

From parataxis to hypotaxis via correlatives: The evolution of the Hungarian complementizer

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The talk will analyze the evolution of Hungarian complement clauses and their complementizer *hogy* 'that', which is form-identical with the *wh*-phrase meaning 'how; as'. The following developmental path will be documented: Proto-Hungarian, similarly to present-day Khanty and Mansi, its conservative sister languages, only used non-finite subordination, and, in the case of verbs of communication, parataxis. The first sentence type with properties of finite subordination emerging in Khanty is the correlative construction, involving an indefinite/interrogative pronoun in the initial clause and an overt or dropped definite pronoun in the second clause, such as *Who... he...; Where... there...; As... so...*. The abundance of this construction in Old Hungarian suggests that correlatives represented the first type of subordination in Proto-Hungarian, as well. With the shift of word order from SOV to SVO, inverse correlative structures (*He... who...; ...there where...*) also started spreading. In *...so as...* constructions, *as*-clauses containing an indicative verb functioned as clauses of manner, and those containing a subjunctive verb functioned as clauses of purpose. The propositional complements of utterance verbs came to be integrated into the utterance clause in correlative constructions. Utterance verbs were typically accompanied by a cataphoric pro-adverb *úgy* 'so', which brought along *hogy* 'how', its lexically fixed correlate. Later the correlative clause introduced by *hogy* was reanalyzed as an object clause, and the utterance verb started to display object agreement. *Hogy*, originally a relative pronoun in Spec,CP, has become a complementizer also present in embedded *wh*-questions, generalized to other types of complement clauses. Eventually a demonstrative pronominal correlate of the complement clause introduced by *hogy* has appeared in the main clause, and *úgy* has been reinterpreted an optional discourse particle.

Verbs of communication, followed by a direct quotation, also contained the adverb *so* (*He spoke so; He said so.*).

The generalization of finite subordination resulted in the embedding of direct quotations. By analogy, the correlative [_{CP} *...so* [_{CP} *as* ...]] pattern came to be extended to constructions involving a verb of communication complemented by a quotation, as well. *Hogy* 'as' eventually developed into a general complementizer.