

Particle-verb order in Old Hungarian and complex predicates*

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6 July, 2012

1 Introduction

- Aim: Examine where we find particles in the Old Hungarian clause and give an analysis of their syntactic properties.
- Claims:
 - ⇒ The syntactic properties of particles in Old Hungarian are very similar to their present properties. The slight variation they show in their orderings with respect to the verb can be put down to independent syntactic factors.
 - ⇒ The word order change from SOV to SVO that had largely taken place by the early written period of Hungarian did not affect the particle (PRT) - Verb ordering because their original preverbal argument position was reanalyzed as a predicative position where particles obligatorily move in overt syntax.
 - ⇒ This predicate movement has been extended to all other predicative elements in the clause as evidenced by the Modern Hungarian word order, but those show larger word order variation in Old Hungarian.

2 Modern Hungarian word order

- Hungarian has been argued to be an SVO language (Horvath 1986; Surányi 2006; É. Kiss 2011; a.o.).
- Left periphery: Top > Q > (Neg) > Foc > (Neg) > V (cf. Kenesei 1986; É. Kiss 2002 a.o.)
- Preverbal position: predicative elements are left-adjacent to the verb in neutral sentences (Verbal Modifiers: Komlósy 1994; É. Kiss 2006; a.o.)
- A sentence is neutral if there is no focus, wh-word (also in Focus) or negation in it, and it is not imperative (cf. Kálmán 1985a,b and subsequent literature).

*This research has been supported by the grant of the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA NK 78074).

3 Word order

3.1 SOV vs. SVO in Old Hungarian

- É. Kiss (2011) argues that Hungarian word order changed from (S)OV to (S)VO by the Old Hungarian period. Old Hungarian still preserves some fossils of the old order.
 - OV order with a caseless object (normally objects are marked for accusative in Hungarian) (other Uralic languages have the same OV order with unmarked objects)
 - (1) mel **myse haluan** vymadgozzonk harmad ydeyglen
which sermon hear.PART pray.SUBJ.1PL third time.until
'Upon hearing which sermon, let us pray three times'
(JókK 6/04, É. Kiss 2011 (3a))
 - PRT - NEG - V order (vs. NEG - V - PRT)
 - (2) Es az Ver touaba **ky** nem futott
and the blood moreover out not ran
'and the blood didn't run out anymore'
(JókK 69/01, É. Kiss 2011 (6))
 - the Q-particle *-e* is at the end of the clause
 - (3) Nemde tü inkább nagyobbak vattok azoknál-**e**?
not.but you rather bigger.PL are those.DAT-Q
'Are ye not much better than they?'
(Munich Codex, Matthew 6:26; É. Kiss 2011 (14b))

3.2 The English parallel

- When English word order changed from SOV to SVO, the order of the verb and the particle changed as well (PRT-V > V-PRT) (Van Kemenade and Los 2003; Elenbaas 2006)
- Kroch and Taylor (2000) use the surface position of the particle as a diagnostics to determine whether the language is already a VO language or not. Since particles are light elements they would not be rightward-moved (no heavy NP-shift or rightward topicalization), so if the particle appears to the right of the verb it is base-generated there.

4 Particle-verb constructions

4.1 The class of particles

- The class of verbal particles was already quite large in Old Hungarian and it was gaining new members then as well (D. Mátai 1991, 1992, 2003, etc.)
 - oldest verbal particles: meg '*orig.* back', el 'away', ki 'out_{DIR}', fel 'up_{DIR}', le 'down_{DIR}', bel/be 'into'

– newly grammaticalizing elements: egybe ‘together’ (*lit.* ‘one.into’), által ‘over, through’, alá ‘under_{DIR}’, elé ‘before_{DIR}’, össze ‘together’, vissza ‘back’, elő ‘*lit.* to the front’ etc.

- *meg* is sometimes only functional and has no real, directional lexical meaning, (4); but sometimes it is still used with the original directional meaning ‘back’, (5)

(4) zent ferenc mene zent Jacobot **meg-latny**
 saint Francis went saint Jacob PRT-see.INF
 ‘Saint Francis went to see Saint Jacob’
 (Jókai Codex, 13/07)

(5) És felelet vevén álmokban, hogy ne **mennének meg** Heródeshez
 and reply taken dream.3PL.IN that not go.COND.3PL back Herod.to
 ‘And being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to Herod’
 (Munich Codex, Matthew 2:12)

- Particles appear in more and more contexts:

(i) the old ones are used more extensively – e.g. *meg* or *el* appear in a lot of contexts (Munich Codex from 1416/1466 vs. Jordánszky Codex from 1516-1519)

(6) és **mutatá** neki mend ez világnak országit és
 and showed to.3SG all this world.DAT country.PL.ACC and
 dicsőségit.
 glory.ACC
 ‘and showeth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them’
 (Munich Codex, Matthew 4:8)

(7) es **meg mwtata** hewneky ez vylaghnak mynden orzaghyt,
 and PRT showed he.to.3SG this world.DAT all country.PL.ACC
 es hw dyczesegehyt
 and he glory.ACC
 ‘and showeth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them’
 (Jordánszky Codex, Matthew 4)

(8) És **eresztvén** őket Betlehembe
 and sent them Betlehem.into
 ‘And he sent them to Bethlehem’
 (Munich Codex, Matthew 2:8)

(9) es **el-ereztwen** hwket betlehembe
 and away-sent them Betlehem.into
 ‘And he sent them to Bethlehem’
 (Jordánszky Codex, Matthew 2:8)

(ii) new particles appear – e.g. *által* ‘through, over’ is considered to be new in Old Hungarian.

(10) Myre kesel **altal-mened** az vyzen
 what.onto delay.2sg over-go.inf.2sg the water.on
 ‘Why are you delaying going across the water?’
 Jókai Codex, 18/26

- The most frequent *meg* is sometimes substituted by other particles (with more obvious spatial meanings).

(11) Tahát **meg**-hagyá őtet az ördög
then PRT-left him the devil
'Then the devil leaveth him'
(Munich Codex, Matthew 4:11)

(12) Ottan **el**-hagýa hewtet az erdeg
there away-left him the devil
'Then the devil leaveth him'
(Jordánszky Codex, Matthew 4)

4.2 The distribution of particles

- Particles display a distribution in Old Hungarian that is very similar to the present one: they appear right in front of the verb in neutral sentences and post-verbally in non-neutral sentences.

4.2.1 Neutral sentences

- In neutral sentences we find the particle preverbally

(13) De frater ylyes **meg haragwan**: sebesseguel **bel-teue** aytayat S
but brother Elias PRT angry.got speed.with into-put door.3SG.ACC and
el-tére
away-went.3sg
'But having got angry, Brother Elias quickly closed the door and left'
(Jókai Codex 16/28)

(14) És ő az hajócskába **fel-menvén**
and he the ship.DIM.into up-gone
'And when he was entered into a ship'
(Munich Codex, Matthew 8:23)

- BUT: Sometimes we find the particle postverbally when we would not expect it.

(15) De **menenek el** pyspekseg here.
but went.3PL away bishopric place.to
'but they went to the bishopric'
(Jókai Codex, 6/11)

(16) Tehat zent ferenc **mene el** az erdewbe
then saint Francis went away the forest.into
'Then Saint Francis went to the forest'
(Jókai Codex, 9/10)

4.2.2 Non-neutral sentences

- Particles are usually postverbal in non-neutral sentences:

– focus:

- (17) ky EZKEPPEN **fordolot vala meg**
who this.way turned PAST PRT
'who turned around this way' (Jókai Codex 02/17)

– negation

- (18) NEM **fyzettel** telyesseguel **meg**
not paid.2SG completely back
'you did not pay completely back' (Jókai Codex 07/17)

– imperative

- (19) Ha akarz tekelletes leny **men-el s-arwld-el**
if want.2SG perfect be.INF go-away and-sell.IMP.2SG-away
menededett
all.2SG.ACC
'If you want to be perfect, go away and sell all your possessions'
(Jókai Codex 06/19)

• There are exceptions:

– the PRT sometimes appears before the negative particle in front of the verb.

- (20) De aldott cristus sonha hyw embernek zyuet **meg** nem
but blessed Christ never faithful man.DAT heart.3SG.ACC PRT not
kemeneyty
harden.3SG
'But blessed Christ never hardens the heart of a faithful man'
(Jókai Codex 52/25)

- (21) és sem urrok **ki** nem **ássák**, sem **el** nem **urozzák**
and neither thief.PL out not dig.3PL neither away not steal.3PL
'and where thieves do not break through nor steal'
(Munich Codex, Matthew 6:20)

↔ the standard analysis is that the V moves to Neg, that is why the PRT is postverbal (É. Kiss 2002)

↔ É. Kiss (2011): Old Hungarian Neg adjoins to the V in these cases

– the PRT sometimes stays before the verb in imperative sentences

- (22) **be-menj** te hajlakodba
into-go.IMP you house.into
'enter into thy closet'
(Munich Codex, Matthew 6:6)

↔ the standard analysis is that the V moves to a higher functional projection, that is why the PRT is postverbal

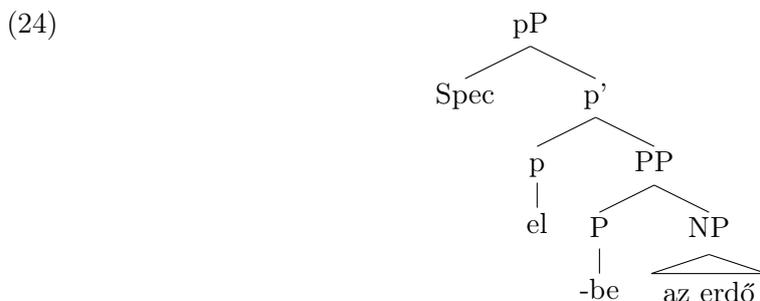
↔ in these cases, the V stays low

5 Analysis

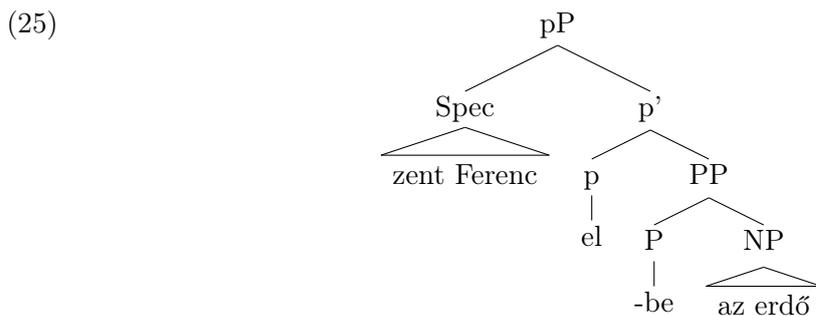
5.1 The syntax of particles

- Particles are functional adpositions, they originate within the extended PP. I call their position pP following Van Riemsdijk (1990); it is essentially analogous to Ramchand and Svenonius' (2002) PrtP.
- Grammaticalizing adpositional elements are undergoing the preposition cycle (Waters 2009) in Hungarian as well (cf. Hegedűs 2010), and particles (i.e. functional adpositions) develop as part of that cycle.
- They grammaticalized (and still grammaticalize) from adpositional elements and became functional heads that form a complex predicate with the verb in the clause.

(23) el az erdő-be
 away the forest-into
 'away into the forest'



- pP is like a RelP (Den Dikken 2006) or a Small Clause (Den Dikken 1995). The subject of the SC (the internal argument of the clause) is introduced in Spec,pP.



5.2 Complex predicates

- In Proto-Hungarian, the SC was preverbal as well, later this position did not have to be filled.
- There are cases in Old Hungarian when there is both a caseless object and a particle in front of the verb

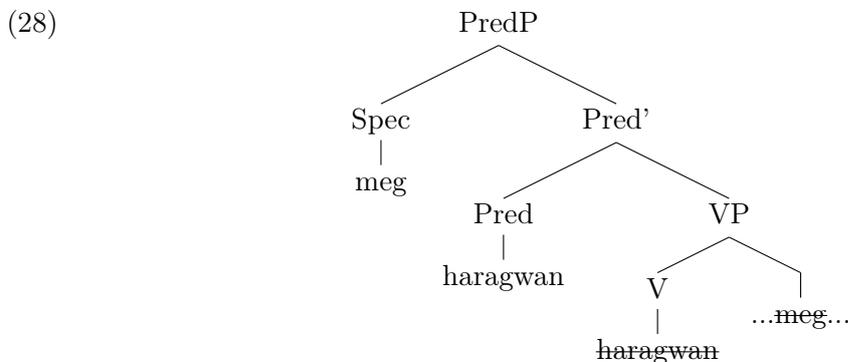
(26) es *feye* le **hayttuan** tystesen fogada zent attyanac
 and head.3SG down turned respectfully vowed.3SG saint father.DAT
 engedelmesseget
 obedience

‘And having bowed his head, he respectfully pledged obedience to his Saint Father’
 (Jókai Codex, 13/15)

- (27) *És azok legottan hálójok meg-hagyván*
 and those immediately net.3PL PRT-left
 ‘And they straightway left their nets’
 (Munich Codex, Matthew 4:20)

↔ I take these to show that the whole SC is in front of the verb here.

- É. Kiss (2011): referential XPs often appeared postverbally due to rightward topicalization or heavy-NP shift. The order got reanalyzed as SVO based on this cue.
- Particles are different from regular arguments: they are not referential and are very light, so they are less likely to undergo rightward movement or shift (Kroch and Taylor 2000). They still appeared to the left of the verb at this stage, but regular (referential) arguments did not.
- The cue to the language learner was that particles, i.e. predicates, are left-adjacent to the verb. Their position was reanalyzed as a predicate position.
- Possibilities: (i) the original position (Spec,VP) became a predicate position, where referential arguments do not have to be moved (no need to move to check ϕ -features locally); (ii) the universally available PredP (cf. Koster 1994) above the verbal projections became filled with the predicative element and the V head.



- It has been proposed in various places that the verb and the particle form a complex predicate. Different proposals: lexically formed complex predicates (Ackerman and Webelhuth 1998); base-generated complex elements (Horvath 1986); movement to some preverbal position (PredP: É. Kiss 2006; VP: Broekhuis and Hegedűs 2009; VP and then PredP: Surányi 2009).
- The exceptional cases:
 - (i) Negation is sometimes archaic with PRT preceding NEG V (É. Kiss 2011). This construction is still available in Modern Hungarian in semantically/pragmatically marked cases, especially in imperative sentences.

- (29) **El ne áruld** senkinek a titkot!
 away not sell.IMP.2SG nobody.DAT the secret.ACC
 ‘Do not tell the secret to anyone.’

(ii) It is also still possible to use imperatives with non-inverted word order.

- (30) Aztán **meg-edd** a spenótot!
then PRT-eat.IMP.2SG the spinach.ACC
'Do eat the spinach.'

(iii) There is postverbal particle in aspectually different clauses: in progressive sentences, atelic contexts. The verb possibly moves to higher functional projections.

6 Extension: Other predicative elements

- Particles, bare noun arguments (always internal arguments, cf. É. Kiss 2006), predicative PPs, predicative nominals and adjectives, secondary predicates behave alike in Modern Hungarian in that they are preverbal in neutral sentences. Komlósy (1994) named them Verbal Modifiers (VM).
- The other predicates display a greater variation in their distribution in Old Hungarian than particles.
- Variation of the order of the same kind of element within one text, cf. (31), (32), and within different translations of the same text, cf. (33) vs. (34).

- (31) a. mert halászok valának
because fisher.PL were
'for they were fishers'
(Munich Codex, Matthew 4:18)
- b. ő étke kedig vala sáska és vad méz
he food.3SG CONJ was locust and wild honey
'and his meat was locusts and wild honey'
(Munich Codex, Matthew 3:4)

- (32) a. kik az házban vadnak
who.PL the house.in are
'that are in the house'
(Munich Codex, Matthew 5:15)
- b. ki vagyon mennyekben
who is heavens.in
'which is in heaven'
(Munich Codex, Matthew 5:16)

- (33) És vala ott Heródes megholtiglan
and was there Herod PRT.death.until
'and was there until the death of Herod'
(Munich Codex, Matthew 2:15)

- (34) es ot len herodesnek halalayglan
and there is Herod.DAT death.until
'and was there until the death of Herod'
(Jordánszky Codex, Matthew 2:15)

- Munich Codex: first 500 occurrences of VMs: 265 particles, 235 other predicative elements

Table 1: Particles and other predicative elements

| Order | PRT | Other |
|-----------------------|-----|-------|
| Preverbal expected | 204 | 103 |
| Preverbal unexpected | 17 | 4 |
| Postverbal expected | 41 | 42 |
| Postverbal unexpected | 3 | 86 |
| Together | 265 | 235 |

- Of the 17 unexpectedly preverbal PRT: 10 are with negation (vs. 11 regular negative order) and 7 are in imperatives (vs. 21 regular imperatives).
- All of the unexpectedly preverbal VMs may be focused or Contrastive Topics, it cannot be decided.
- Explaining the difference: the VO order was generalized to all internal arguments including the predicative ones, but particles have never appeared postverbally. The predicate movement was first generalized to them and later became completely general.

7 Conclusions

- Old Hungarian particles form complex predicates with the verb and are moved to the preverbal position because of their predicative nature.
- Despite the change in the Hungarian word order from SOV to SVO, the PRT-V order did not change because the previous argument position was reanalyzed as a preverbal predicative position where complex predicates are formed.
- Why did this not take place in English? There is no overt complex predicate formation in English.

Old Hungarian sources

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