## From quotative to causation – the history of Hungarian mondyán 'saying'

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My talk presents the grammaticalization process of the Hungarian adverbial participle *mondván* 'saying' from the first written records of it up to the present day. Its original role (an element of serial verb constructions in reporting sentences) turned into a discourse marker of quotation. In contemporary language use, a new role of *mondván* has emerged: it is used as a causal connective.

*Mondván* is the more archaic form of the adverbial participle (converb) of the most frequent verb of utterance, *mond* 'say, tell'. The first written records of the form *mondván* are from the 14–15<sup>th</sup> centuries: the word appeared in the first Hungarian extant book approximately 50 times. The text proves that the form *mondván* does not only play the typical syntactic functions of adverbial participles (1), but it regularly appears in quoting structures as well (2a–b).

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(1)<sup>1</sup> gyicséret-et Isten-nek mond-ván, vele vé-vén fráter Leó-t praise-ACC God-DAT say-ADV.PTCP he.INS take-ADV.PTCP brother Leo-ACC
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'Saying praises to God, taking Brother Leo with him, [he]...' (JókaiC 39)

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megcsókol-ja vala
                                  láb-ait,
                                                                          könyvezés-vel:
(2)a.
                                                      mond-ván
      kiss-PRS3SG AUX.PST
                                  foot-POSS.PL.ACC
                                                      say-ADV.PTCP crying-INS
                                                             bínes-nek!'
       .. Isten.
                    légy
                                 kegyelmes
                                               nekem,
       God
                    be.IMP2SG
                                 merciful
                                               I.DAT
                                                             sinner-DAT
```

'He kissed his feet, **saying** while crying: "God, have mercy on me, a sinner" (JókaiC 41)

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b. üvölt-setek,
                       mond-ván:
                                           "Atvámfia-i, tolvaj-ok,
                       say-ADV.PTCP
   shout-IMP.2PL
                                           brother-PL
                                                        thief-PL
                       hozzánk,
                                                  barát-ok
  jöjj-etek
                                    mert
                                                               vagy-onk"
   come.IMP-2PL
                       we.ALL
                                    because
                                                  friend-PL
                                                               be-1PL
```

The focus of my talk is the role illustrated by (2a) and (2b), and the grammaticalization processes of this structure, which results in a discourse marker role. This latter function was also present in Old Hungarian, exemplified by (3) from the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Function change is clearly marked by the fact that the adverbial participle *mondván* is connected to the main verb *mondja* '(he) says', formed from the same stem.

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(3)
      Ez-t
                    mond-ja
                                        sereg-eknek
                                                            ur-a.
                                                                         Isten-e,
                                                                                      mond-ván:
      this-ACC
                    say-PRS.1SG
                                        army-PL.DAT
                                                            lord-POSS
                                                                         God-POSS
                                                                                      say-ADV.PTCP
                                 ítél-jetek"
      "Igaz ítélet-et
                                 judge-IMP.2PL
      true judgement-ACC
```

'The Lord, the God of the Armies says, saying: "Pass a true judgement" (BécsiC 303)

In the 20–21<sup>th</sup> centuries *mondván* spread in a new discourse marker function:

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(4)
      Észak-Korea betilt-otta
                                              szűk
                                                            farmer-t,
      North-Korea prohibit-PST3SG
                                              tight
                                        the
                                                            jeans-ACC
      mond-ván
                                        hanyatló
                                                                   divat
                          az
                                 a
                                                     nyugati
                                                                                saját-ja
                                        decadent
      say-ADV.PTCP
                          that
                                 the
                                                     western
                                                                   fashion
                                                                                own-POSS
```

'North Korea banned skinny jeans **saying** ['because'] that belongs to the decadent western fashion.' (https://liner.hu/eszak-korea-tiltas-farmer/)

The word *mondván* marks causation, and at the same time it functions as a connective. (The phenomenon are partly similar to the findings of works dealing with several African and Asian languages: Saxena 1988, Lord 1993, Haspelmath 1993, Chappell 2008, Forker 2019 etc., see also Kuteva et al. 2009.) This new function emerged as the result of reanalysis, namely inference fixing as I will show (see also Dömötör 2015).

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<sup>&#</sup>x27;Shout, saying: "Brethren, thieves, come to us, for we are friends." (JókaiC 105)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This abstract applies present-day orthography.

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## **Keywords**

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