Grammaticalization paths in complex adpositional phrases

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Emergence and Evolution of Complex Adpositions in European Languages
Adpositions in Hungarian

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

Some of these can combine within the same Adpositional Phrase; in a head-complement relationship

→ complex adpositional phrases
Claims

- complex adpositions in Hungarian: more than one head is lexicalized in the PP
- some of these grammaticalized from possessive structures
- others grammaticalized from adjunction structures
- new (complex) Ps are currently emerging from possessive structures and case marked DPs
Outline

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- two types of postpositions (Marácz, 1984, 1986; Asbury, 2008; Hegedűs, 2010; Hegedűs, 2013; Dékány, 2011):
  - 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’
Case-like Ps are often in triplets

(5) a. a ház előtt
    the house front.at
    ‘in front of the house’

    b. a ház élé
    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 ház-ban
      the house-INE
      ‘in the house’
   b. a ház-ba
      the house-ILL
      ‘into the house’
   c. a ház-ból
      the house-ELA
      ‘out of the house’

(7) other
   a. Péter-rel
      Peter-INS
      ‘with Peter’
Adpositions in Hungarian (cont.)

▶ particles

(8) a. Az autó át-ment a híd-on.
   the car over-went the bridge-SUP
   ‘The car crossed the bridge (=went across the bridge)’

b. Péter meg-vette a könyvet.
   Peter PRT-bought the book-ACC
   ‘Peter bought the book.’

(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).’
Complex adpositions

- **PPs with a case-assigning P:** DP + CASE + P

  (11) a ház-hoz közel
  the house-ILL close.to
  ‘close to the house’

- **Particle ... PP**

  (12) le az asztal alá
  down the table under.to
  ‘down, (to) under the table’

- **Adverb ...PP**

  (13) lent az asztal alatt
  down the table under.at
  ‘down, under the table’
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- We assume the following structure for PPs (Svenonius, 2003; Dikken, 2010; Koopman, 2010)

\[(14) \quad pP > \text{PathP} > \text{PlaceP} > \text{AxPartP} > \text{DP}\]

\[(15)\]

\[\begin{array}{c}
pP \\
\text{Figure} \\
p \\
\text{PathP} \\
\text{Path} \\
\text{PlaceP} \\
\text{Place} \\
\text{AxPartP} \\
\text{AxPart} \\
\text{DP} \\
\end{array}\]

- \(p\): functional adposition, its specifier hosts the Figure
- AxPart: has both nominal and adpositional properties (Svenonius, 2006)
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1A: starting in Ancient Hungarian, case-like postpositions and spatial suffixes grammaticalized in possessive constructions:

(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-inside-POSS-out.of
‘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
Step 1: case-like Ps & case markers from possessives

1B: with certain relational Ns as possessees, e.g. *top*, *bottom*, *side*, *front*, *back*, *gut*, *chest* etc. (Svenonius 2006: „axial parts“)

(19) Possessor + Possessee + CASE
    ↓    ↓
Ground + [AxialPart + CASE]

(20) vilag-bel-e
    world-inside-into
    ‘into (the) world’
    (Funeral Sermon and Prayer, cca. 1195)
Step 1: case-like Ps & case markers from possessives

1C: the [AxialPart + CASE] was reanalyzed into a monomorphemic P; the original possessor became the Ground complement of the new P (see Lehmann 2015 [1995])

(21) Ground + P

(22) a. uromc scine eleut
    Lord.POSS.1PL face.POSS front.at
    ‘before our Lord’
    (Funeral Sermon and Prayer, cca. 1195)

b. nekyk elue
   DAT.3PL before.to
   ‘(to) before them’ (Jókai C. 21, 14-15th c.)

c. o orcaioc élɔl
   they face-POSS.3PL before.from
   ‘from before their faces’ (Vienna C. 32, mid-15th c.)
Step 1: case-like Ps & case markers from possessives

1D: In some cases the morphologically independent P was reanalyzed as a bound case suffix.

Condition: the P is reduced to a single syllable.

Consequence: newly emerging case markers exhibit vowel harmony with their host

(23) ez vilag-bol
this world-ELA
‘from this world’ (Jókai C. 62, 14-15th c.)

(24) a palack-ból, az erdő-ből
the bottle-ELA the forest-ELA
‘from the bottle, from the forest’ Modern Hungarian
Step 2: case-assigning Ps 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 (modificational) relationship between the adposition and the case marked N

(25)  a. fy-al usve son.INS together
together with (her) son’

Königsberg Fragment, cca. 1350

b. az udvar-on kint
the yard-SUP outside
‘outside in the yard’

Modern Hungarian
Step 2: case-assigning Ps from adjuncts

- an adjunct can grammaticalize into a head on the main projection line (Van Gelderen’s 2004 Head Preference Principle)

- proposal: some adpositions adjoined to pP were reanalysed as a head on the main projection line: as the p 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
Step 2: case-assigning Ps from adjuncts

before: \textit{belül} ‘inside’ adjoined to ‘its gates-Sup’: ‘inside, on its gates’

(26)

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node {PP} child {node {pP} child {node {p} } child {node {pP} } } child {node {pp} };
  \node {PlaceP} child {node {DP} } child {node {Place} };
  \node {‘kapui’} child {node {its gates} } child {node {‘-n’} } child {node {Sup} };
  \node {‘belül’} child {node {inside} };
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

after: \textit{belül DP-Sup}: ‘inside of DP’

(27) èn varos-om-nac kapu-i-n bèlöl
I city-poss.1sg-dat gate-poss.pl-sup inside
lit. ‘within the gates of my city’ (Vienna C. 7)

(28)
Step 3: Prepositions from postpositions

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

(29) a fal-on át the wall-SUP through ‘through the wall’
(30) át a fal-on through the wall-SUP ‘through the wall’

Proposal:
pP is changing from a head-final to a head-initial projection
(Dékány & Hegedűs, 2015)

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 Old H. and Middle H. (É. Kiss, 2014).

The new configuration (head-initial pP, head-final Path/PlaceP) obeys the FOFC constraint of Biberauer et al 2014.
pP: headedness

- Hungarian: Place/Path P 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 (Riemsdijk, 1990, 1998)

(31) \[pP [PP unter der Brücke] durch]  
under the bridge through  
‘through under the bridge’
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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
New case-like postpositions from possessive structures

számára, részére: ‘for’

(32) X szám-á-ra, X rész-é-re
both: ‘for X’

(33) én szám-om-ra, ti szám-otok-ra
‘for me, for you(pl)’

(34) én rész-em-re, ti rész-etek-re
‘for me, for you(pl)’
New case-like postpositions from possessive structures

*helyében*: ‘in X’s shoes’

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

(36)  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’

No new complex Ps in adjunctions? Harder to see the change?
New particles from case marked DPs

- old particles are monomorphemic: *be* ‘into’, *fel* ‘up’, *ki* ‘out’, *le* down’ etc.

- newer ones are more complex

(37) a. \[ PathP [DP hát ] -ra ]
   back onto behind

b. \[ PathP [DP fél ] -re ]
   side onto aside, mis-V

c. \[ PathP [DP vég ] -be ]
   end into complete
New particles from case marked DPs (cont.)

*agyön* ‘to death / to exhaustion’ is one of the newest particles, which speakers still perceive as having an N+CASE internal structure

(38)   agy-on  
        brain-SUP  
        lit: ‘on brain’, as particle: ‘to death / to exhaustion’

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

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

(41)   agy-on-puszil valaki-t  
        brain-SUP-kiss somebody-ACC  
        ‘kiss somebody to death / to exhaustion’

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- case-like Ps grammaticalized from possessa 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; this step creates complex adpositions
- two ongoing grammaticalization processes in PPs:
  - new case-like Ps from case marked possessa
  - new particles from case marked Ns
Thank you!

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