

## The grammaticalizational map of the Hungarian dative suffix

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The presentation deals with the secondary grammaticalization of the Hungarian dative suffix *-nak/-nek*. Grammaticalization is a process of language change, where a lexically independent linguistic element starts to possess more grammatical features and becomes more dependent grammatically to another linguistic element (Heine–Claudi–Hünemeyer 1991, Bybee–Perkins–Pagliuca 1994). That is called primary grammaticalization. However, linguistic elements construing a more abstract meaning can also become more grammatical. By occurring with more nouns (Heine 2008: 463), a case suffix can fulfil more functions as well (König 2012), and its typical distribution can change (Bybee 2010: 110). That is what Diewald (2006) calls untypical context, when a linguistic element starts to occur in such contexts that it didn't use to.

The presentation connects to the eximination of the secondary grammaticalization as it eximines the meaning extension of the Hungarian dative suffix *-nak/-nek* in the theoretical frame of the functional cognitive linguistics (Langacker 1987, 2008, Lakoff 1987), and through corpus data. According to functional cognitive linguistics, the meaning expansion of a linguistic element is cognitively motivated (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007). The new meanings in the network arise from the central category element, which is in this case, the etymologically primary meaning. The presenation looks through how the new meanings and functions arise from the etymologically first meaning of the Hungarian dative suffix.

Hungarian is a language with an extensive case system, and like many other case suffixes, *-nak/-nek* originally construed a spatial relation (cf. Korompay 1991) with a lative orientation, which means, that in its first meaning, it answers to the question *where to?* (see (1)):

- (1) *hálókat vetett nekem ellenségem, valahova megyek vala, és én lábaimnak töröket hajigált*

nets.ACC cast.PAST.3SG me.DAT enemy.PX.1SG, anywhere.LAT go.1SG  
be.AUX.PAST, and I feet.PX.1SG-DAT daggers.ACC throw.PAST.3SG

'My enemy cast nets for me anywhere I was going, and he threw daggers *at my feet*'.

From here emerge one of the most extensive networks of a simple case suffix in Hungarian. For the examination I used the corpus of Hungarian Generative Historical Syntax (Old Hungarian Corpus) (cf. Simon 2014). I carried out several queries in the corpus, searching for nouns ending with *-nak* and *-nek* in the normalized part. Since these are texts from the Old Hungarian language, the texts are most likely to be from codices or biblical, religious texts. From the Old Hungarian Corpus my query resulted a total of 10 106 tokens, and I selected a random sample of 400 tokens (which turned out to be representative of the whole sample). Out of those 400 hits, 389 were valuable. In addition to this, I also made some targeted search for personal pronouns in dative form (in the paradigm of *neki* 'to him/her') and queries in other available corpora, such as the Hungarian Historical Corpus (HHC), the Old and Middle Hungarian corpus of informal language use (OMHC), the Hungarian National (gigaword) Corpus (HNC v2.0.5).

I analysed the data of this random sample and examined what functions the nouns ending with *-nak/-nek* fulfil in their constructions they occur in. The presentation shows the 9 distinguished functions and describes their morphological and syntactic patterns.

The grammaticalizational changes are often referred to as chains or paths (cf. Heine–Claudi–Hünemeyer 1991: 220–229), underlining their continuity. This presentation, however, rather offers a map for the grammaticalization of the suffix *-nak/-nek*. The novelty of the grammaticalization model is that it represents the extension of meaning in a more dynamic way than previous ones, which means that the process is not represented as a purely linear left-to- right process. While previous grammaticalization studies have mainly focused on the "left side" of the grammaticalization path, i.e. the source domains, the map presented here also illustrates the effects, the "feedback" of the newly emerging features on the existing system. It also places all the datable functions of the suffix on the map, which can thus also depict/represent the different forks in the path.

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## Sources:

HNC = Hungarian National Corpus (v2.0.5.). [http://mnsz.nytud.hu/index\\_eng.html](http://mnsz.nytud.hu/index_eng.html) HHC = Hungarian historical corpus. <http://clara.nytud.hu/mtsz>  
OMHC = Old and Middle Hungarian corpus of informal language use.  
<http://tmk.nytud.hu/about.php>  
Old Hungarian corpus = Hungarian Generative Historical Syntax. <http://omagyarkorpusz.nytud.hu/>