
Discourse particle/sentence adverb + *hogy* 'that' clauses in Hungarian

The 14th International Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies (CIFU), August 19 2025, Tartu

DÉR, Csilla Ilona

ELTE Research Centre for Linguistics

& Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary

SA/DP as matrix clause + 'that' complement clause

Matrix clauses containing only a **sentence adverb (SA)/discourse particle (DP)** and a 'that' complement clause in languages (Romance, Germanic, Slavic, etc.):

- (1) Swedish: **Måhända att** du kan lyckas bättre?
'Perhaps (that) you can do better?' (Beijering & Norde 2019: 90, my emphasis)
- (2) Dutch: **Misschien da** Kris kom-t!
perhaps COMP PN come-PRS.3SG
Maybe (that) Kris is coming!

semi-insubordination; ellipsis; condensation; dependency shift,, extension of dependency, analogical extension (Mithun 2008, Van linden & Van de Velde 2014, D'Hertefelt 2018, Beijering & Norde 2019, Wiemer 2019)

In this talk, I will discuss matrix clauses that consist a sentence adverb (SA) or a discourse particle (DP), followed by a complement clause introduced by the subordinator *hogy* 'that'. Such constructions are attested in a number of languages, including Romance, Germanic, and Slavic: (1) and 2). The SA/DP always expresses a speaker-related stance or evaluation.

Various explanations have been proposed for the emergence of these constructions. According to Beijering & Norde (2019), they can be analyzed as cases of adverbial semi-insubordination, which may originate through: (1) ellipsis of the matrix clause, (2) condensation of higher predicates into (formulaic) stance markers, or (3) extension of dependency markers beyond the sentence level. For example, structures like 'it is + ADJ/ADV + that . . .' may evolve into 'ADV/ADJ that . . .'.

Wiemer (2019), however, warns that structurally identical outcomes may result from different pathways of change. In the Slavic languages he analyzes, such constructions are

more likely to have developed through analogical extension, leading to more independent usage patterns.

SA/DP matrix clause + *hogy* 'that' constructions in Hungarian

- (3) **Valószínűleg, hogy** szeret téged - mint egy barát-ot.
 probably that love you.ACC like a friend-ACC
 'She probably loves you – like a friend' (MNSz2, #556847698)
- (4) **Persze hogy** meg-kérdez-t-em!
 of.course that VPART-ask-PST-SG1
 Of course I asked her!' (MNSz2, #739723)
- (5) **Bizonyára, hogy** nagyon jól esik, méltányolják, észreveszik az embert
 surely that very good feels
 'Surely, it feels really good when people appreciate you and notice you.' (MNSz2, #909123020)
- (6) **Természetesen, hogy** a felvidéki magyar kultúra az össz magyar kultúra rész-e.
 of.course that the Highland Hungarian culture the overall Hungarian culture part-Poss.3SG
 'Of course, Hungarian culture in the Highlands is part of the overall Hungarian culture.' (MNSz2, #934013221)

However, such constructions are not limited to Indo-European languages; they also occur in Hungarian, in a variety of forms. They typically exhibit a *sentence adverb + that-clause* structure, as illustrated by the examples: (3)-(6). The SA must always precede the *hogy*-clause (the proposition) [because it's a head]. There has been some debate regarding their origin – specifically, about the earliest attested instances and the types of changes that led to their emergence. A characteristic feature of these constructions is that the subordinator *hogy* ('that') can be omitted.

Variations of SA/DP + *hogy* 'that' clauses

„Free adverbials (e.g., *holnap* 'tomorrow' (...)) and left-peripheral, topic-marked constituents (e.g., a subject extracted from a *hogy*-complement clause) **can precede the adverb.**”

Holnap János *valószínűleg*, *hogy* *ott* *lesz* . (vs. *Valószínűleg, hogy holnap János ott lesz.*)

Tomorrow John probably that there be.FUT

'Tomorrow John will probably be there.'

(É. Kiss 2010: 226)

János *nyilván (hogy)* *tegnap elment.* (vs. *Nyilván, hogy János tegnap elment.*)

John obviously that yesterday leave.PST

'John obviously left yesterday'

(Kenesei 2002: 42)

(7) **Hát ilyen helyzetbe az ember persze hogy** *tök kiberul* (MNSz2)

Well this situation.INESS the man of.course that totally freak.out

'Well, in a situation like this, of course anyone would totally freak out.'

One variant of the foregoing structures arises when free adverbials and the topic may precede the SA/DP, as illustrated by an example in É. Kiss (2010) and in Kenesei (2002). This is particularly striking in example (7).

We emphasize that, on the basis of present-day corpus evidence, this is not attested for all SA/DP + *hogy* ('that') constructions. I return to this issue in my discussion of the sentence adverbials examined below.

Clause-interspersion/topic- (etc.) raising („mondatátszövődés”)

Also: **topicalization**, focus-/topic- or quantifier-raising (É. Kiss 1998: 161):

Originally: (8) *Apám ügyvéd szeretné, hogy legyek.*
father lawyer want.COND.3SG that be.IMP.1SG
Apám azt szeretné, hogy ügyvéd legyek.
'My father wants me to be a lawyer.'

With SA: (9) *Téged valószínűleg, hogy szeret.*
you.ACC probably that love.3SG
Valószínűleg, hogy téged szeret.
probably that you.ACC love.3SG
'He probably loves you.'

These SA/DP + *that* constructions are very similar to cases which Hungarian literature calls „mondatátszövődés” (sentence interspersing) (Haader 1998, É. Kiss 1998, Horváth 2014, etc.), some scholars (É. Kiss 1998) use the terms focus-/topic- or quantifier-raising (fókuszkiemelés), (kvantorkiemelés) or topicalization (topikalizáció). This theory was developed for subordinate complex sentences with *hogy* that contain a standard predicate (e.g. *szeret, akar* 'love, want'), not for those containing only an SA, but I think the phenomenon is very similar insofar as the SA is analyzed as predicate.

Simonyi Zsigmond (1881): ellipsis

A magyar kötőszók, egyúttal az összetett mondat elmélete II. [Hungarian conjunctions, along with the theory of complex sentences]

„With assertive adverbials, the predicate *úgy van* 'it is so' is typically omitted, and *hogy* 'that' follows the adverbial in an indirect way.”

(Simonyi 1881: 143)

Bizonygató határozók mellől el szoktuk hagyni ezt az állítmányt: «úgy van», s a *hogy* közvetlen a határozó szót követi: bizonyával, *hogy* szépek Sánd. c. 24; bizonynal *hogy* ez ideig is minden módon érte voltunk Lev. 55; bizonynal, *hogy* én a miatt nagy káros vagyok 73; bizonyára *hogy* bánom a kd. kárát 63; tehátlan igazán *hogy* minden leányesléd orozatlan Csok. (Toldi kiad.) II:79; az «ellankad» és «folyja» igazán *hogy* nem felelnek meg a rhythmusnak szorosán, de..., Kölcsey (Élet és Lit. II:93); kétségkívül, *hogy* az etymologia tekintetéből jobb a végbetűnek kétszerezése TGyűjt. 1826. V:36j.; «Jaj nem érte-e kendet vmi baj az úton? — De ugyan *hogy* ért biz engem» Jók. é. 259; igen is, *hogy* foglya vagyok neki (freilich bin ich schon ihr gefangener) Kaz. S. Samps. 88; népies: persze [lat. per se intelligitur] *hogy* elment; Dunán túl:

In Hungarian, these SA + *that* structures were first described by Simonyi (1881: 143), who analyzed them as involving ellipsis: „With assertive adverbials, the predicate *úgy van* 'it is so' is typically omitted, and *hogy* 'that' follows the adverbial in an indirect way.” He mentions the following cases:

Bizonyával / bizonynal / bizonyára hogy - 'certainly / undoubtedly / probably that'

Igazán, hogy - 'truly / really that'

Kétségkívül, hogy - 'without doubt that' (*in my view, this also belongs to the azért-type*)

De ugyan hogy - 'but of course that' / 'but surely that'

Igenis, hogy - 'indeed that' / 'yes, certainly that'

Persze, hogy - 'of course that'

SA + *hogy* 'that'

1. **ELLIPSIS** (e.g. Simonyi 1881, Elekfi 1995):

bizonyal úgy van/az van/igaz az, hogy...

'certainly it is so / that is / it is true that...'

2. **CONTAMINATION** (e.g. E. Abaffy 1976, Szalamin 1978, Elekfi 1995, Sándor 1998): element of different constructions blend into a new structure:

természetes, hogy... X természetesen = természetesen, hogy...

(It is) natural that..." ≠ "Naturally / Of course" = "Naturally / Of course that..."

3. **SIMPLE SENTENCE/ONE CLAUSE** (Kenesei 2002)

4. **CONTACT INFLUENCE/ONE CLAUSE** (É. Kiss 2010)

From the 1970s, and especially from the 1990s onward, these constructions have been the subject of considerable debate in Hungarian linguistics – most notably *természetesen, hogy* ('naturally that') and *valószínűleg, hogy* ('probably that'). Many speakers have perceived them as grammatically irregular or even incorrect, arguing that adverbs cannot function as predicates or main clauses, and thus cannot introduce subordinate clauses either. Four main approaches have been proposed to explain the emergence of such constructions:

1. **Ellipsis** (Simonyi, Juhász, Elekfi): the predicate of the matrix clause is omitted, e.g., *igaz az* ('it is true'), *úgy van* ('so it is'), *az van* ('that is [so]').
2. **Contamination** (Elekfi, Sándor): the adjective + *hogy* construction blends with structures involving sentence adverbials.
3. **Interpretation as a simple sentence** (Kenesei 2002): this is a non-clause-introducing, non-complementizer, „contentless” *hogy*, the SA cannot occur after a

quantifier or a verb.

4. Contact influence (É. Kiss 2010): Drawing on Bower (2008), É. Kiss argues that constructions perceived as structurally irregular and lacking clear precedents are typically **borrowings**.

She suggests that these forms may have been used by Romanian-Hungarian bilinguals, and similar constructions are attested in other Romance languages as well – hence a possible Latin origin. They spread rapidly from the early 19th century and were already present in Novi Sad by the 1830s. Compared to Kenesei, É. Kiss argues that these constructions have a distinctive **information structure: both the sentence adverb (SA) and the proposition carry emphasis**. In other words, they are not mere variants of the *ADJ + hogy* construction or of SA-constructions without *hogy*.

When?

"The question remains which language might have served as the donor in this contact scenario. There are two arguments in favor of assuming a borrowing from Romanian into Hungarian.

First, the **construction appears to be relatively recent in Hungarian; written attestations go back only a little more than two centuries**, and its emergence—at least in any obvious way—cannot be traced to an internal source. Of course, this argument would be decisive only if the presence of the construction in Romanian could be documented over several centuries.

Second, **the construction seems to be absent not only from older stages of Hungarian, but also from its related languages**; no similar structure has been reported among the Uralic (Finno-Ugric) languages. By contrast, it is not unknown in the Romance languages."

(É. Kiss 2010: 234, my emphasis)

According to É. Kiss, the borrowing likely took place around the early 19th century. She claims that the construction is absent not only from related languages but also from earlier stages of Hungarian. At this point, however, it is important to note that the two most frequently cited SAs— *természetesen* ('naturally') and *valószínűleg* ('probably') – are themselves **relatively late developments** as SAs in Hungarian, first attested at the beginning of the 19th century (and the first valid data of *valószínűleg, hogy* ("probably that") is from **1986**, MTSz, *természetesen, hogy* ("naturally that") from **1830**). They are also very rare: in the MTSz database covering the period from 1772 to 2010, there is only a single example of the former, and approximately 20 valid examples of the latter (They become somewhat more numerous only from the end of the 20th century onwards.). It is therefore not surprising that their *hogy*-variants are missing from older texts, since either the versions

without *hogy* did not yet exist, or they are not common in general, so a large number of occurrences is not to be expected from earlier periods either.

Research question, data, method

Is the hypothesis that the SA/DP + 'that' complement constructions were **absent in Old Hungarian** and possibly emerged from language contact (Romanian model; see É. Kiss 2010) **valid**?

1. *bizonyal/bizonyára/bizonyával* 'certainly, probably' SA group (Haader 2001, Varga 2024)
2. *persze* 'of course, naturally' SA/?DP (Vaskó 2012)
3. *talán* 'perhaps, maybe' SA

+ *hogy* 'that' complement clauses

Online corpora (ÓMK, TMK, KED, MTSz) + offline/printed materials (missiles)

The main question of this research is to what extent borrowing can be maintained as a plausible explanation, and whether it is indeed true that these forms were absent from earlier stages of Hungarian. To address this, I examined three elements/groups, selected on the basis that all are attested quite early. The *bizony*-based sentence adverbs (SAs) appear in Hungarian from the 16th century; *talán* ('perhaps') dates back to the 15th century, and interestingly, despite functioning as an SA, *talán, hogy...* has not been mentioned among these constructions.

Persze ('of course') is often thought to be a late development, yet it is attested from the 16th century. I deliberately do not focus on the frequently discussed cases, since – as already mentioned – most of these are in fact relatively late elements in Hungarian.

Corpora

- **ÓMK = Régi Magyar Konkordancia** [Old Hungarian Concordance]. 1192/1995–1626. Genres: 47 Old Hungarian codices (various religious texts), 24 Old Hungarian minor texts (incantation, historical ballad, etc.), 244 letters, 5 Bible translations from the Middle Hungarian period. Size: 3.2 million words <http://omagyarkorpusz.nytud.hu/hu-search.html>
- **TMK = Történelmi Magánéleti Korpusz** [Historical Corpus of Personal Life]. End of the 15th c.–1772. Genres: witness testimonies of witch trials and private letters. Size: 1.1+ million words <http://tmk.nytud.hu/3/>
- **KED = Középmagyar Emlékirat- és Drámakorpusz** [Middle Hungarian Corpus of Memoirs and Dramas]. Size: 200.000 words <https://ked.nytud.hu/#open>
- **MTSz = Magyar Történelmi Korpusz** [Hungarian Historical Corpus]. 1772–2010. Genres/registers: fiction and press language, legal, professional, personal texts, Size: 30 million words http://clara.nytud.hu/mtsz/run.cgi/first_form
- **MNSz2 = Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár 2. változat** [Hungarian National Corpus 2.0.5]. Size: 1.5 billion tokens. <http://clara.nytud.hu/mnsz2-dev/> [subcorpora by registers (spoken press language: transcriptions of radio news&interviews, written press language, fiction, academic, political, private: social media, internet forum texts)]

For the analyses, I used four diachronic databases covering the period from Old Hungarian to the present. In addition, I consulted further offline and printed materials, primarily correspondence.

1. BIZONY- SA-GROUP:

BIZONYÁVAL (*bizony+ -á+ -val*) – obsolete

'very likely, (almost) certain'

BIZONNYAL (*bizony+ -val*), *cf. minden bizonnyal* 'most likely'

'very likely, (almost) certain'

BIZONYÁRA (*bizony+ -á+ -ra*)

'surely, certainly' > 'probably, presumably'

Among the sentence adverbs with the stem *bizony-*, only *bizonyára* and *minden bizonnyal* are still in use in present-day Hungarian. *Bizonyával* is no longer attested from the Modern Hungarian period onward. [From the perspective of semantic change, it is noteworthy that the degree of certainty expressed by *bizonyára* has weakened over time (cf. Kugler 2003: 50).]

I deliberately do not address the *bizony + hogy* ('surely/certainly that') structure, because its development has been discussed by several scholars in connection with the transformation of the adjective *bizony* 'sure, certain' into an SA, and clause deletion (*bizony az, hogy*) is the accepted and historically well-attested explanation (e.g. Haader 2003).

Earliest data: late Old Hungarian

- (10) *mondaanak az legenők **bizonjauaal hog'** zepok* (ÓMK, SándK. 24, first quarter of the 16th c., cf. Simonyi 1881: 143)
'The young men would say, **certainly, that** they are beautiful.'
- (11) *az wýzen walo ereeth casarnak ertem **mýnden býzonýal hogý** satanal wolna* (1529, Letter from Ferenc Belváry, secretary, to Ferenc Batthyány, Ban of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, MNy 37: 277)
'I understand the emperor's strength on the water; it is **most certainly** at Sata'
- (12) *ke : az resthanchyaroles ir, **byzonnyal hogy** ez ideiges az honneth leheteth mynden modon erthe wotthuwnk* (1548, Stephanus Dobo de Ryzka írta Sigismundo Forgach de Komiathj Thezaurario Regie Mattis-nak, Négyszáz magyar levél a XVI. századból, XLXVII. Levél, p. 55)
'Your Grace writes about the arrears; **certainly, that** up to now, from wherever it was possible, we have sought it by every means'

In the case of the *bizony*-trio, it becomes clear that the example from the Sándor Codex (10) – cited by several authors (e.g. Simonyi 1881) – is not unique: we were able to collect further instances from the 16th and 17th century, primarily from correspondence („missives”). The first attestation (example 10) is different in that it contains *bizonyával, hogy* 'certainly that', for which no additional occurrences have been found; the other two forms, by contrast, are attested more frequently.

Middle Hungarian data (1526–1772)

- (13) *Meg értetem az k. lewelet, bizonyara hog bánom az k. karat* (1549, LIV. levél, Matheus Nagh Zoltan Imrenek, In: NML, p. 63) ' **Certainly, that** I regret Your Grace's loss'
- (14) *te k. semykeppen nem akarta adny, byzonnyal hogy en immár az myat nagy karos vagyok* (1550, Georgius Seghed írta Barbare Kerhen-nek, LXVII. Levél, NML, p. 73) ' **Certainly, that** I have already suffered great loss because of it'
- (15) *??? azt monda bizonial, hogj Gergelj Deákat cjazar fel akasztatta* (1556, Filep István Filep Demeternek, In: NML, p. 179) 'He said **certainly that** the emperor had Gregory the clerk hanged'
- (16) *Byzonniel kegielmes wram, hogy miolta ez világban elek, illien tizteletlenseg nem eset wala raitam* (1560, Pechy Marton – Nádasdy familiárisa, In: NML, p. 361) '**Certainly**, Gracious Lord, since I have lived in this world, I have never been treated with such disrespect '
- (17) *Továbbá az áros ember még semmit be nem vehetett az kamarásoktól az három ezer forintban és bizonyal, hogy nem kis kínja vagyon velek* (1560, Péchy Márton Nádasdy Tamáshoz, In: Magyar Történelmi Tár 4. sor. 5. kötet, 582). '**Certainly, that** he is greatly troubled by them'

There are authors who use the construction under investigation multiple times – one such figure is Márton Péchy, a 16th-century familiaris of Baron and Palatine Tamás Nádasdy, who was born in Kolozsvár (Cluj), in Transylvania.

[KIHAGYHATÓ] In example (15), the comma suggests that bizonnyal is not necessarily the only part of the main clause (quotative one); but punctuation during this period was highly variable (commas before *hogy* later became obligatory).

In example (16), we see an inserted form of address between the sentence adverb and *hogy* – this is the only attested instance of such a structure.

Middle Hungarian data

- (18) *Azertt Jo Vram Es Jo fjam **Býzonýal hogý** En Nem twdok Jmmar semmýtt sem gondolný sem chelekedný* (TMK, Svetk. 140, 1569)
'Therefore, my good lord and son, **certainly, that** I can no longer think or act in any way.'
- (19) *Mihelt kezdék felőlle beszélteni, **bizonyára, hogy** soha az eggik kezemet nem mozdíthatom, sem az ujjaimat* (TMK, 1584, KBosz. 20) (cf. Varga 2024: 20)
'As soon as I began to speak about him, **certainly, that** I could not move either of my hands or fingers'
- (20) ***biszoniará hogi** egigh sem tartottam minden nemben ellendt* (TMK, 1638, Zr. p. 64)
'**Certainly, that** I have not opposed him in everything, even until now'
- (21) ***Býsoniyara hogi** hirdetteth hogi **minden býsonioston** Pettrinált auagi pedigh Capronczath az mostani Vezer, Boznai Pasauall megh zalittia* (TMK, 1639, Zr. p. 65)
'**Certainly, that** it has been announced that he will **most likely** have Petrinia or else Koprivnica occupied by the current commander with the Pasha of Bosnia'

The military commander and poet Miklós Zrínyi (16th c.) also uses the "*bizonyára, hogy*" 'certainly that' construction. Romanian influence cannot be demonstrated in the case of all authors.

Middle Hungarian data

(22) *Azért mindjártást kívánják meg, ha mit akarnak cselekedni, mert **minden bizonnyal, hogy** császárnak most sehol semmi hada nincsen* (1632, I. Rákóczy György Szalánczi Istvánnak, Magyar Történelmi Tár 3. sor. 6. kötet: 429)

'most certainly, that the emperor now has no army anywhere'

(23) *Mely ha úgy leszen, teljes igyekezetivel a muszkát maga mellé vonsz, kit ha végben vihet, **minden bizonnyal hogy** a német császárt derekasan mindjártást megsegíti* (1632, I. Rákóczy György Szalánczi Istvánnak, Magyar Történelmi Tár 3. sor. 6. kötet: 448)

'if he carries this out, most certainly that he will promptly and thoroughly assist the German emperor'

György the first Rákóczi, Prince of Transylvania also favored the *minden bizonnyal, hogy*.. 'most certainly that' construction (which remains a set phrase in present-day Hungarian: MNSz2 reports over 25,000 occurrences).

From Old and Middle Hungarian, we found 14 examples – primarily from missives (i.e., letters) – in which the use of these forms can be demonstrated.

Neither *bizonnyal, hogy* nor *bizonyára, hogy* is attested in the MTSz, the largest historical corpus covering the Modern and Late Modern Hungarian periods.

2. *Per se* > *perse* > **persze** 'of course'

Per se (*intelligitur*) 'magától (értetődik)' 'it goes without saying' (Fludorovits 1930, Loványi 1947)

UESz: 'hogyne, természetesen, magától értetődő(en) | freilich, selbstverständlich (Adv.)' 'obvious, of course, naturally, self-evident, certainly'

(24) *Által jötte népünknek per se kénytelenségből lett* (Éble: Károlyi Ferenc és kora I, 401, 1737) (MNy 43: 307)

'The crossing over of our people, **of course**, happened out of necessity.'

(25) *Az szegény szüleim atyafiságokat mutatták hozzá, oláhbogáti ős örökös Szalánczi anyai részjóságokat odaadták, örökösön per se nem adhatták, de inscriptióba-é vagy usque ad dies vitae, vagy pedig zálogba, én nem tudhatom.* (KED, Székely László: Öné. 1763–1772)

'They could not transfer it **per se/of course** as an inheritance, but whether they gave it under inscription, or *usque ad dies vitae* ('for the duration of one's life'), or as a pledge, I cannot tell'

The **sentence adverb** *persze* ('of course', 'self-evidently', 'naturally', 'obviously') was borrowed into Hungarian from Latin. Originally, the verb form *intelligitur* ('it is understood') was also part of the construction. While the New Hungarian Etymological Dictionary (UESz) cites 1737 as the earliest attestation (24), the Middle Hungarian Memoir and Drama Corpus (KED) contains one slightly later example as well (25). The Latin form *per se*, written separately and in Latin orthography, has also been preserved in Hungarian with the meaning 'in itself', 'by itself'.

Persze 'of course', 'obviously'

Bárczi (1947):
*Aritmetica, az az, a
számvetes nec
tudomania, ...*
Debreczenbe ...
1577. Kiadta HÁRS
JÁNOS, Sárospatak,
1988.

SzT. X: 1593

Nota. Immar ezt lafd meg, ebben az vnitasban ha pénz Bámot akarz érteni, auagy forint Bámot, ha forint Bámot akarz-is vgyan meg lehet, es az *Perse*¹⁴ neuzetöt meg tartia:¹⁵ mert vgyan limpl-citer mint az pénzt, hogy tfac egy auagy két pénznec mondanad, ezt is vgy egy auagy két forintnac mondhatod mind annifer az mig kilenczed el nem haladgya.¹⁶ Oztan az köuetkezendö tiz: le-Ben es teBen 10 forint, es mind az képpen az többi es.¹⁷

persze 1. természetesen; desigur; natürlich. 1593: Kis Leórinchis per se eskedgiek hogj nem teöltette el ez Betfalúy Peter eo nalla idejet Addigh migh zoua volt velle [UzT 13/74]. 1737: a Nms Rf. Ec(c)lánakis p(rac)judi-

¹ kell. — ² helyesen. — ³ írják és hívják. — ⁴ a latin műveltségű urak. — ⁵ különbözik. — ⁶ eléd. — ⁷ hogy jobban megértse, eszedbe fogadd. — ⁸ nota = számjegy. — ⁹ vnitas = egység. — ¹⁰ egység. — ¹¹ A₁ lap második oldalának vége. — ¹² mászásban. — ¹³ veheted. — ¹⁴ persze, természetesen. — ¹⁵ nevét megtartja. — ¹⁶ amíg kilencet túl nem lépi. — ¹⁷ Itt a számjegyek

However, ÚESz. is not sufficiently precise: Gusztáv Bárczi (1947: 205), responding to a claim by Loványi published in 1947 in the journal *Magyar Nyelv* [Hungarian language], writes that *per se* was already present in local Latin usage in the 16th century and was also used in spoken Hungarian in the second half of that century – thus, not only from the 18th century. It was used, for instance, in an arithmetic text in 1577 („Aritmetika, that is, the science of calculation”) intended for merchants who did not know Latin. The Historical Dictionary of Hungarian in Transylvania (SzT) confirms this with a 16th-century example, although there it appears in a legal context.

Persze, hogy... 'of course', 'obviously'

(26) *Bizony nem is reménlettem, hogy tisztcségem alatt csak oly kevés fegyver találtassék, az mint az registrumból látom, mindazonáltal **az nem adózó nemes ember per se, hogy fegyvert szerezzen**, megparancsoltam* (?1745, Apor Péter: 241. levél, p. 318).

'Indeed, I did not even hope that there would be so few weapons under my command as I now see from the records; nevertheless, **the tax-exempt nobleman per se, to obtain weapons**, I gave the order'

(27) 1756: *Tit Németi István Uram is ... midőn kotzkázott, **Per se, hogy bizony pénze volt*** [Kv; Mk IX Vall. 30] (SzT.)

'Master István Németi was ... when he was gambling, **per se**, he certainly had money'

Example (26) represents the first attested instance with **topic-raising (clause-interspersion)**.

The first independent occurrences of *persze + hogy* ('of course that') can be dated to the **1750s** (27).

Persze, hogy... 'of course', 'obviously'

(28) 1790: *belé szerete a szomszédja feleségébe, kinél nyere is szabad bemenetelt (**per se hogy** nála // való mulatást is)* (Andrád: Elmés... Anekdoták II, 94, Implom 1947: 307–308)

'He fell in love with his neighbour's wife, with whom he also gained free entry (**per se** also implying leisure [spent] in her company)'

(29) **Czicz Márton**, *kit ekként képen felejtének, **perse hogy** elájult látván saját vérét kiömleni.* (MTSz, 1847, Jókai Mór)

'Márton Czicz, who was slapped in the face in such a manner, **of course** fainted upon seeing his own blood spill.'

According to MTSz data, the structure becomes more frequent from the **19th century**.

Example (28) and (29) clearly demonstrates that *persze + hogy* carries an **additional meaning** compared to the variant with *persze* alone (this has also been confirmed by native speaker consultants of Present-Day Hungarian). Constructions with *hogy* are more emphatic and place even **greater emphasis on the obviousness** of the statement.

Persze, hogy... in MTSz

query: *persze () hogy*, N = 794, valid hits: 75,94% (603 db)

I) Full main clauses with predicate, with *persze* at the end of the main clause (from 1954, except one example from 1853): 14,36% (114 db)

(30) *Ma tudom persze, hogy nehéz kérdéseket adtam fel magamnak* (MTSz, 1956)

'Today I know, **of course**, that I had posed difficult questions to myself.'

II) Interspersion clauses (from 1841): 7,93% (63 db)

(31) *Reggel persze, hogy az egész ház nem beszélt egyébről, mint az éjszakai botrányról* (MTSz, 1880)

'In the morning, **of course**, the whole house spoke of nothing else but the scandal of the night'

III) Elliptical main clause lacking a predicate (from 1949): 1,77% (14 db)

(32) *Groteszk volt ez a látvány, szinte a felháborodásig csodálkoztam rajta, a nélkül persze, hogy a cselédet az úrnak szántam volna.* (MTSz, 1949) [*anélkül csodálkoztam rajta persze, hogy...*]

'It was a grotesque sight — I was almost outraged by how astonished I was, though **of course** I had never intended the maid for the master.'

We analyzed the MTSz corpus from multiple perspectives. First, we examined occurrences of *persze + hogy* in immediate adjacency and at a one-token distance (to account for possible comma placement before *hogy*). Of the 794 hits, 603* were valid, and three quarters of these instantiated the target construction (*persze* as a matrix clause + *hogy*). The remaining categories comprised sentence-final, non-predicative *persze* (30), topicalized variants (31), and, finally, matrix-clause cases with an ellipted predicate (32).

It is significant that while examples containing the target construction and interspersing/topicalized structures can be attested in this database from the **first half of the 19th century**, the versions containing a predicate or showing ellipsis of it appear only from the **1930s**.

*WHY: ellipted predicates (*Persze, hogy szabaduljon tőlük, ellopta*) or center-embedding.

Persze, hogy... in MTSz

(33) *Persze lehet, hogy ez nem jelent semmit* (MTSz, Domahidy Miklós: A csorba csésze, 1962) (*hogy* is optional: cf. *Persze lehet, ez nem jelent semmit*)

'Of course, this may not mean anything.'

(34) *Persze tudom, hogy a „kor szellemének” meghatározásával csinján kell bánni* (MTSz, Bernáth Aurél: Az autodidakta festészetről, 1907) (*hogy* is optional: *Persze tudom, a „kor szellemének”...*)

'Of course, I am aware that defining the “spirit of the age” should be approached with caution.'

(33a) *Persze hogy lehet, (hogy) ez nem jelent semmit.*

(34a) *Persze, hogy tudom, (hogy) a „kor szellemének” meghatározásával csinján kell bánni*

Analogy: *Persze lehet, ez nem jelent semmit* > *Persze hogy lehet, (hogy) ez nem jelent semmit.*

Predicate-moving: *Persze lehet, hogy ez nem jelent semmit.* > *Persze hogy lehet, ez nem jelent semmit.*

The other investigation targeted tokens of capitalized *Persze* + *hogy* occurring 1-4 words away, to identify the source constructions from which the target construction can be derived. Of the 438 occurrences, only in 59 cases were *Persze* and *hogy* **not** adjacent; that is, in **86% of the cases the data represented the target construction.**

In the **non-adjacent 59 cases**, a predicate almost invariably followed *Persze* (in 12 cases separated from it by a comma), most frequently *lehet* 'may/is possible' and *lehetséges* 'possible' (total 14 cases), as well as some form of *tud* 'can' (12 cases), e.g. (33), (34).

On this basis, I assume that the target construction can be analyzed **as a more emphatic variant** of a pattern of this type (sentence-initial ***Persze* + predicate + *hogy*-clause**), in which the predicate surfaces after *persze hogy* (cf. (35), (36)). In most cases, moreover, the version containing a matrix-clause predicate **can be transformed into the SA + *hogy* variant**. It is particularly striking that in the MTSz corpus the target

construction is already the most frequent from the earliest attestations, whereas occurrences with a "regular" matrix predicate are fewer [having surveyed 2,003 examples with lower- and uppercase *persze + hogy* occurring **1-10 words** away, the proportion is: **32,6%**]. It remains an open question whether *hogy* simply entered the construction by analogy with other SA+hogy patterns, or whether the predicate moved to a position after *persze hogy*.

3. *Talán(,) hogy* 'perhaps/maybe that'

ÓMK: *talán~talám* (BirkK. 2a/11, 1474: **talám** *nem alkozik* 'perhaps she will not bow')

(31) *Zelyovkáné mondotta a Fátensnak, no roszul vannak az én ruháim mosva, az Felele talán hogy nincsenek jól ki facsarva*, (TMK, Bosz., 193, 1744, ?Vác)

'Mrs. Zelyovka said to the witness: "Well, my clothes have not been washed properly," to which the witness replied: "Perhaps they were not wrung out well."

MTSz: 33 valid hits

A) (32) *Ifjú vagyok; 's még éjlek? Gondolod talán, hogy ott hol hajdan őseim lakoztak, a' magas falak között, hogy ott találok én is enyhelyet?*

'I am young — and should I still go on living? Do you perhaps believe that there, where once my ancestors lived, within those high walls — that I, too, would find solace?'

(33) *Ezeket bámúlálál olvasván, talán függőbenn tartjátok ítéleteiket? Vallyon miért? Talán hogy többet találék reájok mázolni, mint fem az igalság engedné?* (MTSz, 1794, Szuhányi Xavér Ferenc)

'Reading these with astonishment, are you perhaps withholding your judgment? Why so, I wonder? Perhaps I have painted them in harsher colours than truth would permit?'

Finally, the analysis of *talán, hogy...* structures has shown that although *talán* is attested from the 15th century, we found only a single version co-occurring with *hogy* from the second half of the 18th century (TMK), and such forms remain relatively infrequent even in the Modern Hungarian period (33 total occurrences).

In all of these cases it is clear that *talán* appears in a matrix clause because of the ellipsis of the predicate — this is clearly supported by comparison with main clauses that do include a predicate with *talán*. There are two types of ellipsis:

A) Structures like "Do you think / suppose, perhaps, that...?" are missing, like in category A) (cf. 33).

Talán(,) hogy... 'perhaps/maybe that'

B) azért/amiatt 'for that reason, because of that' + ellipsis

(34) *Alá voltak húzva egyes szavak, hogy örök élet, boldog élet, szeretet. Talán azért mutogatta, hogy vegyem észre, mit akar.* (MTSz, Gécz, 1982) – **Talán, hogy** vegyem észre, mit akar.

'Certain words were underlined: eternal life, happy life, love. **Perhaps he pointed them out so that** I would notice what he meant.'

(35) *Miért keseregsz? Azért talán, hogy új, Elébb nem ösmert hithez kinszerítünk?* (MTSz, Eötvös, 1834) – *Azért keseregsz, talán, hogy...?*

'Why do you grieve? **Perhaps (so) that** we may force you into a new, previously unknown faith?'

(36) *És hosszú béke van 's az ember Rémitő szapora, Talán hogy a' dögvésznek egyszer Dicsőbb legyen tora* (MTSz, Vörösmarty, 1846) – *Talán azért szapora, hogy...*

'And there is a long peace, and mankind is terrifyingly prolific — **Perhaps so** that the plague may one day have a more glorious funeral'

B) The other type of ellipsis is the *talán azért / amiatt* 'for that reason' + omitted predicate of the preceding sentence + *hogy...* structure: in most of the hits, the main clause containing *talán* can be reconstructed by inserting the referring word *azért* and the omitted predicate.

Conclusions 1.

1. *Bizonyára/bizonnyal/bizonyával, hogy...* 'certainly that/probably that'

- early data
- not all from Transylvania
- no proof for ellipsis (no examples with *úgy van* 'so it is', *az van* 'that is', or *igaz az* 'it is true') in the diachronic corpora
- *Minden bizonnyal tudja/hiszi, hogy...*
- contamination (*bizony, hogy*) OR analogy of *bizony, hogy...* 'certain/certainly that' cannot be excluded (about the evolution of *bizony*: Haader 2001, ADJ > SA)

In the case of the *bizony*-SA group, data attest to the presence of *hogy*-clauses from the **early 16th century** onward, indicating that such constructions were **not absent from older Hungarian**. Several authors used them, some of them repeatedly. While most of these authors had ties to Transylvania, not all of them did (e.g., Zrínyi). In terms of genre, **letters** are particularly prominent. Historical data provide no evidence for ellipses of the predicate/main clause or of the type *igaz az* ("it is true"), etc.

When a main clause containing *bizonnyal* is followed by a subordinate clause introduced by *hogy*, and the main clause has a predicate, **it is most commonly the verb *tud*** ('know'). In the TMK corpus the proportion is almost 50% (14 hits out of 37 occurrences), *Tud* 'know' is followed to a lesser extent by *hisz* ('believe', 7 occurrences) and *ír* ('write', 6 occurrences).

[KIHAGYHATÓ: For *bizonyára*, only four such examples

occur, each with a different verbal predicate, and only one or two instances of this construction (with *hogy*) can be found in the KED corpus. In MTSz, *tud* and *hisz* each occur three times, while in other cases the construction appears with over thirty different verbs.]

Conclusions 2.

2. *Persze, hogy...* 'of course, that'

- From the mid-18th century, it can already be attested as a main clause with a subordinating conjunction, but it only really spreads from the 19th century.
- Additional meaning, not merely a formal variant.
- There are plenty of clause-interspersion formal variants:

(37) Másik (révetegen): *Nem tudom...* Egyik: Nem? (Pofonvágja.) *Nesze, te pizok fráter! Most tudod?* (Revolvert vesz elő.) Másik (boldogan): ***Persze, hogy tudom!*** (MTSz, 1923, Karinthy)

'Second man (dreamily): I don't know... First man: You don't? (Slaps him.) Here you go, you filthy bastard! Now you know? (Takes out a revolver.) Second man (happily): **Of course** I know!'

In the case of *persze* ("of course"), **predicate-moving OR *hogy*-inserting** may be relevant (highlighting the plus-HOGY).

Notably, in the MTSz corpus, the majority of cases serve a **responsive-confirming function** (see example 37). As with the *bizony*-SA group, no examples were found in the MTSz database that would support the presence of ellipsis.

Conclusions

3. *Talán, hogy...* 'perhaps that'

- the subordinating conjunction *hogy* ('that') introducing a subordinate clause can be attested as early as the Late Middle Hungarian to Early Modern Hungarian period (from the mid-18th century onward),
- Definitely ellipsis: *talán* ('perhaps') can always be supplemented with an explicit main clause

Examples of the *talán + hogy* ('perhaps that') construction, earliest data can be attested from the **mid-18th century**, but the predicates can always be reconstructed in the main clause. This may explain why this structure has so far escaped the attention of the literature:.

Conclusions

- Different cases
- There are examples from Middle Hungarian (naturally, of those SA-s that already existed at the time), not only in Transylvania.
- Contact-induced influence cannot be ruled out, but there is also evidence pointing in a different direction.
- Topicalized variants were attested only for *persze*.
- *talán + hogy*: exceptional, ellipsis is demonstrable in every instance. Functional difference between the *hogy*-bearing and *hogy*-less variants in the case of *persze*
- *minden bizonnyal (that)* ('certainly that'): also an exception: it's a lexicalized set phrase

	<i>bizonyával/ bizonnyal/ bizonyára + hogy</i>	<i>persze + hogy</i>	<i>talán + hogy</i>
first data	first quarter of the 16th c./1529/1549	1756	1744
evolu-tion	contamination, analogy of <i>bizony, hogy</i> ...?	predicate-moving, analogy of other SA+ <i>hogy</i> structures	ellipsis

To sum up: **The origin of each case must be assessed individually.**

There are also examples in old(er) Hungarian (naturally, of those SA's and SA+hogy constructions that already existed at the time) and not only in Transylvania, even if they were particularly frequent there. **Topicalized variants were attested only for *persze*.**

Contact-induced influence cannot be ruled out, but in the case of the first group and *persze*, there is also evidence pointing in a different direction.

There may be a functional difference between variants with and without *hogy* (or those with adjectival predicates), but this does not apply uniformly to all SAs/DPs.

Minden bizonnyal ('most certainly') appears to be an exception: it is a lexicalized expression, which likely explains why its *hogy*-form has survived to the present day.

Acknowledgements

This research was supported by the project NKFI FK 135186
(Variation in Middle Hungarian: a register perspective).

Thank you very much for your attention.

Additional sources

Apor = Szádeczky Lajos (szerk.) 1903. Br. Apor Péter verses művei és levelei (1676–1752) II. Magyar Történelmi Emlékek Második osztály. Budapest MTA Könyvkiadó-hivatala.

Aritmetika = Aritmetica, az az, a számvetes nec tudomania, . . . Debreczenbe ... 1577. Kiadta Hárs János: A Debreceni Aritmetika. Sárospatak, 1988.

Magyar Történelmi Tár:

Magyar Történelmi Tár 4. sor. 5. kötet, 1904 = Komáromy András (ed.) 1904. *Történelmi Tár Új folyam V.* Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat. https://real-j.mtak.hu/4113/1/MagyarTortelenmiTar_1904_52_4_05.pdf

Magyar Történelmi Tár 3. sor. 6. kötet, 1883 = Magyar Történelmi Társulat: Történelmi Tár. Évnyegyedes folyóirat. https://real-j.mtak.hu/4090/1/MagyarTortelenmiTar_1883_31_3_06.pdf

MNy 37: 277 = Iványi Béla: Magyar nyelvemlékek a herceg Batthyány család körmendi levéltárában. 1941

MNy 43: 307 = Implom József: Szótörténeti adalékok. 1947

NML = Négyszáz magyar levél. <https://real-eod.mtak.hu/6178/1/000913270.pdf>

SzT. = Szabó T. Attila (ed.) 1975–: Erdélyi Magyar Szótörténeti Tár. <https://mek.oszk.hu/08300/08370/pdf/index.htm>

References

- E. Abaffy, Erzsébet, 1976. *Valószínűleg, hogy...?* Magyar Nyelvőr 100:397-398.
- Beijering, Karin & Norde, Muriel 2019. Adverbial semi-insubordination constructions in Swedish: Synchrony and diachrony. In: Beijering, Karin, Kaltenböck, Gunther & Sansifèna, Maria Sol (eds.): *Insubordination. Theoretical and empirical issues*. Berlin–Boston: Mouton de Gruyter. 79–06.
- D'Herfelfelt, Sarah 2018: Insubordination in Germanic: A typology of complement and conditional constructions. Berlin – Boston: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Elekfi, László 1995. Strukturális magyar nyelvtan I. Mondattan. *Magyar Nyelv* 91: 385–401.
- Gugán, Katalin 2015. Hol volt? Hol nem volt? A tagmondattörő grammatikalizációs folyamatokról a *lévén* és a *lehet* grammatikalizációja kapcsán *MNy* 111(1): 38–53.
- Haader, Lea 1998. A mondatátszövődés a nyelvhasználat szemszögéből. *Magyar Nyelvőr* 122. 318–24.
- Haader, Lea 2001. Mikrodiakrónia és változásvizsgálat (az összetett mondatokban). *Magyar Nyelvőr* 125: 354–371.
- Horváth, Krisztina 2014. A mondatátszövődés szerkezeti vizsgálata korpusz alapján. Haindrich, Helga; Drávucz, Fanni; Horváth, Krisztina (szerk.) *Doktoranduszok a nyelvtudomány útjain : Az ELTE BTK Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskolája „Félúton 9.” Konferenciájának kiadványa*. Budapest: ELTE BTK Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola, 101–118.
- Kenesei, István 2002. Hányféle igazság van? *Magyar Nyelv* 98: 39–49.
- É. Kiss, Katalin 1998. A mondatátszövődés. In: É. Kiss Katalin–Kiefer, Ferenc–Siptár, Péter (eds): *Új magyar nyelvtan*. Osiris Kiadó. Budapest. 156–168.
- É. Kiss, Katalin 2010. Valószínűleg, hogy román kontaktushatás. In: É. Kiss Katalin, Hegedüs Attila (szerk.) *Nyelvelmélet és kontaktológia*. Páliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Elméleti Nyelvészet Tanszék; Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Magyar Nyelvészeti Tanszék. 223–237.

References

- Kugler, Nóra 2003. *A módosítószók funkciói*. Nyelvtudományi értekezések 152. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Mithun, Marianne 2008. The extension of dependency beyond the sentence. *Language* 84: 69–119.
- Simonyi, Zsigmond 1881–1882. *A magyar kötőszók I–III*. Budapest: MTA.
- Szalamin Edit, 1978. A mai magyar beszélt nyelv mondattanának kérdéséhez. *Magyar Nyelv* 74:293-303.
- Sándor, Klára 1998. Amiért a szinkrón elemzés foszladozik. In: Sándor Klára (szerk.). *Nyelvi változó - nyelvi változás. A 9. Élnyelvi Konferencia (Szeged, 1996. augusztus 22-24.) előadásai*. Szeged: JGYF Kiadó. 57-84.
- Van linden, An & Van de Velde, Freek, 2014. (Semi-)autonomous subordination in Dutch: Structures and semantic–pragmatic values. *Journal of Pragmatics* 60: 226–250.
- Varga, Mónika 2024. A bizonyosság és a bizonytalanság jelölőiről a 16–18. századi regiszterekben. *Jelentés és Nyelvhasználat* 11 (1): 1–38.
- Vaskó, Ildikó 2012. Pragmatic particles indicating expectation – The case of *persze*. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 59(4): 465–486.
- Wiemer, Björn 2019. On illusory insubordination and semi-insubordination in Slavic: Independent infinitives, clause-initial particles and predicatives put to the test. In: Beijering, Karin, Kaltenböck, Gunther, Sansifena, María Sol (eds.): *Insubordination. Theoretical and Empirical Issues*. Berlin–Boston: Mouton de Gruyter. 107–166.
- Zolnai, Gyula 1926. Mondatátzövődés. *Értekezések a Nyelv- és Szépirodalom Köréből XXIV./8*. Budapest.

What happened to *hogy* 'that'?

Is it a DP?

- changes in the function of the *hogy* 'that': **evolving into a discourse particle** in insubordinate and semi-insubordinate clauses?
- elaborative cases: *tehát **hogy***, *szóval **hogy***, *hát **hogy*** (cf. Dér 2022, Szilák 2019), e.g.

(39) *Hát micsoda bolondság ez? – hagyja abba Mancika. Érdekelhet valakit? – De nagyon, kérem! – nógatom rémülten. – Engem mindennél jobban érdekel. Folytassa, legyen kedves! – **Hát hogy mindennel így volt!** – ered szónak immel-ámmal Mancika.*

(MNSz2, doc#753, fiction)

"Well, what kind of nonsense is this?" – Mancika breaks off. "Could anyone even be interested?"

"Very much so, I assure you!" – I urge her on, alarmed. "I'm more interested in this than anything. Please, do go on!"

"Well, that's how it was with everything..." – Mancika begins again, somewhat reluctantly.

One note on the status of *hogy* ('that'): although this is a broad topic, it is evident that *hogy* is frequently used as the initial element of insubordinated clauses – i.e., clauses that appear without an overt or ellipted main clause and convey some kind of pragmatic meaning.

Historical investigations of Hungarian have not confirmed that these uses originate from ellipsis; while this mechanism may be plausible in some cases, it can be excluded in others.

In present-day spontaneous Hungarian – typically informal spoken language – sentence-initial *hogy* is common, but these are not stand-alone insubordinate instances.

Rather, they tend to be **elaborative** insubordinate clauses, in which *hogy* regularly co-occurs with a variety of inferential or explanatory discourse markers or connectives, such as *tehát* ('so'), *szóval* ('so/in short'), and *hát* ('well') (39), in some cases becoming nearly fused with them.

The key question is whether the discourse-pragmatic

status should be assigned to *hogy* itself, or rather to the entire insubordinate clause as a construction. I am inclined to favour the latter interpretation in the case of stand-alone insubordinate or semi-insubordinate clauses and the former in the case of elaborative ones.

Persze 'of course', 'obviously'

ÉrtSz – dictionary entry:

Sentence word, with its own stress and intonation [often followed by a comma, which reflects this prosody]:

I. without the complementizer *hogy*,

II. with the complementizer *hogy* ('that'): meaning 'naturally / obviously / it goes without saying that'; 'of course':

1. <In emphatic responses to questions, with repetition of the predicate.>

[Eszel tortát?] – Persze, hogy eszem.

[Eljössz?] – Persze, hogy elmegyek.

[Are you eating cake?] – Of course I am.

[Are you coming?] – Of course I'm coming.

2. <In dialogue, used to reinforce a previous statement; with repetition of the predicate.>

Tudod, Barta veszedelmes ember; az ilyenek legjobb a száját betömni. – Persze, hogy be kell tomni a száját.

(Ambrus Zoltán)

You know, Barta is a dangerous man; it's best to shut someone like that up. – Of course he needs to be shut up.

Persze 'of course', 'obviously'

3. *<In dialogue, following a negative question or statement, to reinforce the negation.>*

[Nem jössz velünk?] – Persze, hogy nem.

[Hallom, neked még nincs meg az államvizsgád.] – Persze, hogy nincs.

Nem hitte? – Persze, hogy nem. *(Mikszáth Kálmán)*

[You're not coming with us?] – Of course not.

[I hear you haven't passed your final exam yet.] – Of course I haven't.

He didn't believe it? – Of course he didn't.

4. *<In narrative texts, as a similar main clause, to express the obviousness of what is being said.>*

A szép dáma ... persze, hogy tagadott mindent. *(Tolnai Lajos)*

The beautiful lady ... of course denied everything.

SA or DP?

- **Sentence adverb**: typically expresses the speaker's attitude toward the whole sentence (e.g., *fortunately, obviously, frankly*), but the sentence would still be interpretable without it; the modification is **intra-sentential**, i.e., it remains at the sentence level.
- **Discourse/pragmatic particle**: signals not only relations within the sentence, but also the connection between the sentence and the broader discourse; it carries **procedural meaning** (instructions for interpretation), for example by referring back to the preceding utterance, indicating an appeal to shared knowledge, marking the match between expectation and proposition, or conveying irony.

Deletion of *hogy* 'that'?

Structures of SA/DP + *hogy* are clearly a later development in Hungarian than constructions without *hogy*.

Kenesei (2002): two *hogy*:

1. **clause-introducing** *hogy* [=complementizer?]
2. following an **adverbial** (including SA), **non-clause-introducing** *hogy* without meaning („**contentless**”), it cannot occur after a quantifier or a verb [non-complementizer]

Critiques of contamination

Kenesei (2002): not all SA have: adjectival counterpart

Egyébként, hogy...

Nyilván, hogy...

Haader (2001): grammaticalization of *bizony*

- (11) *byzon az* hog halz · byzontalan az kedeg · mykoron ... halz meg (HorvK. 132)
- (12) Elfeő hyr nylwan valo, *Byzon*, hogy cházár Ma zerdan. Bwdaban vagyon (1543: MNy. 80: 511)
- (13) *Bizon* hog ettel kiffeb bvnekert, haghatt·ak nemicor nekiknek hog azon mōdot hel·en lacožganak (BirkK. 3a; vö. lat.: Pro culpīs vero aliquibus minoribus istis...)
- (14) hogj kých mých minden athya fývých zerelemel megj akarvnk halalných the felsegednek *bizonj* mýes az the felseged keremesseth semyben megj nem zegýek (1524: KLev. 53.)
- (15) *byzon* ygen zep azont latek (JókK. 122)
- (16) *Byzon* mondom tynektek nem vezty el eerdemeeth (ÉrdyK. 106)
- (17) De ez *bizony* nem ygaľag (ÉrsK. 482)

bizonyosan(,) hogy

Typically with predicate TUD 'know'

2 data in MTSz: elliptic?

*Somkövy épen akkor akart szabadulni, **bizonyosan, hogy** Oszkárhoz siessen. (MTSz, 1881, Ábrányi Kornél: Régi és új nemesek)*

*Ólombeöntésű dísz van némelyiken, **bizonyosan hogy** súlyosabb is legyen (MTSZ, 1907, Malonyay Dezső: A magyar nép művészete 1.)*

MNSz2: 5 adat, egyik sem értelmezhető elliptiként, van mondatászöv is (de csak 1)

*Mv: (...) Ön szerint a műszaki szempontok közrejátszanak abban , hogy egy-egy kereszteződés sajnos hírhedté válik előbb vagy utóbb , hogy hol viszik át a zebrát , milyen a zebra ? Berényi János : - Tehát **bizonyosan, hogy** szerepet játszik, bár a baleseti statisztikáknak az elemzése , ami ugyan többféle olvasata van természetesen , mint mindennek , az azt mutatja , hogy ennek viszonylag kicsi a súlya az emberi tényezőhöz képest (MNSz2)*

*A mi ízlésünk szerint és hangsúlyozom, ez a jogállamnak is az elvárása, **ez az eljárás bizonyosan**, hogy jogszerűtlen, az ügyvédek ezen a kérdésen már a beadvány szintjén dolgoznak. – mondatászöv*

bizonyosan(,) hogy

MNSz2, folyt:

Domokos István . : - *Most 372 család van azon a listán , akiknek Ön segít . Ez a lista ez lehetne hosszabb is?* Dékány Ilona . : - ***Egész bizonyosan** , hogy így van, mert szoktak jelentkezni többen is .*

*De hogyha nem tudnák , hogy kit kell keresni vagy kiket kell még elfogni , én úgy tudom , hogy még egy személyt keresnek , akkor gyakorlatilag még nem sokra jutottak volna . **Egészen bizonyosan** , hogy több információval rendelkezünk később .*

vasárnap éjszaka hajnalban indult haza a 25 éves fiatal nő , és lakása közelében még rögzítették a kamerák , térfigyelő kamerák , de haza már nem ért . **Bizonyosan** , hogy bűncselekmény áldozata lett , akit most megtaláltak

biztosan(,) hogy [not bizonyy-!!!]

MTSz: 0 hits, MNSz2: 9 valid hits

1. Liam , édes fiam , hívtál ... itt vagyok Na most akkor mit kapok ???? Harmincszor hol szóltál hozzá ??? **Biztosan** , hogy nem rondán ????
2. Egyelőre nem tudni , egyetlen biztos vagy egy-egy régióért felelős több biztos lesz -e . " **Biztosan** , hogy az ombudsman hatásköre egész Szlovákiára kiterjed majd .
3. Valami világítós festék , mint a hatvanas évek mozireklámjain . </p> <p> **Biztosan** , hogy nem Camel ? </p><p> Eléggé biztos , mondom
4. Tehát akkor a Klára szinte Klára napra be is érik , augusztus 12.-ére . </p> <p> **Biztosan** , hogy beérik addigra.
5. Rip : - Miben más ez egy egyetemi tanárnak , egy ilyenfajta közönség előtt beszélni ? </p><p> Gintli Tibor : - **Biztosan** , hogy a korösszetétel nem lesz homogén , tehát ez nagy különbség .
6. Rip . : - Mit gondol atalán azért mert nem tudna maga , vagy a gyermekei szemébe nízni ? </p> <p> **Biztosan** , hogy ők is megélték a saját kis tragédiájukat és nem tudom , nem tudom .
7. mv.- Igen , szóval tartozás miatt egész pontosan , szerinted érintheti ez a kórházat lehet ez , érezhetik majd ezt a betegek ? </p><p> Gungl László : - **Biztosan** , hogy nem , a tartozások , tehát a pénzügyi problémák már régóta fennállnak
8. Donka György ezt jó ötletnek tartja . </p><p> Donka György : - **Biztosan** , hogy sokat fog jelenteni , mert megint kap egy új arculat .
9. De , megcsináltam . És én , nagyon örültem . **Biztosan** , hogy máshogy mondom most , mint akkor , de mindenesetre , az ilyen kihívásokat , mindig vállalni kell

Hypoanalysis

Van Linden & Van de Velde (2014: 228)

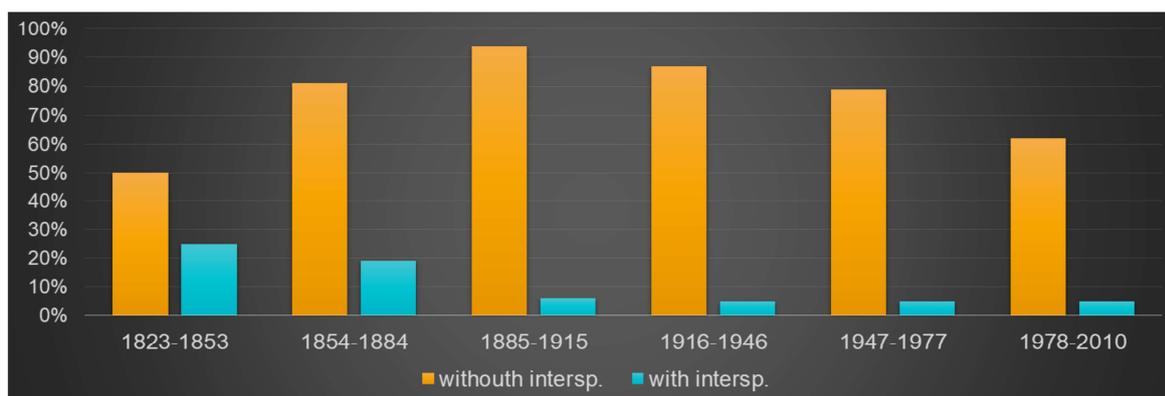
hypoanalysis

“in specific contexts subordinate *dat*-clauses happened to express interpersonal meaning, (...) and that language users came to reinterpret this meaning as an inherent semantic property of the construction with the subordinating conjunction (*dat*).”

SA + *hogy*: not hypoanalysis

- the interpersonal–modal meaning is not constructed from the context, it is already there:
- is inherently carried by the SA/DP

persze (,) hogy (MTSz)



This figure shows, among the *persze + hogy* occurrences in the MTSz, the proportions accounted for by the target construction and its interspersing (topicalized) variants. The share of the latter declined due to the strengthening influence of the standard language norm and then stabilized at around 5%.