

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

Adpositional elements in Hungarian

Background assumptions

Grammaticalization processes

New adpositions

Conclusions

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Adpositions in Hungarian

- ▶ two types of postpositions (Marác, 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'

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 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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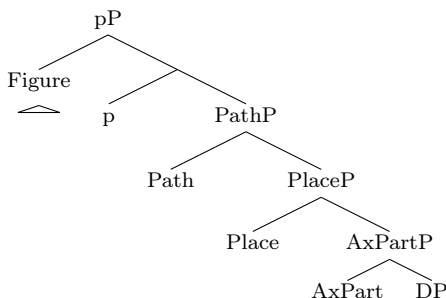
Conclusions

Background assumptions

- ▶ We assume the following structure for PPs (Svenonius, 2003; Dikken, 2010; Koopman, 2010)

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

(15)



- ▶ *p*: functional adposition, its specifier hosts the Figure
- ▶ AxPart: has both nominal and adpositional properties (Svenonius, 2006)

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Step 1: case-like Ps & case markers from possessives

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*; source: *-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 èløl
 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 (modification) 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

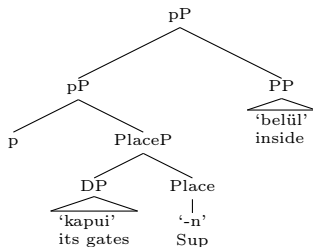
Step 2: case-assigning Ps from adjuncts

- ▶ 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: *belül* ‘inside’ adjoined to ‘its gates-Sup’: ‘inside, on its gates’

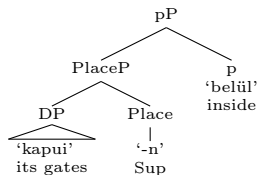
(26)



after: *belül DP-Sup*: ‘inside of DP’

(27) 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)

(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/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 Riemsdijk, 1990, 1998)

(31) [*p*P [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
X number-POSS-SUB, X part-POSS-SUB
both: ‘for X’

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

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

agyon ‘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’ case marked DP
- (40) agy-on-ver valaki-t
brain-SUP-beat somebody-ACC
‘beat somebody to death’ particle, original use
- (41) agy-on-puszil valaki-t
brain-SUP-kiss somebody-ACC
‘kiss somebody to death / to exhaustion’ particle, new use

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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

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