

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

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Proposal: reanalysis and generalized licensing

Further changes in the distribution

Conclusions

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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 prenominaly: 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 ménès=nèlkül
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-om-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?

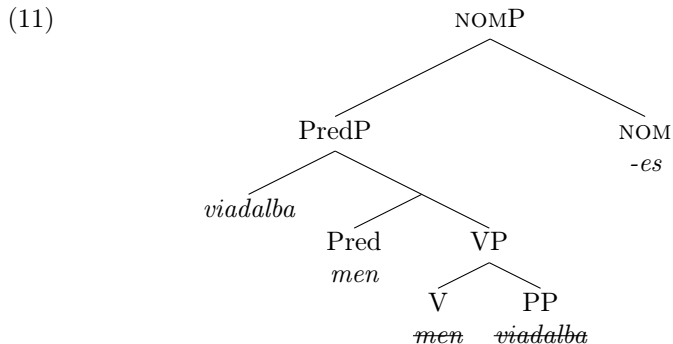
Verbal Modifiers

- ▶ 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)



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 Cellekødeteth
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 (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)

Introduction

The data: prenominal PPs

Proposal: reanalysis and generalized licensing

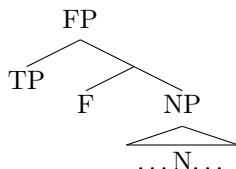
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The original structure

- ▶ *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)



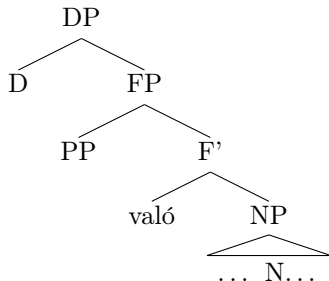
- ▶ *való* was reanalyzed into a different functional head by the Old Hungarian period but had its original use as well

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)

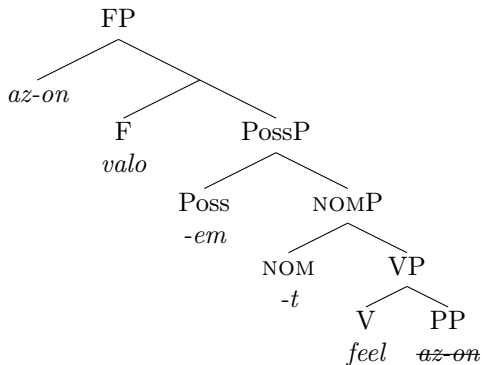


- ▶ When did the reanalysis take place?: When *levő* takes over the copular function, *való* has definitely been reanalyzed
- ▶ At the beginning of Middle Hungarian: *való* is no longer a copula sitting in T (or Asp)

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

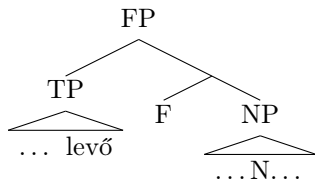
(Jordánszky C. 25, 1516–1519)

(26)



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

(27)



- ▶ 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 Pünkösöd 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 licenser: *-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 licenser: *-i* (cont.)

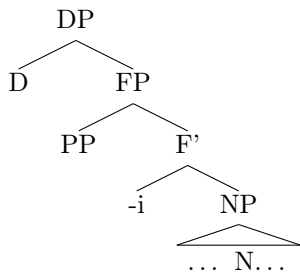
- ▶ *való* vs *-i*: their distribution overlap to some extent, but in general *való* is used with dynamic events, *-i* is used with stative and dynamic nouns as well, but it cannot be attached to a locative or directional suffix (Laczkó 1995)
 - except for some lexicalized items

- (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-INST-R-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)



Prenominal PPs

- ▶ *való*
- ▶ *-i*
- ▶ participial clauses: *levő*, 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 licenser of prenominal PP modifiers, sharing this function with *-i* (divided along semantic and morphological lines)

Thank you!

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