Changing copulas
and the case of Hungarian prenominal PPs

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Starting points

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

- The lexical item *való* 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 *való* in Old Hungarian?

- The function word is obviously related to the (participial) copula.
  What is the 'function word' use of *való* and how is it related to its copular use diachronically?

Starting points (cont.)

- ▶ 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

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'

Licensing strategies (cont.)

- ▶ participial clauses prenominally: with semantically rather 'empty', general verbs

(5) a. 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 mėnės=nèlkùl
         fight-ILL going=without
         'without going into a fight' (Vienna C. 24, 1416/1450)

     b. Bécs-be   érkezésével
         Vienna-ILL arriving-INSTR
         '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. fÿ-am-hoz ual-o menes-ǫm-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
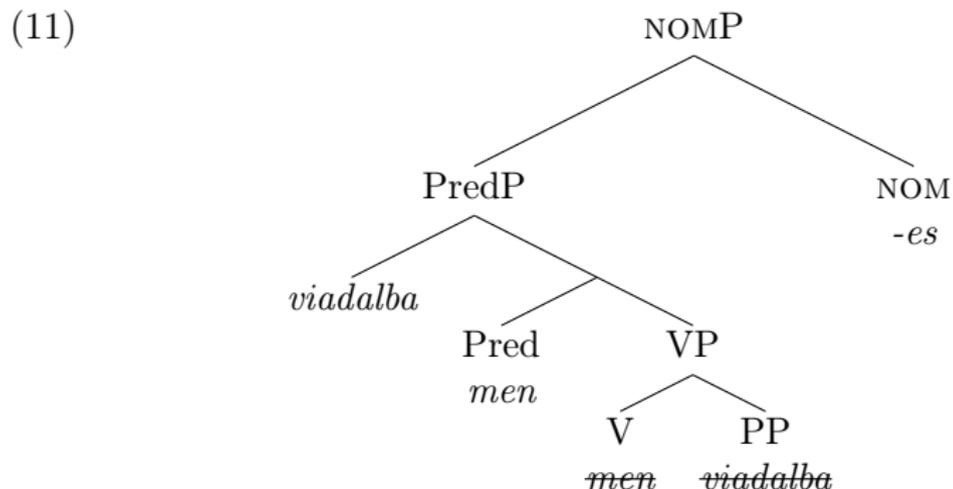- When does the prenominal element become prenominal?

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 mėnès
      fight-ILL going
      'going into a fight'   (Vienna C. 24, 1416/1450)

(11)

```
                         NOMP
                        /    \
                    PredP     NOM
                   /    \      -es
              viadalba   \
                     Pred    VP
                     men    /   \
                           V     PP
                          men  viadalba
```

Copular use

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

(12)   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)

(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] nemÿ 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   Cellekǫdeteth
             this.way-ADV be-PART doing
             'acting this way'

                                  (Kazinczy C. 48v, 1526-41)

(19)   zenetlen   valo   felelm
             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 ḷọttèm
      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'

<div align="right">(Thewrewk C., 1531)</div>

(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'

<div align="right">(Witch trial 82, 1732)</div>

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
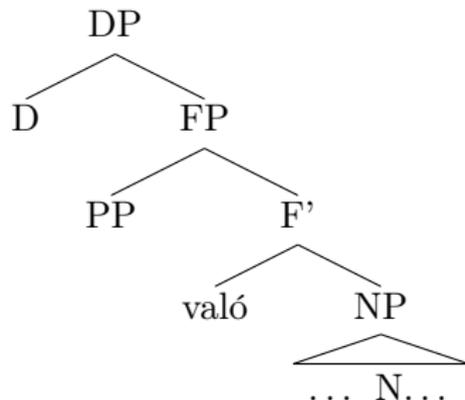
(23)

```
              FP
            /    \
         TP       \
              F      NP
                    /  \
                  ...N...
```
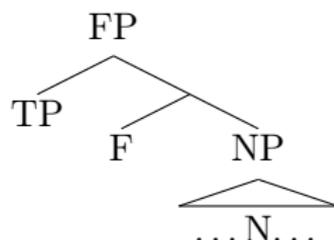
- ▶ *való* was reanalyzed into a different functional head by the Old Hungarian period but had its original use as well

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

Structure

(24)

```
                    DP
                  /    \
                 D      FP
                       /   \
                     PP     F'
                           /  \
                        való   NP
                              /____\
                            ... N...
```
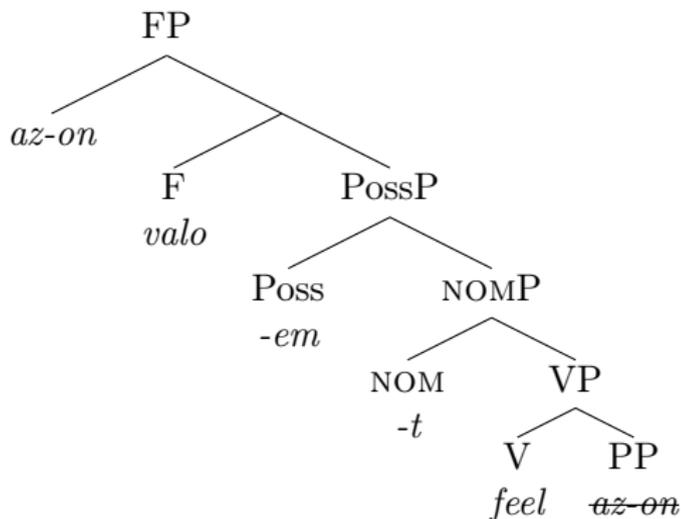
- ▶ When did the reanalysis take place?: When *levő* takes over the copular function, *való* has definitely been reanalyzed
- ▶ At the beginning of Middle Hungarian: *való* is no longer a copula sitting in T (or Asp)

(25) az-on   val-o   feelt-em-ben
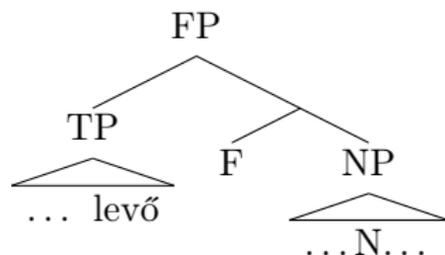   that-SUP   be-PART   fear-POSS1SG-INE
      'in my fear of that'

                                    (Jordánszky C. 25, 1516–1519)

(26)

Levő

- ► Once it appeared as the suppletive form, *levő* took over very quickly

(27)

```
                    FP
                   /  \
                TP     \
               /\       \
              /  \    F   NP
           . . . levő    /  \
                       . . . N . . .
```

- ► 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-ó   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   Pünkösd 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

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)
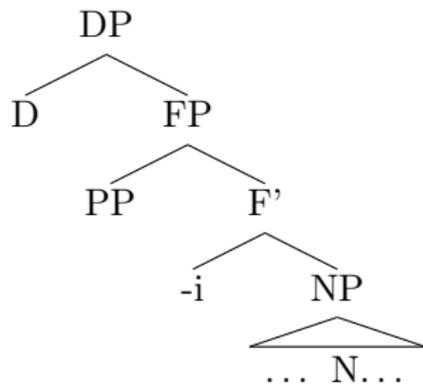
Another licensor: -i (cont.)

- *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)

```
            DP
          /    \
         D     FP
              /   \
            PP     F'
                  /   \
                -i     NP
                       / \
                    ... N ...
```

Prenominal PPs

- *való*
- *-i*
- participial clauses: *levő*, other verbs

Conclusions

- 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!

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