

Demonstrative modifiers in Middle Hungarian: a complex picture of renewal

BACKGROUND: The definite article grammaticalized in Old Hungarian to systematically encode the definiteness of the noun phrase, and the source of the article was the distal demonstrative *az* 'that'. The demonstrative system, quite atypically (although attested elsewhere, cf. van Gelderen 2011: 207–208), renewed via two different strategies: one involving reinforcement and one involving doubling. In Hungarian, even two pairs of reinforced demonstratives started to be used along with the old demonstrative modifier, namely *ezen/azon* 'this/that' and *imez/amaz* 'this/that', while a determiner doubling construction also emerged in the 16th century. In the latter case, the old demonstrative pronoun, agreeing in number and case, joined to the noun phrase already determined by the definite article.

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH: The reinforcement strategy and the determiner doubling strategy did not appear simultaneously, but following one another, which raises a couple of questions. Queries in historical corpora allowed me to specify numerically the change of ratio between the various strategies. Furthermore, corpus study will clearly show how the use of doubling constructions increased through centuries to arrive at its present day dominance in frequency. Data have been drawn from the Old Hungarian corpus, on the one hand, which is mainly composed of religious texts and from two Middle Hungarian corpora, on the other hand. Middle Hungarian sources include both Bible translations and private documents, thus the empirical research could consider diachronic processes, and variation between registers and individual sub-corpora as well.

In order to approach the most intriguing question as to why two different strategies emerged to renew the old system, the distributional properties of the modifiers as well as the semantic and pragmatic aspects of their uses have also been examined.

ANALYSIS: In the talk, I propose a syntactic structure for each of the patterns and also aim to model the syntactic change from one construction to the other. Reinforced demonstratives take over the construction type of the old demonstrative strategy, while the definite article emerges as the result of a reanalysis, one that corresponds to the so called Head Preference Principle (van Gelderen 2008 and 2011). At the same time, the determiner doubling strategy can be analyzed as an adjunction, which is supported by word order peculiarities (Author 2014) and by remnant constructions featuring two copies of the demonstrative modifier in apposition, rather than the combination of a demonstrative and an article. However, demonstratives in doubling constructions have been further reanalyzed and integrated into the DP domain, in accordance with the so-called 'Specifier Incorporation', (cf. the universal economy principles in: van Gelderen's 2008)

As a result of the closer examination of distributional phenomena, reinforcement strategies turn out not to have covered all the possible functions (see Himmelmann 1996 and Diessel 1999 for the possible contexts of uses). The reinforced pronouns *ezen/azon* 'this/that' were originally identity markers (meaning 'the same'). Their use only gradually expanded into the general anaphoric use, and never bleached enough to also express an exophoric (extra-linguistic deictic) function. The other pair of reinforced pronouns (*imez/amaz*) remained restricted to special contexts, first of all to the so called recognitional use. That is to say, neither of them encoded exophoric deixis. It was only the determiner doubling construction, emerged somewhat later, but completely neutral with respect to all the pragmatic contexts, that filled the gap. Thus the newest strategy of all could naturally replace the original construction, and at the same time spread into the pragmatic contexts in which the reinforced demonstrative were used.

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