INDEPENDENCE WITH OR WITHOUT ELLIPSIS? ABOUT THE EVOLUTION OF *HOGY* 'THAT' INSUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN HUNGARIAN

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INSUBORDINATION

„the independent use of constructions exhibiting prima facie characteristics of subordinate clauses" (Evans – Watanabe 2016: 2)

stand-alone insubordinate clauses: syntactically and pragmatically independent (D'Hertefelt 2018)

a) Complement insubordination: with ***hogy/that/dass/que/dat/she*** etc.

(1) *That it should have come to this!* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 944, cited by Kaltenböck 2019: 177)

b) Conditional insubordination:

(2) *If you could just sit here for a while, please.* (Heine et al. 2016: 39)

Pragmatic functions: manipulation of the hearer, different attitudes of the speaker (feelings, beliefs, desires), interpersonal relations, signalling the speaker's commitment to a situation (Evans 2007: 387; Heine–Kaltenböck–Kuteva 2016: 50–51).

HOGY 'THAT' COMPLEMENT INSUBORDINATION

I. Stand-alone clauses, complement type (D'Hertefelt 2018):

Deontic: evaluate a potential state of affairs in terms of desirability

(3) *A holló mérgesen dohogott, szidta a masinát.*
– Hogy a holló vájja ki a szemét! *Bedöglött!*
CONJ the raven gouge VPFX the eye
'The raven groused angrily, and cussed the machine.
– The raven gouge its eye! It broke down!' (MNSz2, doc#228)

Evaluation: evaluate an actual state of affairs in terms of expectedness

(4) ***hogy te mekkora egy agyatlan barom vagy***
CONJ you PRT a brainless brute be.IND.PRS.SG2
'how big brainless brute you are!' (MNSz2, doc #2717, pers-soc)

ELLIPSIS, OR…?

The emergence of insubordinate clauses is still largely based on hypotheses: they were created by **ellipsis** (Evans 2007, Evans–Watanabe 2016), extension (Mithun 2008), cooptation (Heine–Kaltenböck–Kuteva 2016), clause combining, clausal disengagement (Cristofaro 2016), etc.;

But detailed historical studies are lacking (cf. D'Hertefelt 2018),

Main aim: to test the Ellipsis Hypothesis (Evans 2007: 388, 401, 403):

(3a) ***Azt kívánom,*** *hogy a holló vájja ki a szemét!*
'I wish that the raven gouge its eye!'

(4a) ***Szörnyű,*** *hogy te mekkora egy agyatlan barom vagy!*
'It's awful how big brainless brute you are'

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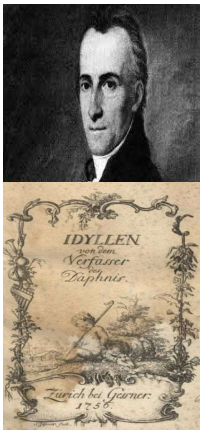

CORPORA, METHOD

- **Magyar Nyelvtörténeti Szövegtár (MTSz)** [Hungarian Historical Corpus], 1772–2010, 30 million word tokens, http://clara.nytud.hu/mtsz/run.cgi/first_form
- **Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár 2 (MNSz2)** [Hungarian Gigaword Corpus v2.0.5], 1.04 billion word tokens, registers: spoken (press) language, (written) press language, fiction, academic, political, private texts, http://clara.nytud.hu/mnsz2-dev/bonito/run.cgi/first_form

Random samples + targeted searches (keywords, typical constructions: *hogy* + demonstrative/personal pronoun; typical „main clause" predicates, e. g. *(azt) kívánom* 'I wish', *(azt) akarom* 'I want', *csodálkozom* ' I wonder', *(azt)/(úgy) hiszem* 'I think', *szörnyű* 'awful', *csodálatos* 'amazing');

→ manual annotations (insubordinate or not?)

RESULTS

Hogy 'that' insubordinate complement clauses appeared only from the 1770s in literature (literary translations), in philosophical works and letters (starting with interjections), e.g.:

(5) *Oh* ***hogy szakadna rám Kárpát ' nehéz hegye.*** 'Oh, how the heavy mountain of the Carpathians would rush upon me' (MTSz, Vörösmarty Mihály: Zsigmond, 1823: 228)

Evans' types of main clauses/predicates did not exist in Hungarian – at least not with subordinate clauses that later became independent.

Other types of main clauses may have been the source of both types (curses, negative/positive evaluations):

- **Exemplifications**: evaluations (from the 1890s)

(6) ***Hogy mennyire feszült és ideges volt a hangulat ez emlékezetes napok alatt,*** *– élénken jellemzi Eszterházy Pál herczeg esete. Eszterházy ugyanis kihallgatást kért Lajos főherczegnél* **'how tense and nervous the atmosphere was during these memorable days,** the case of Prince Pál Eszterházy vividly illustrates. Eszterházy requested an interrogation from Archduke Lajos' (MTSz, 1894, Gracza György: Az 1848−49-iki magyar szabadságharc története 1.)

Schema: the main clause can be omitted:

THAT HOW (MUCH) something is (some kind of)… **IT SHOWS/CHARACTERIZES/PROOFS, etc.:** (concrete example)

> HOW (MUCH) something is (some kind of)…: (concrete example)

- **Quotations**: quotations of curses (from the 1780s) and evaluations

(7) *S a tót szakácsné elmondta az ő napi imáját.* ***Hogy szabadítsa meg már az Isten ettől a vén nyomoréktól*** 'And the Slovak cook said her daily prayer. **That may God free him from this old cripple**' (MTSz, 1910, Ady Endre: Gyelley Farkas butykosa)

(8) *én ügyetlen, a Sándorról dicshimnuszt zengedeztem el neki.* ***Hogy milyen jó, milyen okos, milyen derék…*** 'clumsy me I sang him a hymn about Sándor. **How good, how smart, how hearty…**' (MTSz, 1893, Justh Zsigmond: A pénz legendája)

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Cooptation: cognitive-communicative mechanism, a discourse strategy (Heine & al. 2017), „a packaging strategy whereby a clause, a phrase, a word, or any other unit is taken from SG [sentence grammar] and is coopted (or re-defined) for use as a thetical" (Heine & Kuteva 2011: 875) – it can explain every cases + **conventionalization** of these constructions and schemas

But: speakers mostly „intuitively" search for a main clause (result of „false" language pedagogy?)

Doubts:

1) Aren't we dealing with **missing corpus data**? → not likely, we've checked huge databases with many genres.

2) **Quotations** as sources of insub. clauses: is it possible that **quotative main clauses were omitted?** But: insubordinate claues are typical in **(embedded) dialogs, internal monologues** in which quotations are already common. Coincidende? → But: *hogy* 'that' itself can signal quotation (and has other discourse marker functions) (cf. Dér 2022)

We also can't exlude the possibility of **loan translations (calques)** from German: Ferenc **Kazinczy** (great Hungarian language innovator in the 18th cent.) used insubordinate clauses in his translations (from Lessing, Goethe, Gessner) and letters.