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THE HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN
COMPLEX COMPLEMENTISERS

0. The problem

Four complementisers in Modern Hungarian: *ha* 'if', *hogy* 'that', *mert* 'because', *mint* 'than'

Combinations historically:

(1)

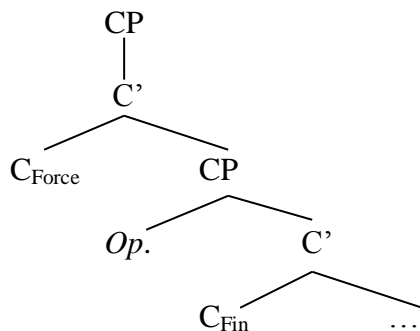|	ha	hogy	mert	mint
ha	–	hahogy	–	hamint
hogy	hogyha	–	hogy mert	hogymint
mert	–	merthogy	–	–
mint	mintha	minthogy	–	–

Questions:

- certain theoretically possible combinations do not exist (e.g. *mert* + *mint*)
- symmetrical pattern: if a combination is possible in the order XY, it is also possible in the order YX

→ Proposal: the four C heads were in different stages of development in Old Hungarian, which resulted in fixed underlying order – reverse order possible via movement.

1. The structure of the Left Periphery

Rizzi's analysis (Rizzi 1997: 297):

(2)

Two C heads (Force and Finiteness)

Operators: in the lower [Spec; CP] position

Movement: ordinary *wh*-movement (Chomsky 1977; Kennedy and Merchant 2000)

Constraints:

● in Modern Hungarian, the two C heads cannot be filled at the same time (~ Italian)

● Doubly Filled COMP Filter

Positions in Modern Hungarian (cf. Kántor 2008):

>*hogy* in C_{Force}
>
>*ha* in C_{Fin}
>
>*mint* in C_{Force}
>
>*mert* in C_{Force}

● *hogy*, *mint*, and *mert* cannot be preceded by anything

● *ha* can be preceded by a Topic:

(3) Péter ha   megjön, küldd   hozzám.
    Peter if   arrives send-Imp. I-Dat.
    'If Peter arrives, send him to me.'

2. The etymology of complementisers

Originally, they were pronouns, later becoming operators. (Juhász 1991, 1992; Haader 1991, 1995)

Functional split → etymologically related operators:

hogy — *hol* 'where'
ha — *hová* 'where to'
mint — *miként*, *miképpen* 'how'
mert — *miért* 'why'

Split took place in different periods:

● *hogy* and *ha*: before the Old Hungarian period

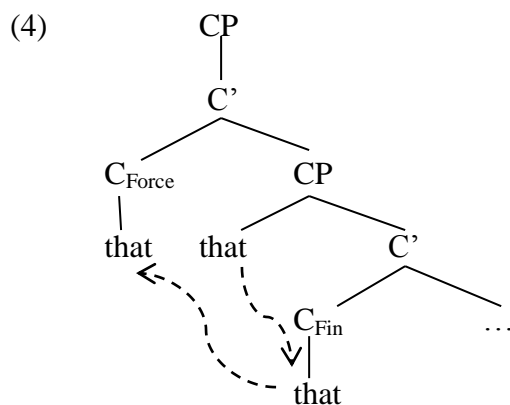● *mint* and *mert*: during the Old Hungarian and the Middle Hungarian period

3. The history of simplex complementisers

Development from operators to C heads: reanalysis

Second stage in reanalysis: from C_{Force} head to C_{Fin} head

The relative cycle as a grammaticalization process: an original determiner becomes first a relative operator, and subsequently the relative operator is reanalysed as a C head. (Roberts–Roussou 2003: 119; van Gelderen 2009)

e.g. the development of the English *that*:

(4)

→ operator function of *mint* and *mert* preserved in Old Hungarian, alongside the new one (C heads)

→ operator function of *hogy* 'how' and *ha* 'when-Rel.' new: the latter was rare but the former is still possible in Modern Hungarian:

(5) Láttam, hogy   úszik a   dinnyehéj.
    saw-I   that/how drifts the melon rind
    'I saw that/how the melon rinds were drifting.'

4. Two complementisers in one Left Periphery

Proposal: *hogy* and *ha* developed into C heads earlier

  → in Old Hungarian, they are C_{Force} heads

  ↔ *mint* and *mert* are later developments and are either in the lower [Spec; CP] or in C_{Fin}

→ development of *hogymint*, *hamint*, and *hogy mert*

hogy mint 'that than' (cf. Bácskai-Atkári 2011) – comparatives:

(6) édességet   érze   nagyobban **hogy mint** annak   előtte
    sweetness-Acc. felt-(s)he greater   that   than that-Dat. before-Poss.1.Sg.
    '(s)he felt sweetness even more than before' (LázK. 140)

hamint 'if than' – conditional comparatives:

(7) **ha mint** csak el   aludtak   volna   lelküket   Istennek meg adák
    if   than only PREVB slept-they be-Cond. souls-Poss.3.Pl. God-Dat. PREVB gave-they
    'as if they had only fallen asleep, they gave their souls to God' (SándK. 28)

hogy mert 'that because' – clauses of reason:

(8) De**hogy mert**   szent Ferenc igen szereti vala   őtet tisztaságáért
    but.that because Saint Francis well liked-he be-Past. him for.purity-Poss.3.Sg.
    'but because Saint Francis liked him well for his purity' (JókK. 46)

other C_Force+operator combinations in the period with *hogy* and *ha*, e.g. *hogy ki* 'that who', *ha mi* 'if what' (Juhász 1992; Galambos 1907)

      → *hogy* and *ha* had to be C_Force heads

5. Movement and complex complementisers

Proposal: the underlying order changes when the CFin head moves up to be adjoined to the CForce head, cf. Kayne's Linear Correspondence Axiom (Kayne 1994)

→ development of *minthogy*, *mintha*, *merthogy*, *hogyha*, and *hahogy*

minthogy 'than that' – comparatives:

(9) semmi nagyobb nem mondathatik: **mint hogy** legyen   Istennek anyja
    nothing greater   not say-Pass.Cond.3.Sg. than that   be-Subj.3.Sg God-Dat. mother
    'nothing can be said to be greater than that she be the mother of God' (TihK. 143)

mintha 'than if' – conditional comparatives:

(10) És kimenének   szokásuk   szerint   **mint ha** az imádságra   mennének
    and out.went-they custom-Poss.3.Pl. according than if the prayer-Subl. go-Cond.3.Pl.
    'and they went out as was their custom, as if going for prayer' (GuaryK. 113—114)

merthogy 'because that' – clauses of reason:

(11) **Mert   hogy** bizonnyal voltvolna   Krisztusnak tökéletes tanítványa
    because that definitely was-3.Sg.be-Cond. Christ-Dat. perfect   student-Poss.3.Sg.
    'because he was a perfect student of Christ' (JókK. 20—21)

hogyha 'that if' – conditional clauses:

(12) víg   orcával elmegyen   vala,   **hogyha** ingyen   nem hallanája
    happy face-Instr. away.went-3.Sg. be-Past. that.if   absolutely not hear-Cond.3.Sg.
    '(s)he went away with a happy face, as if (s)he had absolutely not heard it' (VirgK. 81)
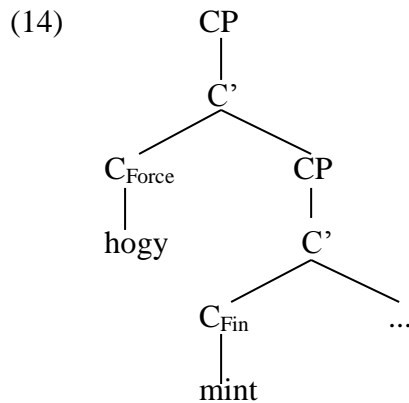
hahogy 'if that' – conditional clauses:

(13) **hahogy** annak leírásában   túl   nem járok a   kellő rövidségben
    if.that   that-Dat. description-Poss.1.Sg.Iness. over   not go-I the
    appropriate   length-Iness.
    'if I do not exceed the appropriate length in its the description' (Ferenc Molnár, 1788)
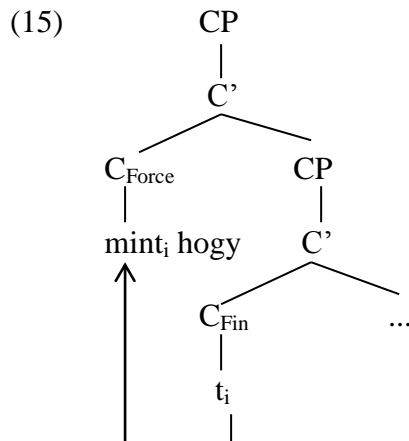
6. Conclusions

Default word order: C_{Force} + C_{Fin}

→ gives *hogy* + *mint* / *mert* and *ha* + *mint*

(14)

```
              CP
              |
              C'
            /    \
      C_Force     CP
         |         |
       hogy       C'
                /    \
            C_Fin    ...
              ¦
            mint
```

Movement: if the C_{Fin} head moves up to the C_{Force} head, adjunction will happen in the reverse order (cf. Kayne's Linear Correspondence Axiom)

→ gives *mint* / *mert* + *hogy* and *mint* + *ha*

(15)

```
              CP
              |
              C'
            /    \
      C_Force     CP
         |         |
    mint_i hogy    C'
         ↑       /    \
            C_Fin    ...
              |
             t_i
```

Movement ultimately leads to complex complementisers that are base-generated as a complex C_{Force} → no further need for movement.

Advantages:

● the orders XY and YX are just variations of one another – the original meaning is always the same

- explains the diachronic difference: the ones with the reverse word order survive into Modern Hungarian ↔ the ones with the default word order have disappeared from the language

  change in the constraint: Old and Middle Hungarian allowed the two C heads to be filled simultaneously, Modern Hungarian does not

    → configurations having two separate C heads overtly had to disappear

    → complex C heads could remain

- explains why certain configurations (i.e. *mint + mert*) are impossible: two CFin heads not allowed

The case of *hogy* 'that' and *ha* 'if':

- *hogyha*: *hogy* in this case moved from C_{Fin}

  (← new operator *hogy* 'how-Rel.' developed into a C head) – *hogyha* is first used in conditional comparatives, just like *mintha* 'than.if'

- *hahogy*: later (rare) development, when *ha* changed from C_{Force} to C_{Fin} – prohibition on two C heads making movement necessary but no development into a proper complex C head

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