

# Grammaticalization paths for spatial adpositions in Hungarian

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# Adpositions in Hungarian

- ▶ postpositions
- ▶ case markers
- ▶ particles
- ▶ adverbs
- ▶ prepositions (to some extent)

# Claims

- ▶ Many postpositions and case markers grammaticalized from possessive constructions: DP+Case > AxPart+Case > P
- ▶ Some grammaticalized from adjunction structures: PP > P
- ▶ New Ps - postpositions and particles - are emerging from possessive structures and spatial case marked DPs.
- ▶ The functional layer of the extended PP is (becoming) head-initial.

# Outline

Adpositional elements in Hungarian

The structure of PPs

Grammaticalization paths

Particles

Conclusions

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# Adpositions in Hungarian

- ▶ two types of postpositions

- ▶ case-like

(1) a híd alatt  
the bridge under.at  
'under the bridge'

(2) (én) alatt-am  
I under.at-1SG  
'under me'

- ▶ case-assigning

(3) a fá-\*(hoz) közel  
the tree-ALL close.to  
'close to the tree'

(4) (én) hozz-ám közel  
I ALL-1SG close.to  
'close to me'

## Adpositions in Hungarian (cont.)

- ▶ Case-like Ps are often in triplets

- (5)
- a. a ház előtt  
the house front.at  
'in front of the house'
  - b. a ház elé  
the house front.to  
'(to) in front of the house'
  - c. a ház elől  
the house front.from  
'(from) in front of the house'

## Adpositions in Hungarian (cont.)

► oblique case suffixes

(6) spatial

- a. a kert-ben  
the garden-INE  
'in the garden'
- b. a kert-be  
the garden-ILL  
'into the garden'
- c. a kert-ből  
the garden-ELA  
'from/out of the garden'

(7) other

Mari-val  
Mary-INS  
'with Mary'



## Adpositions in Hungarian (cont.)

### ► particles

- (8) a. A labda be-gurult az ágy alá.  
the ball into-rolled the bed under.to  
'The ball rolled under the bed.'
- b. János meg-találta a labdát.  
John MEG-found the ball-ACC  
'John found the ball.'
- (9) Mari át-jött.  
Mary over-came  
'Mary came over (to our place).'

### ► adverbs

- (10) A labda bent van (a kapu-ban).  
the ball inside is (the goal-INE)  
'The ball is in (the goal).'

## Note: the syntax of particles

- ▶ particles are separable; they are immediately preverbal in so-called neutral sentences
- ▶ particles are (mostly) inserted in a PP under V as secondary predicates: they introduce internal arguments (É. Kiss 2006, Surányi 2009), e.g. (11)
- ▶ they move to the preverbal position via a phrasal movement to create complex predicates (e.g. É. Kiss 2006), this may be disrupted by further movements (e.g. negation, (12))

(11) Jutka át-úszta a folyó-t.  
Judith across-swam the river-ACC  
'Judith swam across the river.'

(12) János nem találta meg a labdá-t.  
John not found PRT the ball-ACC  
'John didn't find the ball.'

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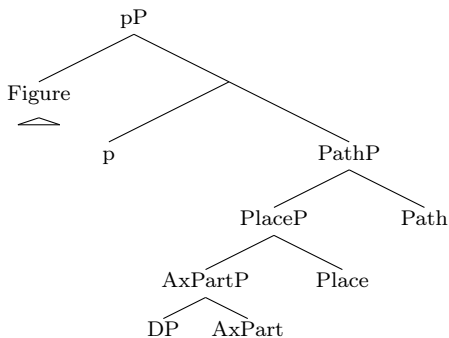
Conclusions

## The structure of PPs

- I assume the following structure for PPs (see also Van Riemsdijk 1990; Svenonius 2003, 2010; Koopman 2000; Den Dikken 2010 etc.; about Hungarian: Asbury 2008, Asbury et al 2007; Dékány 2011; Hegedűs 2006, 2013, Dékány & Hegedűs 2015 a.o.)

(13)  $pP > \text{PathP} > \text{PlaceP} > \text{AxPartP} > \text{DP}$

(14)



- ▶ *p*: functional adposition, its specifier hosts the Figure
- ▶ Path is above Place (semantically built on it; also cross-linguistic morphological order)

- (15)
- a. a kert-en át  
the garden-SUP over  
'across the garden'
  - b. elalvás előtt-re  
falling.asleep before.at-SUB  
'for (the time) before going to sleep'
  - c. a ház mögött-re  
the house behind.at-SUB  
to (the area) behind the house'

- ▶ AxPart: has both nominal and adpositional properties

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## Grammaticalization from possessives

- ▶ The original structure was the following:

(16) Possessor + Possessee + spatial CASE  
(locative: *-t/-n*; goal: *-á/-é*; surce: *-l*)

(17) ez homus vilag timnuce-bel-e-ul  
this false world prison.cell.POSS-inside-POSS-ABL  
'out of the prison cell of this insincere world'  
(Funeral Sermon and Prayer, cca. 1195)

Old Hungarian possessive+directional case

(18) a kenyér bel-e  
the bread inside-POSS  
the inside of a loaf'

Modern Hungarian possessive

## Grammaticalization from possessives - Step 1

- ▶ Certain relational nouns, e.g. *top*, *bottom*, *side*, *front*, *back*, *gut*, *chest* etc. (Svenonius 2006: „axial parts”), were losing their nominal properties (Hegedus 2015)
- ▶ in Old Hungarian: dative + some possessive marking (Zsilinszky 1991)

- (19) a. zemey                      elewt  
          eye-POSS.3SG-PL front.at  
          ‘in front of his eyes’ (Jókai C. 121, 1372/1448)
- b. baratok-nak elewtt-e  
          brothers-DAT front.at-POSS  
          ‘in front of (the) brothers’ (Jókai C. 84)

- (20) Possessor + Possessee + CASE  
          ↓                      ↓  
          Ground + [AxialPart + CASE]



## Grammaticalization from possessives - Step 2

- ▶ The [AxialPart + CASE] was reanalyzed into a monomorphemic P; the original possessor is the Ground complement of the new P (see Lehmann 2015 [1995])

- (21)
- a. uromc                      scine                      eleut  
Lord.POSS.1PL face.POSS front.at  
'before our Lord'  
(Funeral Sermon and Prayer)
- b. nekyk    elue  
DAT.3PL before.to  
'(to) before them' (Jókai C. 21)
- c. ɔ      orcaioc                      èlɔl  
they face-POSS.3PL before.from  
'from before their faces' (Vienna C. 32, 1416/1450)

## Grammaticalization from possessives - Step 3

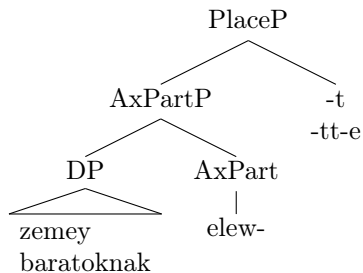
- ▶ In some cases the morphologically independent P was reanalyzed as a bound case suffix (monosyllabic; these exhibit vowel harmony)

(22) paradisum-ben  
Paradise-INE  
'in Paradise'  
(Funeral Sermon and Prayer)

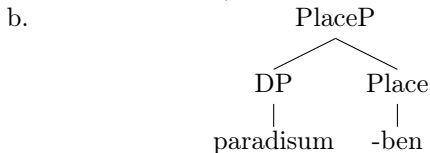
(23) ez vilag-bol  
this world-ELA  
'from this world'  
(Jókai C. 62)

# Grammaticalization path (Hegedűs 2015)

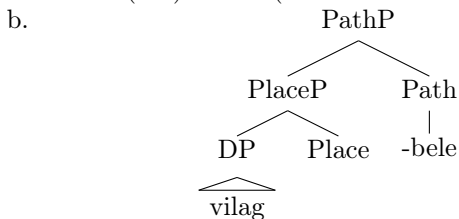
(24)



- (25) a. paradisum-**ben**  
 Paradise-in  
 ‘in Paradise’ (Funeral Sermon and Prayer)



- (26) a. vilag**bele**  
 world-into  
 ‘into (the) world’ (Funeral Sermon and Prayer)



- ▶ this is part of the P-cycle (Waters 2009): e.g. *in front of*, *outside* etc.
- ▶ Roberts and Roussou (2003): P elements completely grammaticalize when they lose their spatial meaning
- ▶ at that point, new items can enter the cycle

## New case-like postpositions from possessive structures

- ▶ normally, case-like Ps are perceived by speakers as monomorphemic; they do not contain possessive marking any more
- ▶ a few case-like Ps still have a transparent possessive structure: base + possessive marking + oblique case
- ▶ these are still complex adpositions, with AxPart and Place/Path filled (Hegedűs & Dékány 2016)

## New case-like postpositions from possessive structures

*számára, részére*: ‘for’ – these are not spatial

(27) X szám-á-ra,                    X rész-é-re  
X number-POSS-SUB, X part-POSS-SUB  
both: ‘for X’

(28) én szám-om-ra,                    ti           szám-otok-ra  
I   number-POSS.1SG-SUB   you.pl   number-POSS.2PL-SUB  
‘for me, for you(pl)’

(29) én rész-em-re,                    ti           rész-etek-re  
I   part-POSS.1SG-SUB   you.pl   part-POSS.2PL-SUB  
‘for me, for you(pl)’

cf. the old ones:

(30) én fel-ett-em  
I   top-LOC-POSS.1SG  
‘above me’

# New case-like postpositions from possessive structures

*helyében*: ‘in X’s shoes/place’ – spatial origin

(31) X hely-é-ben  
X place-POSS-INE  
‘in X’s place/shoes’

(32) én hely-em-ben,            ti       hely-etek-ben  
I place-POSS.1SG-INE you.pl place-POSS.2PL-INE  
‘in my shoes, in your(pl) shoes’

- ▶ still transparent possessive structures



## Grammaticalization from adjuncts

- ▶ a PP with a case suffix can be modified by an appositive (locative or directional) PP adjunct containing only a free-standing adposition  
→ loose relationship between the adposition and the case marked N

(33)    *fy-al    usve*  
         son.INS together  
         together with (her) son'  
         (Königsberg Fragment, cca. 1350)

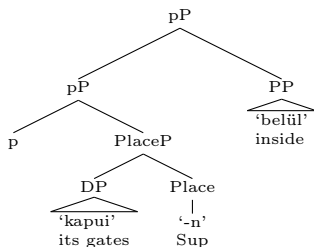
(34)    *az    udvar-on kint*  
         the yard-SUP outside  
         'outside in the yard'

## Grammaticalization from adjuncts

- ▶ an adjunct can grammaticalize into a head on the main projection line in line with Van Gelderen's (2004) Head Preference Principle
- ▶ proposal: some adpositions adjoined to pP/PathP were reanalyzed as a head on the main projection line: as the p/Path head itself
- ▶ the original adjunct then takes the case marked noun phrase (a PP) as its complement, a very local relationship → this resulted in complex adpositional phrases
- ▶ Old Hungarian has very few such postpositions, many of them emerged in the Middle Hungarian period (1526-1772) or later

# Grammaticalization from adjuncts

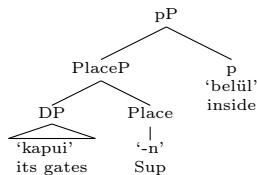
(35)



(36)

èn varos-om-nac kapu-i-n bëlöl  
 I city-POSS.1SG-DAT gate-POSS.PL-SUP inside  
 lit. 'within the gates of my city' (Vienna C. 7)

(37)



## New Ps in adjunction structures

- ▶ Even the older ones are not that old (they are secondary to the grammaticalization of case suffixes)
- ▶ No new complex Ps from adjunctions?
- ▶ Harder to see the change?

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## Grammaticalization of particles

- (41) Tahat **meg**haga ɒtèt az ɒrdog  
then PRT-left him the devil  
Then the devil leaveth him' (Munich C. 10ra)
- (42) Ottan **el**-hagya hewtet az erdeg  
there away-left him the devil  
Then the devil leaveth him' (Jordánszky C. 363,  
1516-19)

- ▶ *meg* is the only one that has no real spatial use in Modern Hungarian

- (43) a. meg-ad  
back-give  
give back (e.g. loan)'
- b. meg-jön  
PRT-come  
'arrive'

# New particles from case marked DPs

- ▶ newer particles are more transparently complex

- (44)
- |    |   |              |
|----|---|--------------|
| a. | $[_{PathP} [_{DP} \text{ hát } ] -ra ]$ |              |
|    | back onto                               | behind       |
| b. | $[_{PathP} [_{DP} \text{ fél } ] -re ]$ |              |
|    | side onto                               | aside, mis-V |
| c. | $[_{PathP} [_{DP} \text{ vég } ] -be ]$ |              |
|    | end into                                | complete     |



## New particles from case marked DPs

*agyon* ‘to death / to exhaustion’ is one of the newest particles (D. Mátaí 2007); speakers still perceive it as having an N+CASE internal structure, but the meaning is bleached (Hegedűs & Dékány 2015)

(45) agy-on ver valaki-t  
brain-SUP beat somebody-ACC  
‘hit somebody on the head’

(46) agy-on-ver valaki-t  
brain-SUP-beat somebody-ACC  
‘beat somebody to death’

(47) agy-on-dicsér valaki-t  
brain-SUP-praise somebody-ACC  
‘praise somebody to the skies / heap praises on somebody’

## New particles from case-marked DPs

- ▶ other newly grammaticalizing particles: *bele* ‘into’, *rá* ‘onto’, *hozzá to*, *neki to*
- ▶ they are more complex: have agreement morphology

- (48) a. János rá-lépett a lábam-ra.  
John onto(.3SG)-stepped the foot.POSS.1SG-SUB  
‘John stepped on my foot’
- b. Az autó neki-ment a fal-nak.  
the car to(.3SG)-went the wall-DAT  
‘The car drove into the wall.’

- (49) János csak RÁ-D nézett rá-d.  
John only onto.2SG looked onto.2SG  
‘John only looked at YOU.’

- (50) nek-i megyen a Fatens-nek  
dat-3SG go.3SG the witness-DAT  
‘he attacks (lit. goes to) the witness  
(Witch trial 59, before 1712 )

## Prepositions from postpositions

- ▶ In Old Hungarian and Middle Hungarian all case assigning adpositions are postpositions.
- ▶ In Modern Hungarian some case-assigning Ps can also be prepositions.

(51) a fal-on át  
the wall-SUP through  
'through the wall'

(52) át a fal-on  
through the wall-SUP  
'through the wall'

- ▶ pP is changing from a head-final to a head-initial projection (Dékány & Hegedűs 2014)
- ▶ This is possibly a late follow-up of the large scale head-last to head-first change on the clausal and the phrasal level that happened in OH and MidH (É. Kiss 2014)

## pP: headedness

- ▶ Hungarian: Place/PathP are head-final, pP is head-initial
- ▶ interestingly this is the opposite of German ‘circumpositions’, where the *p* head has been argued to be head final (Van Rimesdijk 1990, 1998)

(53) [pP [PP unter der Brücke] durch]  
under the bridge through  
‘through under the bridge’

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- ▶ case-like Ps grammaticalized in possessive constructions with a directional case marker
- ▶ some case-like Ps then grammaticalized into case markers
- ▶ case-assigning Ps grammaticalized from adjuncts to case marked noun phrases
- ▶ particles grammaticalize from Path-denoting Ps (that were more complex originally)

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