP} \\
\text{...N...}
\end{array}
\]

- *való* was reanalyzed into a different functional head by the Old Hungarian period but had its original use as well
Reanalysis

- *való* became a functional head in the DP-domain (a Relator head in the sense of den Dikken 2006)
- the reanalysis took place based on the surface order: the final head in the specifier became a functional head on the nominal spine
- this head is spelled out when a post-nominal complement or an adjunct PP is merged in the prenominal modifier position
When did the reanalysis take place?: When *levő* takes over the copular function, *való* has definitely been reanalyzed.

At the beginning of Middle Hungarian: *való* is no longer a copula sitting in T (or Asp)
(25) az-on val-o felt-em-ben
that-SUP be-PART fear-POSS1SG-INE
‘in my fear of that’

(Jordánszky C. 25, 1516–1519)

(26) Changing copulas 24/39
Once it appeared as the suppletive form, *levő* took over very quickly

(27)

![Diagram of the participial clause structure]

NB. The internal structure of the participial clause contains a *pro* subject co-indexed with the head N (Dékány 2014), and the PP is the structural predicate in it.
Other uses of való

- való also lexicalized as an adjective with the meanings ‘real, appropriate/possible/suitable’ (való világ ‘real world’ – limited).

(28) Mi-re való-k az-ok a csont-ok?
what-SUB suitable-PL that-PL the bone-PL
’What are those bones for?  (Witch trial 95., 1750)

- van ‘be’ has a lexical verb use with an ablative PP complement meaning ‘to be from somewhere, to come from somewhere’, where való is still the present participial form, as we are dealing with a lexical verb in that case.
(29) a. A fa a tó mellett van.  
the tree the lake beside is  
’The tree is next to the lake.’  
b. a tó mellett lév-ő fa  
the lake beside be-PART tree  
’the tree next to the lake’

(30) a. A fa a tó mellől van.  
the tree the lake beside.from is  
’The tree is from beside the lake’  
b. a tó mellől val-ő fa  
the lake beside.from be-PART tree  
’the tree (coming) from beside the lake’
Variation with *való* and *levő*

- there is some variation
- e.g. correspondence of Nádasdy family (mid. 16th c.): more *való*, only one *levő*

(31) Az bolt előtt val-ó pitvar-ba
    the shop before. at be-PART yard-ILL
    ‘in(to) the yard in front of the shop’
    (Nád. correspondence, 1557)

(32) a ti Ktek ott könn lev-ő
    the you highness there outside be-PART
    fi-á-val (egyetembe)
    son-POSS-INSTR (together)
    ‘(together) with the son of Your Highness there abroad’
    (Nád. correspondence, 1550)
Other factors

- *való* is used with adverbs in Middle Hungarian texts, and with PPs referring to time
- these are later used prenominally with the -i suffix and not with *levő*
- although they may be predicative, they do not (necessarily) originate in full participial clauses

(33) Az el-mult Pünkösőd előtt val-ó hét-en
    the away-passed Whitsun before.at be-PART week-SUP
    ‘on the week before last Whitsun’
    (Witch trial 13, 1724)

(34) az ott ual-ó ember-ek-re
    the there be-PART person-PL-SUB
    ‘on(to) the people there’
    (Witch trial 453, 1648)
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Another licensor: -i

(35) kiral-i korona-t
    king-MOD crown-ACC
    ‘royal crown’ (Vienna C. 62)

- -i appears with Ns from early on, later its distribution widens
- from early Modern Hungarian (end of 18th c.), -i spreads to PPs/adverbs
Another licensor: -i (cont.)

(36) a’ szekér mellett-i gyalogolás
the wagon beside.at-MOD walking
‘walking beside the wagon’ (Dugonics 1820)

(37) a’ halhatatlan-ok föld alatt-i palotá-i
the immortal-PL ground under.at-MOD castle-POSS.PL
’the castles of the immortals under the ground’ (Bolyai 1817)

(38) az éjfél előtt-i álom
the midnight before.at-MOD dream
’the dream before midnight’ (Horváth [1809]1967)
Another licensor: -i (cont.)

- *való vs -i: their distribution overlap to some extent, but in general *való is used with dynamic events, -i is used with stative and dynamic nouns as well, but it cannot be attached to a locative or directional suffix (Laczkó 1995) – except for some lexicalized items*

(39) 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
    ’the conversation with Peter’

(40) nagy-ban-i piac
    big-INE-MOD market
    ‘wholesale market’
-i is a functional head

▶ Kenesei (2014): -i is a functional head - Mod - within the DP (and not a derivational morpheme as proposed by descriptive grammars)

(41)

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        DP
       / \  
      D   FP
     / \  
    PP F'
   /   \
  -i  
  /   \  
 ... NP ...
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Prenominal PPs

- való
- -i
- participial clauses: levǒ, other verbs
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- Hungarian való changed from a participial copula in T (or Asp) to a functional head in the nominal domain.
- The reanalysis resulted in a change in the form of the present participle of the copula: levő took over.
- való is now used as a licensor of prenominal PP modifiers, sharing this function with -i (divided along semantic and morphological lines).
Thank you!

This research is supported by the OTKA project No. 112057 "Hungarian Generative Diachronic Syntax 2".
References:
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