

## From direct quotation to a chain of extended quotations: the history of Hungarian *úgymond* 'so to speak'

It is a well-known phenomenon of grammaticalization that the verb or verb construction of a quotative main clause serves as a source for new elements (e.g. Harris–Campbell 1995: 171, see also 168–172). The topic is quite well-researched for many languages (comprehensive analyses: Kuteva et al. 2019: 357–358, 375–388; Spronck–Casartelli 2021).

In present-day Hungarian there are two discourse markers which started from the quotation and arose from the verb *mond* 'say': *mondván* ('giving the reason') and *úgymond* ('so to speak'). Their history goes back approximately 600 years. At the 25th ICHL conference I discussed the element *mondván* (From quotative to causation – the history of Hungarian *mondván*). The present research focuses on the history of the marker *úgymond*. For this expression, the source used to be a collocation: the demonstrative pronoun *úgy* ('so') and the verb *mond* ('he/she says') fused and lexicalized as a quotative marker, which later acquired an extended discourse marker function (Dömötör 2015).

In the 15th century, and at the beginning of the 16th century (Old Hungarian period) *úgy mond* ~ *úgymond* occurred in two kinds of grammatical roles. On the one hand, as a collocation it was a part of a prototypical quotative main sentence (1–2). On the other hand, the fused form was also present as a grammaticalized quotative marker (3).

(1) ő **úgy** **mond** **vala** ön+benne: „Ha en csak ő  
he so say-PRS3SG AUX.PST self+he.INE if I only he  
ruhá-já-t illet-end-em, megvigasz-om”  
dress-POS-ACC touch-FUT-3SG.DEF comfort-PRS3SG

'He says to himself: If only I can touch his dress, I would be comforted' (MunC.15rb, 1466)

(2) az szoror-ok [...] **úgy** **mond-anak** **vala** őneki: „Mi teneked benne?”  
the sister-PL so say-PRS3PL AUX.PST she-DAT what you-DAT it.INE  
'The sisters told her: What do you care?' (MargL. 84, 1510)

(3) ez gonosz füge+fá-ról mond-á ur-unk Jézus az igé-k-et:  
this ill fig+tree-DEL say-PST3SG lord-POSS3PL Jesus those word-PL-ACC  
„Íme **úgymond** három esztende-je vagyon, hogy gyümölcs-öt keres-ek [...]”  
lo QUOTDM three year-POSS3SG is that fruit-ACC seek-PRS1SG

'Our Lord, Jesus told us these words about this ill fig tree: Lo, QUOTDM for tree years I have been looking for fruits [...]' (DignAp.11, 1521)

The quotative role of *úgymond* was attested during the Middle Hungarian period (4) and also in subsequent periods, and it also appears today. Meanwhile, the collocation did not lose its original function for a long time (until the 19th century).

(4) mond-ja a fatens báty-ja: „No, megad-á **úgymond** nékem Jóczikné  
say-3SG.DEF the witness brother-POS3SG well give-PST3SG.DEF QUOTDM I.DAT Jóczik's wife”  
'The brother of the witness says: Well, Jóczik's wife QUOTDM clobbered me' (TMK, 1716)

Later, from the middle of the 20th century, the function of the quotative marker has extended and shifted towards attitude marking. It is used in present Hungarian primarily in this role, with the meaning 'so to speak'.

On the one hand, the discourse marker *úgymond* signals the speaker's attitude that they use a word or collocation which was taken from an unnamed outside source (possibly from the public discourse), but they distance themselves from that usage (5).

(5) Minden **úgymond** rossz anyá-nak megvan a maga történet-e  
each DM bad muther-DAT has-PRS3SG the own story-POSS3SG  
'Each, so to speak, bad mother has got her own story' ([hvg.hu/360/202239](http://hvg.hu/360/202239) 2022.10.11.)

On the other hand, the element can signal that the speaker reflects on their own language use. This usage of *úgymond* is the result of a further extension, as it goes beyond linking to the outside source. Among other things, the speaker can signal they use the following element unusually or inaccurately (6).

(6) Amikor ezek-et a tartalm-ak-at **úgymond** leszerződött-t-ék, a jogtulajdonos-ok [...]  
when this-ACC the content-PL-ACC DM contract-PST-3PL.DEF the rightsholder-PL  
'When they, so to speak, contracted this contents, the rightsholders [...]' ([napidroid.hu/netflix](http://napidroid.hu/netflix) 2023.01.14.)

In my presentation, I investigate the steps of the functional extension of *úgymond*. I analyse the first, determining step (grammaticalization) and also focus on the relation between the different discourse marker functions.

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## References

Dömötör Adrienne 2015. *A mondván és az úgymond*: diskurzusjelölő elemek keletkezése idéző szerkezetekből. [*Mondván* 'giving the cause' and *úgymond* 'so to speak': the emergence of discourse markers from quoting constructions.] *Magyar Nyelv* 111: 21–37.

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Kuteva, Tanja, Bernd Heine, Bo Hong, Haiping Long, Heiko Narrog and Seongha Rhee 2019. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Spronck, Stef and Casartelli, Daniela 2021. In a manner of speaking: how reported speech may have shaped grammar. *Frontiers in Communication* 6:624486. [www.frontiersin.org](http://www.frontiersin.org) 1–22.

## Cited sources

MunC. = Munnich codex (1466)

MargL. = Margaret legend (1510)

DignAp. = Booklet on the dignity of the saint apostles (1521)

TMK = Történeti Magánéleti Korpusz [Old and Middle Hungarian corpus of informal language use]