

Contrast, concessive meaning, and peripheries: A diachronic register study on Hungarian *pedig* meaning ‘but’ and ‘(al)though’

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ABSTRACT

In Modern Hungarian, *pedig* can signal opposition or continuation between two states of affairs, as well as express concessive meaning, i.e. ‘however, although’, but it has exhibited the latter function only since the 16th century, while the others are older. This paper studies the functional expansion resulting in a shift between the subtypes of expressing contrast and a structural difference as well. Concessive *pedig* occurs both in clause- or sentence-initial position and, unlike other Hungarian conjunctions, in clause- or sentence-final position. The analysis investigates historical data from the 16th century up to recent language use, showing the diffusion of concessive *pedig* and variation with its functional variants in different registers. The study also raises the question of whether the change in the word order is connected to the functional difference, involving the role of peripheries in the grammaticalization process.

KEYWORDS

grammaticalization, concessive meaning, word order, historical linguistics, registers

1. INTRODUCTION

The use of adversative conjunctions in Hungarian has been divided according to the subtypes of contrast – opposition, restriction, and correction – from relatively early on (cf. Papp 1995, 727–738). However, there is a scope for moving across the different meanings of the expressions,

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and therefore, across the subtypes. The present paper focuses on the history of *pedig* ('but, although'). Currently, *pedig* is used in two different functions: opposition where *pedig* usually occurs in the second clause, after the contrasted element (in (1) *tegnap* 'yesterday' and *ma* 'today') and concession where *pedig* can be used with an alteration regarding the word order in the second clause ((2a) and (2b)).¹

- (1) Tegnep a példákat fordítottam,
 yesterday the example.PL.ACC translate.PST.DEFOBJ.1SG
 ma pedig glosszázom őket.
 today but gloss.DEFOBJ.1SG they.ACC
 'Yesterday I translated the examples but today I add glosses to them.' [= opposition
 and/or textual continuity]
- (2) a. Egész nap glosszáztam,
 whole day gloss.PST.1SG
 pedig nincs sok példám.
 although not.exist.3SG many example.POSS.1SG
 'I have been adding glosses all day, although I do not have many examples.'
 [concessive, clause- or sentence-initial]
- b. Egész nap glosszáztam,
 whole day gloss.PST.1SG
 nincs sok példám pedig.
 not.exist.3SG many example.POSS.1SG though
 'I have been adding glosses all day, I do not have many examples, though.'
 [concessive, clause- or sentence-final]

The earliest uses of concessive *pedig* are observed from the 16th century, and since then, it has occurred both in the initial and the final positions of the clause or sentence, unlike when expressing opposition or continuity (on the study of the period between the 16th and 18th centuries, see [Varga 2019](#)). Clause-initial position is a general feature of Hungarian conjunctions. The final position is rather atypical, raising the question of whether the word-class membership of concessive *pedig* has also undergone alteration. The grammatical status of lexemes that are in non final positions such as conjuncts, adverbs, and so on becomes rather undetermined in final position (cf. [Haselow 2012](#), 183). Final particles and other elements in European languages, even in English, are relatively understudied (cf. [Haselow 2012](#), 182; [Hancil 2018](#), 209), and the same is true for Hungarian. The present paper studies this problem according to the aspects listed below:

- the frequency of concessive *pedig* compared to its functional variants *holott*, *jóllehet*, *noha*, all of them meaning 'although, however', in the Middle Hungarian period between the years 1526 and 1772 and in Modern Hungarian from 1772 to recent language use,

¹The meaning of *pedig* and its synonyms have been translated in different ways depending on function, position and context.

- the effect of register, a variety associated with a particular situation of use (Biber & Conrad 2009, 6), on the diffusion of concessive *pedig* including private letters, documents of witch trials, memoirs, and dramas from the Middle Hungarian period and texts from fiction/literature, press, personal, and disciplinary discourse registers in Modern Hungarian,
- the plausible indications of the alteration of the position of concessive *pedig* regarding grammaticalization and (inter)subjectification.

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, an overview is provided of the definitions of categories regarding adversative and concessive clauses based on the preliminary research. Then, the methodological issues of historical study and registers are reflected in Section 3. This is then followed by a description of the data set and the results of the analysis from two main aspects: firstly, the diffusion of concessive *pedig* during the Middle Hungarian and Modern Hungarian period and from informal to rather formal registers in Section 4, and secondly, the variation of *pedig* with typical initial and atypical final word order in Section 5. Having presented the corpus analysis, in Section 6 the results are contrasted to more generalized claims on grammaticalization and peripheries and whether concessive *pedig* can be applied to the described patterns. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2. ON ADVERSATIVE AND CONCESSIVE RELATIONS AND THE CASE OF PEDIG: AN OVERVIEW

The overview of the preliminary research focuses on two main aspects: first, the semantic characteristics of adversative and concessive relations, and secondly, the structural features of concessive clauses. The word order of *pedig* requires some detailed description in advance.

2.1. Semantic characteristics

The subcategories of adversative coordination according to the Hungarian historical and recent descriptions, including the functional cognitive perspective as well are opposition, restriction, and correction (Berrár 1957, 145–146; Balogh 2000, 536–538; Kugler 2018, 99–100). *Pedig* is generally used to express opposition where contrast can be very slight, or even missing, for example *ez kék, az pedig zöld* ‘this is blue, but that is green’. However, another use of *pedig* falls under the category of concession (Berrár 1957, 172; Haader 2000, 521; Kugler 2018, 90–92), as in *sétálni megyünk, pedig esik* ‘we are going out for a walk, although it is raining’. In Hungarian, this denial-of-expectation relation can also be expressed through coordination: *esik, de sétálni megyünk* ‘it is raining, but we are going out for a walk’. The concessive relation is based on adverbial meaning, mainly temporal, causal, and conditional ones. Therefore, it belongs to subordinate structures, although the distinction between adversative and concessive relation is not sharp or self-evident according to the literature (cf. for example König 1985, 2006; Crevels 2000).

The semantic basis of concession is that the subordinate adverbial clause implies something, signalling an expectation, but the main clause indicates something different (Givón 1990, 835). This is because propositions of the actual clauses are generally incompatible or unusual, based on background assumptions or presuppositions, for example if it is raining, then normally one

does not go out for a walk. Using concessive clauses, one can describe states of affairs that are exceptional, unexpected, and therefore remarkable, changing the causal relations from ‘because’ to ‘despite’ (König 1985, 4; 2006, 821). Concessive meaning implies comparison and contrast; the conclusion derived by the propositions of the clauses can also be seen as incompatible for the speaker, emphasized by modal elements like *may*, for example *he may be a professor, but he is an idiot* (König 2006, 823). Adversative relation, such as restriction, is considered a typologically more general and basic meaning, while concession is a more specific one (König 1985, 7).

Pedig ~ *kedig* comes from a reconstructed base *ked* ~ *kéd* meaning ‘time’. The variant starting with *p* is explained by dissimilation (see e.g. ÚESz.). The basic meaning of *pedig* was temporal, indicating a simultaneous relation of two states of affairs ‘during that time’. It was typically used to mark opposition and, because of the temporal relation, addition, topic continuity, or shift without any structural differences from the opposition (Simonyi 1881, 145–151; Klemm 1928–1942, 432–435; Juhász 1991, 483, 1992, 783). These older uses of *pedig* are still typical. However, during the 16th century, a shift in the functions can be observed, as in some contexts the expression of contrast is highlighted, resulting in the concessive function of *pedig*. The semantic pathway of change from ‘TEMPORAL, SIMULTANEOUSNESS’ to ‘CONCESSIVE’ is well established in many languages (Kuteva et al. 2019, 425–426).

A comparison of Hungarian Bible translations from the 16th and 17th centuries (on *Párhuzamos Bibliaolvasó* or *Parallel Bible Reader*, see Simon & Kalivoda 2020) indicates that there is not always a sharp boundary between opposition, restriction, and concession (see Simonyi 1881, 153). Take, for example, ‘but within they are full of extortion and excess’ (Matthew 23:25, King James Bible). The cited part was translated in some of the Hungarian parallels using the archaic *demaga* meaning ‘but’ expressing restriction (János Sylvester 1541) while in others, e.g. in the works of Gáspár Károlyi and György Káldi, the translation used *pedig* meaning ‘although, however’, that is, concessive. Despite the fuzzy boundary, the lexicalized distinction of adversative and concessive use seems to be specific for *pedig*. The shift in the meaning in the case of *pedig* was also marked by co-occurrences with near-synonym elements, like *holott*, *noha*, *jóllehet* meaning ‘however, although’:²

- (3)
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|----------|---------|--------------------------|------------|
| kegyelmed | császárnál | többet | itt | nem | végezhet, |
| you | emperor.ADE | more.ACC | here | not | do.MOD.3SG |
| holott | pedig | immár | császár | rávette | |
| albeit | although | now | emperor | got-to-do.PST.DEFOBJ.3SG | |
| a | dolgot | | | | |
| the | thing.ACC | | | | |
- ‘you cannot do here more than the emperor although he already did it’ (TMK, Nád. pp. 202–203, 1568)

²The Hungarian historical examples of texts were transcribed according to the recent orthographic rules. Data are referred by year and the abbreviation of each corpus and their sources (see also <https://tmk.nyud.hu/forrasok.php>).

2.2. Structural features and variation of concessive clauses in Hungarian

The semantic shift from opposition to concession involves changes in the structure as well. If *pedig* expresses opposition, it falls under the category of coordination, while concessive is a relation considered as a case of subordination (Klemm 1928–1942; Berrár 1957, 145; Balogh 2000, 536; Haader 2000, 521). A more noticeable feature of the new function is in the position: when expressing opposition or continuity, *pedig* takes its place typically in the second clause, after the contrasted element (Haader 2003, 555), whereas when expressing concession, it can be in the initial or final position of a clause (see (2a) and (2b)).

However, a further structural difference can be found between *pedig* and some of its functional variants, regarding the order of the clauses. Recalling the constructed example of (2a), *noha* and *jöllehet* could occur in both the first and the second clause, expressing concessive relation, e.g. *noha/jöllehet egész nap glosszáztam, nincs sok példám ~ egész nap glosszáztam, noha/jöllehet nincs sok példám* ‘although I have been adding glosses all day, I do not have many examples’ ~ ‘I have been adding glosses all day, although I do not have many examples’. However, *pedig* typically occurs in the second clause. This difference may be due to the fact that concessive relation is a secondary meaning of *pedig* and this kind of positioning probably remains from its original meaning of ‘during that time’. *Holott* usually shows the same pattern as *pedig*; its original meaning is relative ‘where, there’ that also shifted to a conditional ‘if’ meaning. Nevertheless, the clause-initial uses of *pedig* and *holott* can be interpreted as a sentence-initial position as well, implying contrast with a state of affairs that is expressed in the previous sentence, e.g. *Egész nap glosszáztam. Pedig/holott nincs sok példám*. ‘I have been adding glosses all day. However, I do not have many examples.’ The occurrences from historical sources can be interpreted similarly in this respect (e.g. (4a)). Some of the combined occurrences of conjunctions from historical records require further remarks (see Section 4.1).

Considering the clause-initial and clause- or sentence-final position of *pedig*, the latter is a unique feature of it which also can be observed from the 16th century (4b):

- (4) a. Én, Édesem, még egy levelét sem vettem
 I sweet.POSS.1SG yet one letter.3SG.ACC not receive.PST.1SG
 Kegyelmednek, pedig elhittem, hogy írt.
 you.DAT although believe.PST.1SG that write.PST.3SG
 ‘I, my love, have not received any letter from you yet, although I believed that you have written some.’ (TMK, Bark. 19., 1704)
- b. nekem elég nehéz, hogy Váczi Istvánt ott tartja,
 I.DAT enough hard that Váczi István.ACC there keep.3SG
 itthon is kellene pedig.
 at-home also need.COND.3SG though
 ‘it is hard enough for me that he has István Váczi staying there; he is needed at home as well though.’ (TMK, Tel. 45., 1589)

Apparently, the concessive function is emphasized by the ends or peripheries of the clause or sentence (see Sections 5 and 6). As only the clause-initial position is a general feature of Hungarian conjunctions, the case of *pedig* requires investigation in this respect.

The diffusion of the concessive function and the variation of *pedig* and its functional variants has also been insufficiently studied. Rácz (1995, 715) argues that the concessive use of *pedig* on its own must have been rare in the late Old Hungarian period, essentially until the first decades of the 16th century (see also Haader 2003, 548). Simonyi (1881, 154) also emphasized that concessive *pedig* only became more common during the 18th century; he based this claim on contemporary and earlier literary records where it occurred very rarely. The present study focuses on corpus data from informal registers as well.

3. HISTORICAL DATA AND REGISTER PERSPECTIVE

Data was collected from the period when the shift in the function and the slow diffusion of *pedig* is observed. Not the entire diffusion but only tendencies of the extension can be captured by the examined records. It has been recognized that representativeness is hardly a possible objective in the case of diachronic corpora (cf. Jensen & McGillivray 2017, 135–136). Comparison between corpora can only be adequate when one feature of one corpus is different from the other one, and this is not self-evident considering historical corpora (cf. Haselow 2015, 159–160; Traugott 2014, 15–17). Therefore, historical corpora in Hungarian can only be compared indirectly.

Different registers were also taken into account, assuming that they probably affect the diffusion. Register can be seen as a variety associated with a particular situation of use, and the description of a register involves three aspects: the situational context, the linguistic features, and the functional relationship between the first two components (Biber & Conrad 2009, 6). Sources can also be seen as a scalar concept to different values of register, e.g. formal vs. informal. While one register may accelerate diffusion, other registers may prove conservative (cf. Ayres-Bennett 2018, 272; Kytö 2019; Gugán 2020, 2021, 23–24, 2023). Moreover, the same register may promote the spread of one feature but hinder the dissemination of another, and therefore, careful consideration of the register parameter is crucial in historical corpus linguistics (Kytö & Smitterberg 2015, 331).

Considering language change, the labels “innovative” and “conservative” also need to be fine-tuned from the point of view of the contemporary speaker. From the perspective of diachronic research, innovative variants may co-exist with their conservative variants for centuries in a stable distribution. In the case of innovative variants that have recently appeared, the typical promoters of change are casual speech, younger speakers, or lower-class women. However, in the case of stable distribution, one cannot expect that the aforementioned sociolinguistic factors would exert an effect in a similar fashion. Rather, it is reasonable to assume that registers that are closer to the informal end of the scale would prove to be fairly homogeneous with respect to the distribution of the variants of such variables, whereas registers closer to the formal end, and which consist of more subregisters, allow for more individual variation (cf. Gugán 2020, 2021, 23–24, 2023). Language users, when producing texts of a more formal register that were meant to have a wider audience, may use certain variants with greater creativity, allowing for the emergence of innovative forms and functions (cf. Varga 2021; Gugán 2023).

4. ON THE USE OF CONCESSIVE *PEDIG* FROM THE 16TH CENTURY: CORPUS STUDIES

Data collection was mostly based on written sources, including the more recent language use (but see Section 5).³ Instances from four databases were investigated. The Old and Middle Hungarian Corpus of Informal Language Use (here abbreviated as *TMK*, Novák et al. 2018) contains witness depositions of witch trials and private correspondences of noble men and women before the year 1772. This database has been morphologically analysed, and its extent at the time of collection was more than 1.1 million of words. Another morphologically analysed corpus used from the same period is The Middle Hungarian Corpus of Memories and Dramas (here abbreviated as *KED*, Gugán et al. 2023) containing about 200,000 words. The era between the years of 1772 and 2010 was examined on the basis of the Hungarian Historical Corpus (here abbreviated as *MTSZ*, Sass 2017) with an extent of 30 million words. The Hungarian National or Gigaword Corpus (here abbreviated as *MNSZ*, see Oravecz, Váradi & Sass 2014) covers the period of the last decades of the 20th century and the first years of 2000s and contains 1.5 billion words. Historical sources outside of any listed database were also studied manually and with a referential feature.

4.1. Corpus study in the registers of the 16–18th centuries

From the first period where the functional extension of *pedig* can be observed, speech-related sources (cf. Dömötör, Gugán & Varga 2021) were examined from the Old and Middle Hungarian Corpus of Informal Language Use (*TMK*). Due to the normalization process, there is no need to repeat the query for every possible orthographic variant of the period. Thus, searching for the lexeme *pedig* gives every instance from the database. Once the 3,635 occurrences from *TMK* were obtained, they were filtered manually according to function and, 152 instances of concessive uses were identified. Since the opposition, addition, and textual continuity are outside the scope of the present analysis, they were labelled simply as the “other” use of *pedig*. The ratio of the concessive function compared to the opposition and textual continuity meaning of *pedig* is very low, only at 4%. Similarly, in the Middle Hungarian Corpus of Memoirs and Dramas, from 555 occurrences 20 concessive instances were found, i.e. 3.6%.

It is more informative to see the proportion of concessive *pedig* in relation to the frequencies of other near-synonym variants of the period. The most typical variants of the time with ‘however, although’ meaning are the already-mentioned *noha*, *jóllehet*, and *holott*. The contexts of relative ‘where, there’ and a conditional ‘if’ meanings of *holott* were excluded. The results were compared and cross-tabulated using the statistical computing platform RStudio (*R Core Team* 2021). The distribution of the functional variants expressing concession by time period based on the raw numbers of data points and percentages is shown in Table 1.

³The records of the spontaneous spoken database of Hungarian are currently under transcription and publication (see <https://fonetika.nytud.hu/lea-beszelt-nyelvi-adatbazis/>); The Hungarian Gigaword Corpus has a subcorpus of transcribed spoken language, however, it consists of radio interviews, which belong rather to the “press” subcorpus. Additionally, the Budapest Sociolinguistic Interviews are guided conversations.

Table 1. Distribution of variants expressing concession across subperiods

	1500–1550		1551–1600		1601–1650		1651–1700		1701–1750		1751–1772	
<i>holott</i>	1	6%	19	9%	37	23%	9	10%	174	18%	39	22%
<i>jöllehet</i>	17	94%	108	54%	22	14%	12	13%	264	27%	60	34%
<i>noha</i>	0	0%	57	28%	91	56%	67	71%	434	44%	66	37%
<i>pedig</i>	0	0%	16	8%	12	7%	6	6%	125	12%	13	7%

Figure 1 shows the cross-tabulation from the same factors, but the mosaic plot reflects the results of a χ^2 test and the effect of the levels of the variable as well. The black and grey bars framed by a continuous line suggest that the observed frequencies are significantly higher than the expected values – grey bars with lower standard residuals and black bars with higher standard residuals. The grey bars framed by a dashed line, on the other hand, suggest that the observed frequencies are lower than the expected values – light grey bars to a lesser extent and, darker grey ones to a greater extent.

Viewing the results as variations, the diffusion of especially *noha* and, to some extent, *pedig* is noticeable. While the 16th century is dominated by *jöllehet*, *noha* becomes highly preferred during the 17th century while, *jöllehet* shows the opposite tendency. *Pedig* is the least frequent variant even in the 18th century, suggesting that its concessive function may actually be more innovative than the others.

The occasional emphasis with the elements of similar meaning (e.g. *noha pedig*, *holott pedig*, *jöllehet pedig*) also indicates the novelty of the concessive function of *pedig*. Complex occurrences can be observed even from the 18th century.

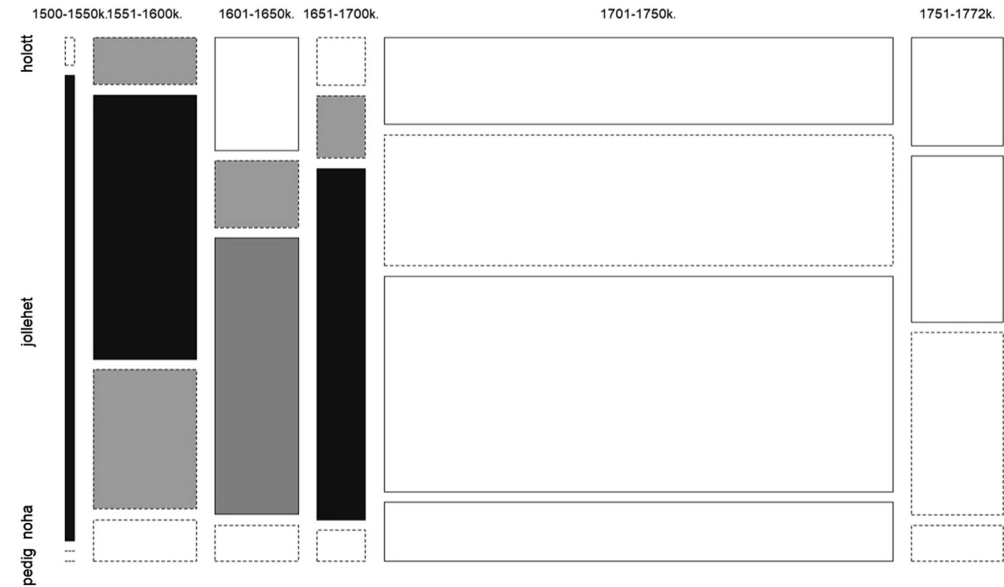


Figure 1. The distribution of concessive conjunctions across subperiods in TMK and KED

- (5) a. Jóllehet pedig másnap délig ott múlattam,
although although tomorrow noon.TER there spend-time.PST.1SG
Sem valamire való Lovat, sem egyéb újságot nem
not something.for be.PTCP horse.ACC not other novelty.ACC not
láthattam a sok ködmönös tatárnál
see.MOD.PST.1SG the many coaty Tatar.ADE
'Although I spent my time there until the following noon, I could not see any suitable
horse or any other news but the many Tatars in coats' (KED, Rád., before 1733)
- b. sőt átkozta magát, hogy az ördögök őtet
even curse.PST.DEFOBJ.3SG herself that the devil.PL she.ACC
testestül és lelkestül ragadják el, ha a
body.with and soul.with take.DEFOBJ.SUBJ.3PL away if the
macska ott van mellette, holott pedig ott volt
cat there be.3SG next-to-her albeit though there be.PST.3SG
'she even cursed herself, saying that the devils would take her away body and soul if
the cat was next to her, although it was there' (TMK, Bosz. 95., 1740)

Table 2 and Figure 2 reveal that the actual frequency of concessive *pedig* in private letters is higher than expected, indicating that the variant is preferred to some extent, while in witness depositions it is less than expected. Nevertheless, each functional variant is favoured by different registers: *holott* and, to some extent, *jóllehet* are the most common in witch trials, while letters and memoirs disfavour *holott*, and dramas and memoirs disfavour *jóllehet*; *noha* is most preferred in memoirs and dramas, and it is disfavoured in witch trials.

Since KED contains sources with a smaller volume compared to TMK, the incidence per 10,000 words of each register shows a more reliable picture of the variation. Figure 3 shows the distribution of the variants in different registers (on the token numbers of the sources, see Varga 2024).

Figure 3 indicates the noticeable preference of *noha* in memoirs and, to a lesser extent, in letters and dramas. The other three variants are equally disfavoured in memoirs. Private letters prefer both *jóllehet* and *noha*, and, compared to the other registers, *pedig* as well. The cross-tabulation of the factors time period and register can be compared in the case of each variant based on their raw numbers of instances (Figure 4).

Table 2. Distribution of expressions with concessive function according to registers

	witch trials		drama		memoirs		letters	
<i>holott</i>	138	27%	12	12%	7	5%	122	14%
<i>jóllehet</i>	179	35%	9	9%	15	10%	280	31%
<i>noha</i>	155	30%	64	66%	113	79%	383	43%
<i>pedig</i>	36	7%	12	12%	8	6%	116	12%
Total	508	100%	97	100%	143	100%	901	100%

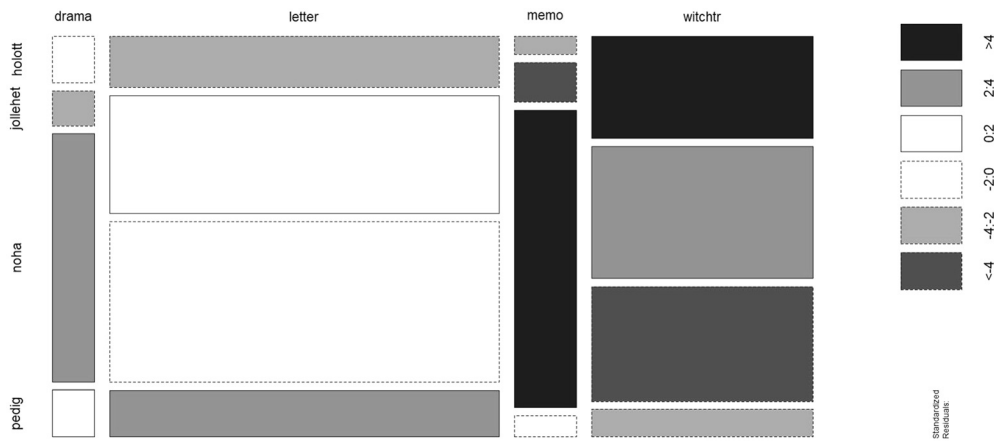


Figure 2. The distribution of concessive conjunctions according to registers in TMK; KED

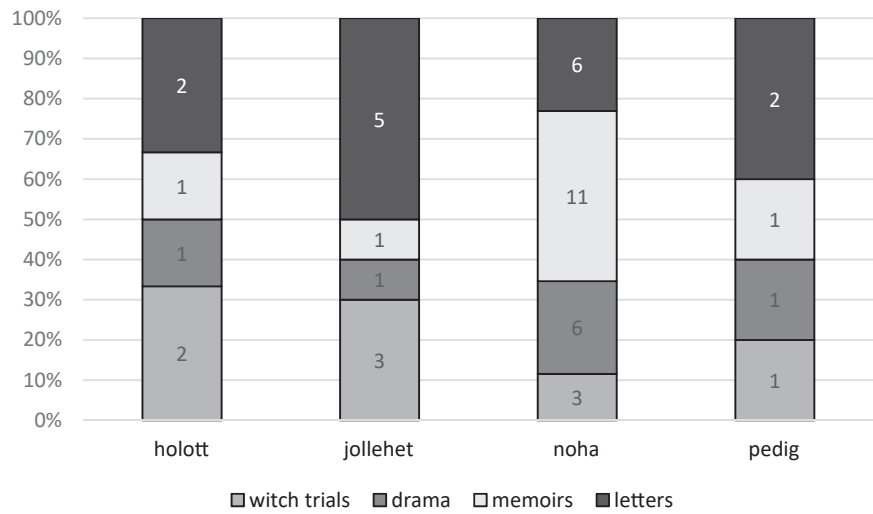


Figure 3. The preference of the variants expressing concession in the different registers (frequency per 10,000 words)

In the first half of the 17th century, *noha* is remarkably preferred in one particular drama text (29 data points, 14 instances per 10,000 tokens). Later on, in the second half of the 17th century it is mostly preferred by three authors of memoirs, especially János Kemény (47 data points, 15 instances per 10,000 tokens) and two authors from the first half of the 18th century, Miklós Bethlen and Sándor Károlyi (45 data points, 17 instances per 10,000 tokens).

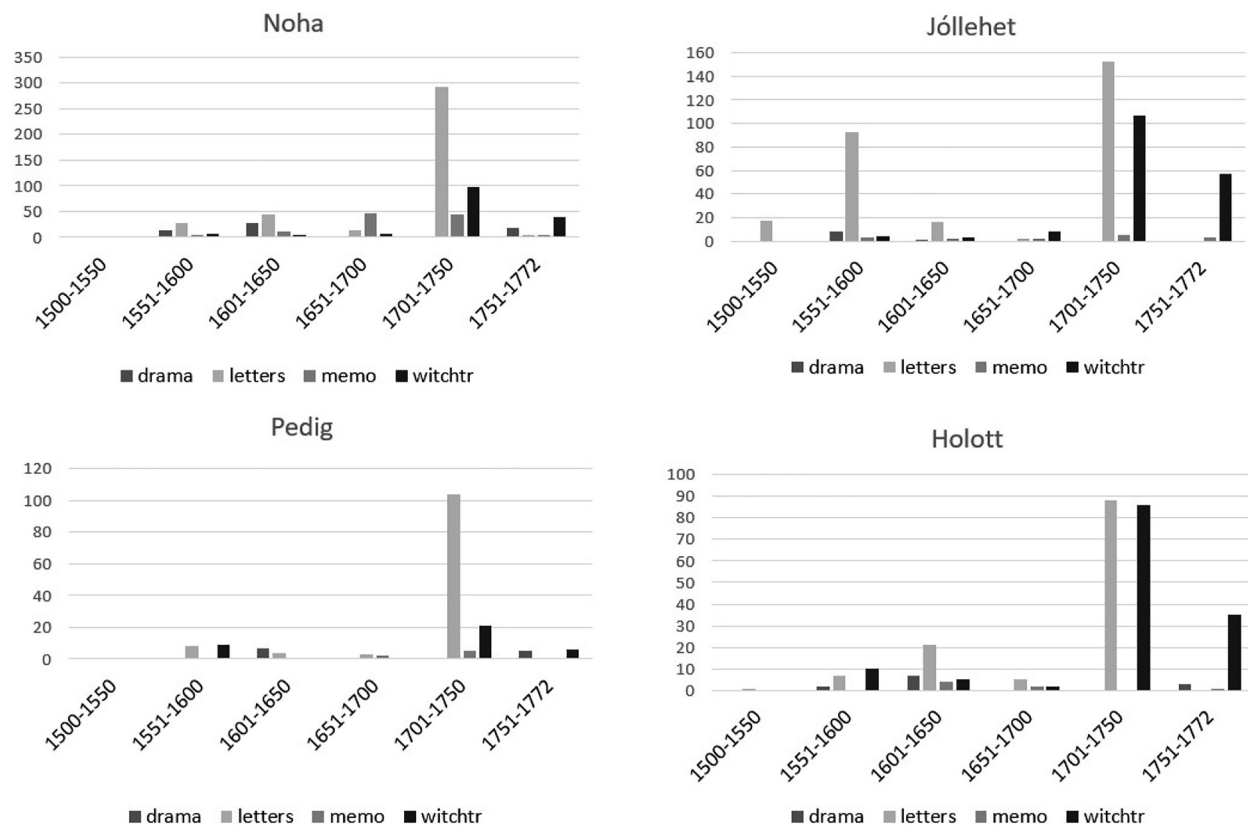


Figure 4. Cross-tabulation of subperiods and registers based on the number of occurrences of the variants

Jóllehet is favoured by letters, especially during the 16th century, mostly due to the letters between members of the Nádasdy family (before 1551: 17 data points, after 1551: 93 data points, in both subperiods 7 instances per 10,000 tokens). Witch trials show a growing tendency in this case (between 1701 and 1750: 107 data points, 3 instances per 10,000 tokens, from the year 1751: 57 data points, 4 instances per 10,000 tokens).

Pedig only shows moderate preference, namely 3 instances per 10,000 words in three subperiods but in different registers; in the second half of the 16th century witch trials (9 data points), in the first half of the 17th century drama (7 data points), and in the first half of the 18th century letters (104 data points). Most of these occur in the correspondence of Krisztina Barkóczy and her husband, Sándor Károlyi (together 85 data points).

For a reference to more formal registers, in the 16th- and 17th-century translations of the New Testament (from the Old Hungarian Corpus, see Simon & Sass 2012), the function of *pedig* is almost exclusively opposition and textual continuity or topic-shift, while the concessive variants like *noha*, *jóllehet*, *holott* occur with similar raw frequencies with 120–150 instances. Contemporary sermons and ecclesiastical disputes were also examined in order to find the elements under scrutiny, since a former study (Varga 2021) on the finite and non-finite subordinate variation of conditional meaning showed that these sources were more varied and some of the authors preferred the innovative variant more than in speech-related records. According to a manual and referential investigation, both Péter Pázmány and György Káldi used concessive *pedig* in their writings infrequently and in combination with near-synonym elements *noha* or *jóllehet*, for example:

- (6) a. *Noha pedig a barátságos nyájaskodásra mindnyájan*
 although though the friendly gallantry.for all-of-us
hajlandók vagyunk, de főképpen az ifjú emberek kapnak ezen
 willing.PL be.PL1 but mostly the young people get.PL3 this.on
 ‘Although we are all willing for friendly gallantry, mostly young people acquire this’
 (Péter Pázmány 928, 1631)
- b. *Noha pedig a házasság becsületes állapot, sőt:*
 although though the marriage honorable state moreover
szentség mindazáltal az egyházi rendnek igen alkalmatlan
 sacrament nevertheless the clergy order.DAT very unsuitable
 ‘Although marriage is an honorable state, even a sacrament, it is very unsuitable for the holy orders’ (György Káldi 576, 1631)

Both the emphasis with other concessive conjunctions and the low frequencies suggest that the concessive function of *pedig* was more or less a novelty in the studied period and it spread slowly until the 18th century. Considering the registers, the use of the new function is related to the more informal sources involving some sort of interaction, mainly in private correspondence and in dramas (see also Varga 2019).

4.2. Corpus and register study beyond the end of the 18th century

In order to investigate the period after 1772, data were collected from the Hungarian Historical Corpus. In total, the occurrences of *pedig* (searching for the remaining spelling variants *pedig*

and *penig*) in the database amount to more than 51,000 instances. Since the selection and identification of functions can only be done manually, the lists of instances needed to be narrowed down. Without other formal features for that being available, the selection was made according to punctuation, namely where *pedig* was preceded or followed by any punctuation mark, comma, period, etc. in order to find the contexts where the word stands in clause- or sentence-initial or final position. Thus, the instances where punctuation does not signal the boundaries of clauses or sentences were unfortunately excluded, which may be criticized. However, the opposition and textual functions of *pedig* are still so dominant that random samples would certainly not provide a reliable picture of the ratios of the variants. Once the data was narrowed down, the instances were sorted manually. Between 1772 and the first half of the 19th century, hundreds of cases were irrelevant because, despite the punctuation marks, they had meanings other than concessive. The results and ratios compared to the near-synonym variants of *pedig* can be seen in Table 3 and Figure 5.

Figure 5 reflects the significance of the ratios, suggesting that even these narrowed queries signal a strong tendency. During the 19th century, the concessive *pedig* became remarkably frequent, overall predominating over all the alternatives. *Pedig* is dominant in the last subperiod as well, albeit to a lesser extent than earlier because of the growing frequencies of *noha* and *jóllehet*.

Not every source in the database was labelled with registers. However, there are occurrences from disciplinary discourse and literature, as well as from personal and dialectal records. This indicates that the use of concessive *pedig* extended to more formal registers. The combined instances become rather sporadic during the 19th century and later on, also suggesting the diffusion of *pedig*, see Table 4.

The Hungarian Historical Corpus contains texts from the 20th century and even beyond, nevertheless the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus provides a more detailed picture of this more recent period. Data shows the obvious dominance of concessive *pedig*, accounting for 67% compared to its variants in total, even with a more narrowed selection: “[.] *pedig*” and “[.] *Pedig*” because of the high number of data points. Concessive *pedig* is dominant in almost every

Table 3. Distribution of concessive elements between 1772 and 2010 (source: MTSZ)

	<i>holott</i>	<i>jóllehet</i>	<i>noha</i>	<i>pedig</i>
1772-1801	414	133	486	80
1802-1831	159	88	287	104
1832-1861	316	94	372	611
1862-1891	196	35	144	690
1892-1921	212	22	115	904
1922-1951	423	59	348	1,583
1952-1981	415	168	512	1,708
1982-2010	497	296	864	1,309
Total	2,632	895	3,128	6,989



Figure 5. Distribution of concessive elements between 1772 and 2010

Table 4. Combined instances of concessive conjunctions in MTSZ: raw numbers of occurrences

	<i>holott pedig</i>	<i>jóllehet pedig</i>	<i>noha pedig</i>
1772–1801	28	4	9
1802–1831	2	2	2
1832–1861	1	0	4
1862–1891	9	0	0
1892–1921	4	0	1
1922–1951	4	0	1
1952–1981	4	0	0
1982–2010	0	0	0
Total	52	6	17

subcorpus. Only the scientific subcorpus has a variant, *noha*, that is more common than *pedig*, while in four subcorpora – personal, spoken, literature, and press – *pedig* covers more than 50% of the overall frequency. In addition, although *pedig* is the most frequent in the official register as well, its occurrences are not that dominant compared to other subcorpora. The raw numbers of the variants are referential since the instances were not examined manually at this point. Nevertheless, Table 5 shows a strong tendency, suggesting the preference of *pedig*.

Nevertheless, the opposition and textual continuity functions of *pedig* are still more common in written language than the concessive use. Building on small samples with only hundreds of

Table 5. Distribution of concessive *pedig* and its variants in the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus

	personal	spoken	literature	press	official	scientific
<i>holott</i>	9,786	2,899	7,874	13,686	3,988	2,190
<i>jöllehet</i>	1,574	441	2,278	8,744	1,489	1,896
<i>noha</i>	8,116	1,935	7,948	27,550	3,338	7,211
<i>pedig</i>	138,742	7,705	22,692	53,819	5,452	4,855
Total	158,218	12,980	40,792	103,799	14,267	16,152

instances, the greatest proportion of concessive *pedig* is in the registers of personal and literature, and even there, this means at most 15–20%. For an interim summary, as a plausible innovation of the 16th century, the concessive function of *pedig* became a general feature of the more recent language use, even dominant compared to its functional variants in most of the registers.

5. WORD ORDER AND CHANGE IN FUNCTION

Describing word order, [Simonyi \(1881, 153\)](#) noted that the earlier infrequent instances of concessive *pedig* used to occur, in his terms, “inside of the clause” (see (7a) and (7b)), while in clause-initial position, it is even more scarce. Final position was not explicitly mentioned in the cited study.

[Figure 6](#) shows the numbers of instances with different positions of concessive *pedig* in each subperiod from the 16th to the 18th century based on the data from TMK and KED. Clause-initial position, including the instances where *pedig* is combined with its variants, e.g. *noha pedig*, *holott pedig*, is somewhat infrequent in the earliest period. Later on, it becomes the most frequent one, suggesting an opposite tendency compared to the in-between position. Final *pedig* also becomes less and less frequent compared to clause-initial *pedig*, especially during the 18th century.

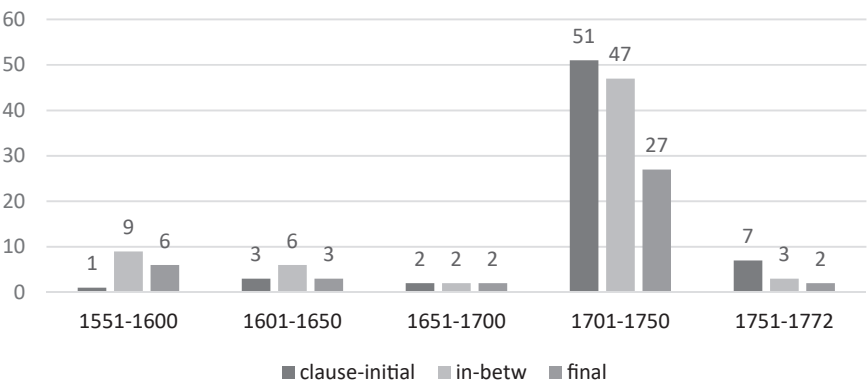


Figure 6. Positions of concessive *pedig* in subperiods

From a register point of view, there are no significant differences. Figure 7 shows that memoirs and dramas have a similar pattern of preference: clause-initial position is the most frequent, followed by in-between, and the least frequent is the final position. Letters show only slight differences in this respect. However, this means that, in this case, final position is quite frequent as well.

KED contains only samples from the longer memoirs. However, if the data set is completed with the instances of *pedig* from the full-length texts of memoirs, the results highlight the differences. Figure 8 indicates that clause-initial position is highly preferred in memoirs, while

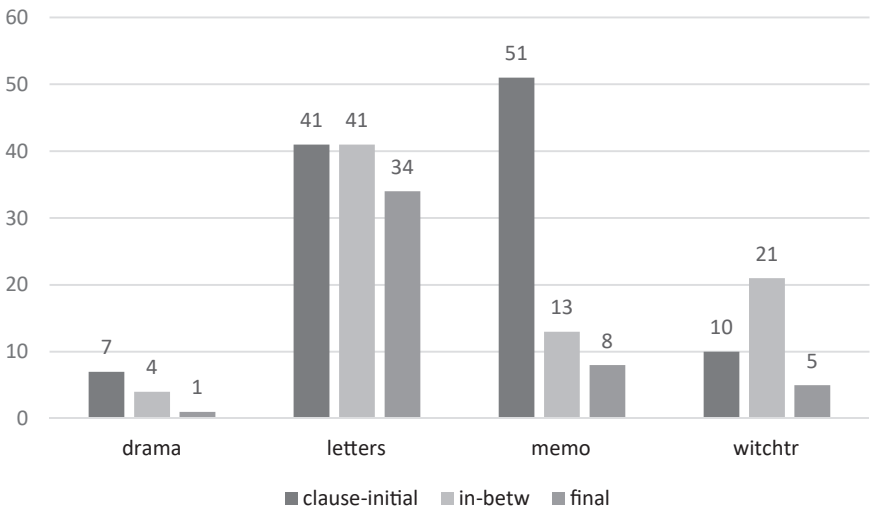


Figure 7. Position variation of concessive *pedig* according to Middle Hungarian registers

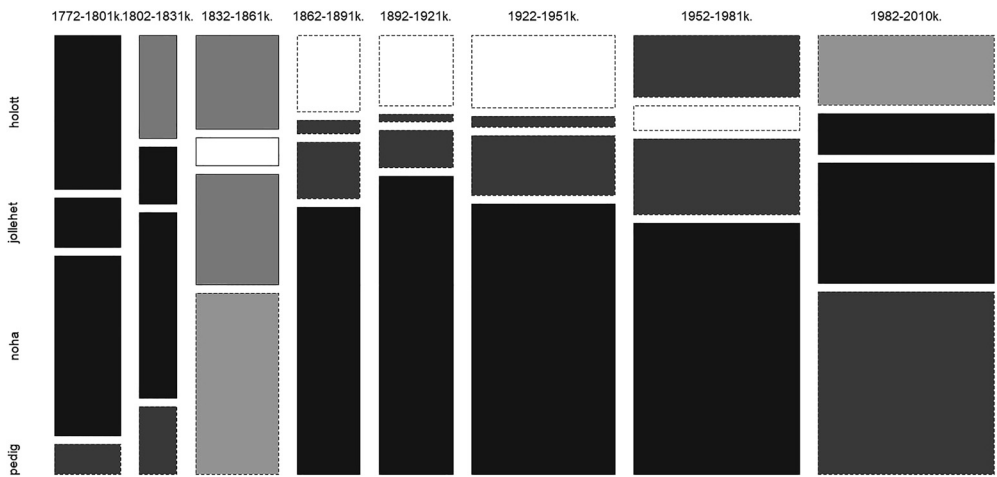


Figure 8. Position variation of concessive *pedig* according to registers, completed data set

final position is favoured by letters, mostly due to the correspondence of Krisztina Barkóczy and her husband, Sándor Károlyi. Within the witch trials, the frequency of in-between position is remarkable, especially in the first half of the 16th century and the 18th century.

The in-between position generally correlates with the functions of opposition and textual continuity. However, if *pedig* occurs right after the predicate, it can provide reinterpretation, thus giving emphasis to the expression of contrast:

- (7) a. Kegyelmed [...] nem válaszola reá, sürgeti pedig
 you not answer.PST.3SG that.on urge.3SG although
 erősen.
 strongly
 ‘You did not answer about that yet, although he strongly urges it.’ (TMK, Bark. 292., 1710)
- b. bizonyos is, hogy Szent György napján
 certain too that Saint George day.POSS.on
 harmatot szedet,
 dew.ACC gather.PST.3SG
 tiltva lévén pedig a faluban
 forbidden be.PTCP though the village.INE
 ‘it is also certain that she gathered dew on Saint George’s Day, although it was forbidden in the village’ (TMK, Bosz. 57., 1709)

Therefore, the final position of *pedig* can be explained by cases of contrast referring to the predicate or the whole clause, as *pedig* naturally occurs at the end of the clause. The interpretation of (8b) may be ambiguous: *pedig* can express both opposition with the order: *ha pedig nem megyek oda* ‘but if I myself do not go’, and concession. The utterance could have a functional equivalent of *pedig*, such as *jóllehet* or *holott*:

- (8) a. ne lehessen oly ember, aki kezében
 not be.SUBJ.MOD.3SG such man who hand.POSS.INE
 bízna a tárház kulcsát, [...]
 bear.COND.2SG the storehouse key.POSS.ACC
 tudod pedig, leveleink mind ott vannak
 know.2SG though letter.POSS.1PL.PL all there be.3PL
 ‘do not let him be such a man that you would trust with the keys of the storehouse [...] you know, though, all our letters are there’ (TMK, Tel. 30., 1594)
- b. Ha magam nem megyek pedig,
 if myself not go.1SG though
 azt sem vihetem oda.
 that.ACC not bring.MOD.DEFOBJ.1SG there
 ‘If I myself do not go, though, I cannot bring that there either.’ (TMK, Bark. 125., 1706)

The sentence-final variant is infrequent in the 18th century (9a). Furthermore, some instances are used in with another function, expressing addition ‘even, and’. Instances from the latter type, e.g. (9b), were excluded from the data.

- (9) a. Az átkozott fazekas az oka, elveszté az time.ACC
 the damn potter the reason lose.PST.DEF OBJ.3SG the időt,
 s örökké biztatott pedig.
 and forever assure.PST.DEF OBJ.3SG though
 ‘The reason is the damned potter, he wasted time, and he kept assuring me, though.’
 (TMK, Bark. 216., 1708)
- b. De ez énrajtam nyavaly, s igen
 but this on.1SG illness and very
 alkalmatlan pedig.
 inconvenient though
 ‘But I am ill and it is even very inconvenient.’ (TMK, Bark. 41., 1705)

Sentence-final *pedig* is not unprecedented even in the Bible translations of György Káldi, and the interpretation can be reinforced by parallel texts from János Sylvester and Gáspár Károlyi, using restrictive *de* ‘but’ and *de viszont* (Károlyi 1590) ‘but’ (James 4:5–6): *Véletek-e hogy hiába mondja az Írás: irigységre vágyódik a lélek, aki bennetek lakik? Nagyobb kegyelmet ad pedig* (Káldi 1626) ‘Do ye think that the scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy? But he giveth more grace’ (King James Bible).

Clause-initial as a position of a conjunction is typical in Hungarian, so concessive *pedig* follows the pattern of its variants *noha*, *jóllehet*, *holott*.

- (10) mégis dolgoznak, pedig nem is kényszerítettem őket.
 still work.3PL although not too force.PST.1SG they.ACC
 ‘they still work, although I did not force them to do so.’ (TMK, Bark. 197., 1708)

According to the earlier historical descriptions, the word order of concessive *pedig* was uniform with its other functions and then it shifted to the initial position following other conjunctions with similar concessive meaning (Klemm 1928–1942, 435–436). Nevertheless, the steps of this change in word order cannot be reconstructed from the historical data, since the instances with in-between order and the ones at any periphery were undergoing alteration in the sources of the 16th through the 18th centuries.

The positions of variants emphasized with similar meaning (*noha pedig*, *jóllehet pedig*) also support the shift to the initial position in cases when only concessive *pedig* occurred. Additionally, the sentence-initial position for *pedig* with the contrasted content in the second clause is only observed when it is combined with *noha* or *jóllehet* (see examples in (5a), (6a), and (6b)).

Clause-final position was not explicitly mentioned as an equivalent or variant in the description of Klemm (1928–1942). During the period after the year 1772, *pedig* did not only spread in frequency and through registers but also kept its alteration of positions to some extent. In this case, “to some extent” means that in the written records after 1772, clause-final and sentence-final position became sparse, accounting for only 3% of the instances (90 of which 3101 “*pedig*,”

25 of which 126 “*pedig*.” and 7 of which 241 “*pedig*.”). There are sentence-initial variants where the contrasted content can be found in the previous sentence (11a) and clause-final ones as well (11b). Note that examples like (11b) and (12) could be constructed with the functional variants *noha*, *holott*, and *jóllehet* but their structure would be different since they could only occur in initial position.

- (11) a. Az utas elindult csak úgy gyalogszerrel.
 the passenger get.off.PST.3SG just like foot.on
 Pedig úri ember volt.
 although gentle man be.PST.3SG
 ‘The passenger got off just on foot. Although he was a gentleman.’ (MTSZ, 1899)
- b. a lovak eltűntek. Szép két ló
 the horse.PL disappear.PST.3PL beautiful two horse
 volt pedig különösen a csillagos homlokú sárga,
 was though especially the starry forehead.ed yellow
 ‘the horses were gone. Two beautiful horses were there though, especially the yellow one with the star on its forehead’ (MTSZ, 1895)

The database of ELTE Drama Corpus (for a description, see Szemes et al. 2022) was also examined in order to find texts of dramas mainly written in the 19th and 20th centuries. From the 381 instances of concessive *pedig*, only seven occurred in the final position, and all of them are from earlier periods.

- (12) [Juli:] Én nem szólhatok hozzá, amíg ő nem szólt.
 Julia I not speak.MOD.1SG to-him until he not speak.PST.3SG
 [Mihály:] Azt várja pedig.
 Michael that.ACC wait.DEFOBJ.3SG though
 [J.:] ‘I shall not speak to him until he speaks to me. [M.:] He is waiting for that, though.’
 (Géza Gárdonyi, A bor. 1901, ELTE Drámakorpusz)

Nevertheless, the alteration in positions has not vanished. Sentence-final *pedig* can be detected in the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus, but it is scarce with 239 instances, compared to the initial-position *pedig* (sentence-initial: more than 48,000 data points, clause-initial: more than 70,000 data points). The distribution across registers for concessive *pedig* in sentence-final positions as follows: literature (113 data points), personal (88 data points) press and spoken (36 data points), and 2 instances of scientific texts. Switching between peripheries can even be observed in one short utterance; at first, clause-initial, then sentence-final (13a).

- (13) a. Túlhajtja magát, pedig nem volna szabad.
 overwork.3SG her/himself although not be.COND.3SG allowed
 Ő jár pórul pedig
 S/He come.3SG badly though
 ‘S/He keeps his nose to the grindstone, though s/he should not. S/He will come off badly, though’ (MNSZ)

- b. de megmérgeződte! Nem szoktál *pedig*
 how got-angry.PST.2SG not use-to.PST.2SG though
 ‘how angry you have gotten! You didn’t use to do that, though’ (MNSZ)

If the instances were separate one-word sentences, they were excluded. These are also known as “final hanging” ones that resulted in a seemingly incomplete closing of the utterance (cf. Haselow 2012). However, the instances in Hungarian can be interpreted as initial, since they still imply contrast or incompatibility between the preceding explicit and the following unexpressed but assumable propositions, like: *Nem igaz! Pedig.* ‘It is not true! Although/However [= it still is].’. This is supported by occurrences where the one-word sentence continues with a repetition of the conjunction.

- (14) ezek az új viselkedésformák nem pozitív előjellel íródnak
 these the new form-of-behaviour.PL not positive sign.with write.PASS.3PL
 a családi krónikába. Pedig. Pedig nem veszekszünk előtte
 the family history.ILL although although not argue.1PL in-front-of.3SG
 ‘these new forms of behaviour are not depicted positively in the family history.
 Although. Although we are not arguing in front of him/her’ (MNSZ)

Considering actual spoken data, the Budapest Sociolinguistic Interview (here abbreviated as BUSZI, Kontra & Váradi 1997) contains the transcriptions of 50 guided conversations conducted in 1987. The database has 190 instances of the *pedig* lemma from the informants, and 50 occurrences have concessive function, all of them in initial position. There are also 105 instances of *pedig* from the fieldworkers, with 15 being concessive, and one occurrence being clause-final. Intonation marks and other metadata are eliminated from the example (15).

- (15) [Informant: És beadták neki azt a másikat. S elaludt.
 ‘And that other one [= medication] was given to him. And he fell asleep.’
 Field worker: Hmm.
 Informant: Örökre. ‘For ever.’]
 Fieldworker: Hát nagyon szép mintaarca van pedig.
 well very nice model-face be.3SG though
 szóval olyan nyílt tekintete van neki.
 so such open look.POSS.3SG be.3SG him
 ‘Well, he has a nice model-face though, I mean he has such an open
 look.’ (BUSZI, B7510/SZI/277–279).

There are not yet any openly accessible databases containing transcriptions of more recent casual spoken conversations in Hungarian: the Hungarian Spontaneous Speech Database is currently under annotation and publication, other databases are under anonymization (cf. Szabó et al. 2021; Vincze et al. 2021). Utterance-final *pedig* is generally accepted and common in everyday conversations, indicating a difference between spoken and written language use, as well as between informal, interactive, and formal registers, since in the former the sentence final variant also can be attested, including literature where an informal style is often imitated.

As mentioned in Section 2, the common grammaticalization pathway from TIME to CONCESSION meanings suggests a possible motivation for the semantic change that resulted in the concessive function of *pedig*. However, it is not clear whether structural change in word order, particularly the final position of *pedig*, can be explained by grammaticalization, as it is an atypical order in Hungarian and it is not observed in the cases of the functional variants *holott*, *noha*, *jóllehet*.

6. DISCUSSION: PERIPHERIES AND GRAMMATICALIZATION IN THE CASE OF PEDIG

To investigate the broader implications of positional variation in *pedig*, similar patterns can be noted in both the historical and recent use of English with words like *but* (Mulder & Thompson 2008; Izutsu & Izutsu 2014; Haselow 2013; Hancil 2018), *though* (Barth-Weingarten & Couper-Kuhlen 2002; Haselow 2012, 2013), *anyway* (Haselow 2013, 2015, 2016), *surely*, and *no doubt* (Traugott 2014, 2015). Two aspects need to be addressed in these cases: the semantic-pragmatic content of a given element on the one hand, and their possible role in communication or speaker/writer-oriented, hearer/receiver-oriented functions on the other hand.

Regarding the semantic and pragmatic changes, it is emphasized that not only the isolated lexeme undergoes grammaticalization, but its position can also determinate the development as much as the meaning of the given lexeme (Haselow 2015, 166). In the cases of *but*, *though*, and *anyway* their final positions involve local coherence, reinterpretation of the preceding contents, increased abstractness, and connection on the textual level (cf. Barth-Weingarten & Couper-Kuhlen 2002; Mulder & Thompson 2008; Izutsu & Izutsu 2014; Haselow 2015, 161–162; Hancil 2018). Therefore, final *though* can convey concessive, concessive-textual, and only textual meanings (Barth-Weingarten & Couper-Kuhlen 2002). According to Haselow (2012, 193–194), the difference between *although* and final *though* is that the latter does not express concession with an integration or embedding of the constituents; rather, *though* becomes a marker of self-correction or restriction of prior utterances. Final *though* highlights the relevance of the speaker's contribution within the local discourse context even without any contrast or implied negation (cf. Haselow 2013, 402). Final *anyway* is used in a concessive conditional function (Haselow 2015). Final *but* exhibits features like contrast or anaphora and cataphora on a textual level, intensification and – to lesser extent –, doubt on the attitude level, and when used as a “filler”, on the social level (cf. Hancil 2018). It is also noted that final *but* often does not provide any anticipated contrast and the utterance remains syntactically incomplete, although treated by the speakers as complete for the interaction (cf. Mulder & Thompson 2008; Haselow 2012).

Considering the role in communication, sentence-initial position is associated with the process of subjectification and speaker-oriented uses (e.g. topicalization, discourse coherence, organizing of information), while the final one is with intersubjective and hearer-oriented roles like turn-taking or other forms of turning to the addressee (Haselow 2012, 189–190; Izutsu & Izutsu 2014, 279; Traugott 2014, 2015). However, this turned out to be rather a strong tendency that cannot be fully generalized. For example, *no doubt* has speaker-oriented functions on both ends of an utterance, while *surely* is rather oriented towards the addressee, seeking agreement (see Traugott 2014, 18–23). Notions like (inter)subjective are handled differently than in Langacker's perspective because he is concerned with cognitive (explicit: objective or implicit: subjective)

profiling by a conceptualizer, while (inter)subjectification refers to a processes of change (Traugott 2014, 9). The historical process in the case of *but*, *though*, *anyway* is not in connection with the explicit or implicit profiling of the speaker/hearer since neither of these elements encodes any personal marking.

As a process over time, it is hard to determine whether the given element became intersubjective, since most of the meta-discursive lexemes are used multifunctionally. Also, these expressions usually evolve from more to less referential uses through many phases (however, tag-questions are intersubjective from their origins, Traugott 2014, 11).

Grammaticalization as a process has two major criteria: specific semantic/pragmatic change and a shift in category (Dér 2013). The latter aspect, in this case, whether *pedig* became a discourse marker, particle, or not, is not self-evident. It is also unclear whether the initial and final positions can be seen as peripheries since they are defined as detached from the core of the utterance and the given element is not part of the syntactic structure unit and does not have a constituent status (e.g. Haselow 2015). There are arguments for a continuum between core clause and peripheries, including that the structural and prosodic separation is not absolutely discrete (even with acoustic analysis, cf. Traugott 2015, 2016). Concessive *pedig* is a conjunction, thus it is not isolated from its environment any more than in sentence-initial position. It still expresses contrast or incompleteness between the propositions of the clauses (its textual uses are related to the function of opposition), and therefore, its meaning did not become more abstract or procedural. In other words, it did not undergo bleaching. Apparently, there is no remarkable functional difference between the initial and final uses of *pedig*, similarly to the Hungarian discourse marker *szerintem* which means ‘in my view’ both in initial and final position (Dér 2021). The retrospective contrastive use (Traugott 2016, 39–40) can be noted in sentence-initial contexts as well.

It is also not obvious whether the uses of *pedig* at the end of a sentence or utterance become more intersubjective. According to the studied data, it does not signal turn-taking. Even in more recent drama texts, *pedig* was preferred in the initial position. Although it might be associated with texts involving interaction or inner speech, the concessive function has speaker-oriented features. Along with the position, the original meaning of the lexeme can also affect the functional expansion, which is in this case temporal, simultaneousness. Another possible explanation is that final *pedig* might be a result of a special kind of afterthought or retrospective reinforcement of contrast between the propositions (on intensifiers, see: Haselow 2016, 402–404). At this point of the research, it cannot be claimed with certainty that final *pedig* developed any additional meaning or that it can occur without expressing any contrast. We need more data from actual informal spoken language use to establish such suggestions.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The corpus analysis has highlighted that the concessive use of *pedig* was an infrequent but not too rare novelty between the 16th and 18th centuries, often reinforced by the co-occurring functional variants *noha*, *jóllehet*, and *holott*. Its distribution was affected by the registers involving interaction, because *pedig* was more preferred in private correspondence and dramas. During the 19th century, concessive *pedig* became remarkably common compared to its functional variants, and by the end of the 20th century, its use had extended to more formal registers

as well. Considering the positions, concessive *pedig* can occur at both ends of the sentence or clause. There were some differences in the studied Middle Hungarian registers in this respect: final position was mostly preferred in letters, while clause-initial was favoured in memoirs and dramas. Since the initial position is typical of Hungarian conjunctions, this position became much more common according to corpus data from the 19th and 20th centuries. However, especially in casual spoken conversations, occurrences in final position are still common. Switching between positions raises the question of grammaticalization and peripheries, both from the semantic-pragmatic perspective and from the communicational point of view. Concessive final *pedig* still has speaker-oriented functions like reinterpreting the relation between the propositions (emphasizing their incompatibility), and despite the preferred interactional contexts, it does not play a role in turn-taking. Therefore, the results of the present analysis support the claims that the asymmetric roles of the peripheries in functional expansion are rather strong tendencies, since elements like *pedig* show exceptional features as well. The use of final *pedig* and its status as a variant in actual spoken conversation needs further investigation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1/2/3	first/second/third person
ACC	accusative
ADE	adessive
ALL	allative
COND	conditional
DAT	dative
DEFOBJ	definite object
ELA	elative
FUT	future
ILL	illative
INE	inessive
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
MOD	modal
PASS	passive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PST	past
PTCP	participle
SG	singular

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