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* TOPIC, FOCUS AND AUXILIARIES IN HUNGARIAN *
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1. WHAT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HUNGARIAN SENTENCE STRUCTURE

In the grammatical model worked out by É.Kiss ([1],[2]) the fundamental structure of Hungarian sentences is the following:

- (1) $[_s ([_T X])_c [E [Y] W]]$, that is:
- (2) $[_s [T X]]_c [E [Y] W]]$ and
- (3) $[_s [E [Y] W]]$

This notation involves the following conventions:

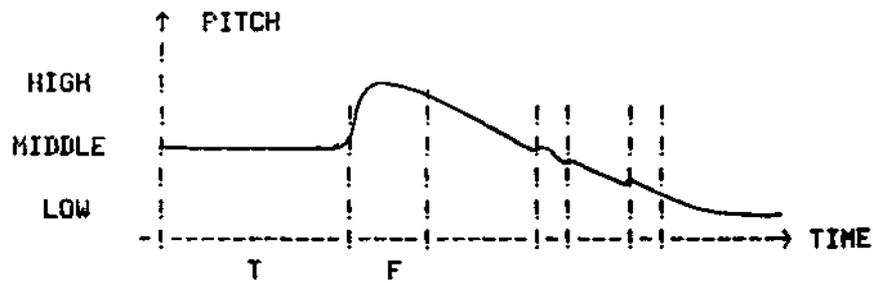
(i) F: "first element in C that bears major stress and is of the order of the argument or verb" "most emphasized of the parts of the sentence, carrying new information"; "the strongest stress in the sentence falls on F".

(ii) T: "T is characterized by a relatively stable intonation of medium height and without strong stresses."

(iii) C: "those elements in C that follow F get secondary stress according to whether they express new or given information", and "C is pronounced with a stepping-down intonation".

(iv) Y: "any argument of the V can act as focus", but "sentence-stress is less prominent with a verbal focus than with a non-verbal one".

According to this model, the typical intonation of Hungarian sentences is thus:



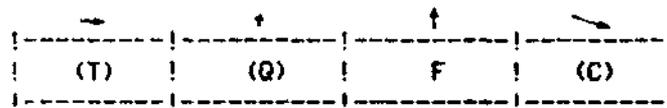
This model of Hungarian sentences makes use of yet another position: the *quantor-position*, which cannot be part of C because of sentences like

- (4) János mindenkitől megijed.
 John of-everybody get-frightened
 (John gets frightened of everybody.)

but "cannot be replaced by any element from T, either". "Optionally it can receive stress." "The Q position is not reserved for one particular part of sentence."

2. THE ORDER OF ARGUMENTS AND THE PLACE OF STRESSES IN THE HUNGARIAN SENTENCE

2.1 The sketch of the structure of a Hungarian sentence in the model of É.Niss can be seen below:



2.2 Our opinion is that this is the sketch of a possible Hungarian sentence. However, in this chapter we want to show that not all sentences have É.Niss-type prosodic patterns. Thus we will distinguish two basically different prosodic skeletons of Hungarian sentences. The first

is similar to the model above, but the second has never been mentioned explicitly - as far as we know - in the literature on the connection between syntax and prosody in Hungarian.

2.2.1. We have the next prosodical pattern when the sentence has one major stress:

PREPARATORY SECTION	ESSENTIAL SECTION
['X] [*]	" (Y) (V FIN (X [*]))

Some remarks:

(i) The major stress (") falls on the beginning of the Essential Section.

(ii) V designates the verb stem, FIN is the finite suffix and the parentheses mean optionality.

(iii) X is an argument of the verb or free adverb (adjunct).

(iv) Y is constituted of the next four positions between the major stressed element and the verb:

Y₁ : the "verb carrier", place of the lexical part of the verb outside the verbal stem, but inside the VP.

Y₂ : position expressing the "contrastive" semantic value

Y₃ : position expressing the "purely emphatic" sem. value

Y₄ : position for words like Hungarian 'is' ('also')

(Y₂ and Y₃ are shown to be two distinct positions in complementary distribution; this is necessary not for syntax but for lexical filling.)

The Preparatory Section and the Essential Section can be filled in in the following ways (János = 'John', táncolt = 'danced', valcert = 'waltz' in accusative, Marival = 'with Mary'):

"Y	"János.
"Y V FIN	"János táncolt.
"Y V FIN X	"János táncolt valcert.
" V FIN	" Táncolt.
" V FIN X	" Táncolt valcert.
'X	'Marival.
'X "Y	'Marival "János.
'X "Y V FIN	'Marival "János táncolt.
'X "Y V FIN X	'Marival "János táncolt valcert.
'X " V FIN	'Marival " táncolt.
'X " V FIN X	'Marival " táncolt valcert.

2.2.2 If the stresses of the sentence are evenly spread, the parts marked out by the stresses behave differently from those of the previous (2.2.1) pattern. Therefore we shall not use the expressions Preparatory or Essential Section, but we will distinguish Pre-Verbal and Verbal Sections.

PRE-VERBAL SECTION	VERBAL SECTION
['X]*	' (Y) V FIN (['X]*)

The internal structure of Y differs from that in type 2.2.1, because in 2.2.2 Y does not contain a position corresponding Y₂.

This pattern can be filled in the following way (János = 'Janos', mes = perfective verbal prefix, várta = 'waited for', Mariit = 'Mary' in accusative):

' Y V FIN	' Mesvárta.
' Y V FIN 'X	' Mesvárta ' Mariit.
' V FIN	' Várta.
' V FIN 'Y	' Várta ' Mariit.
'X 'Y V FIN	' János ' mesvárta.
'X 'Y V FIN 'X	' János ' mesvárta ' Mariit.
'X ' V FIN	' János ' várta.
'X ' V FIN 'X	' János ' várta ' Mariit.

In sentences of the 2.2.2 type the stresses are evenly spread, so we shall call their prosody the *level prosody*. In sentences of type 2.2.1, the Essential Section introduced by a major stress after which no further major stresses can appear: it, as it were, eradicates all further stresses. We shall call this the *eradication prosody*.

Two further remarks may be necessary:

(i) The eradicating stress need not be stronger than any even stress.

(ii) We ignore here other prosodic patterns characteristic of Hungarian, as these (anti-focus, question-word argument, [8]) do not occur in simple declarative sentences.

Based on the above, we can sum up the possible word-order and prosodic variants of the sentence:

János meglátogatta Marit.
 John (perf)-visit-(past) Mary-(acc)
 = John visited Mary.

WITH LEVEL PROSODY:

! ' János ' meglátogatta ' Marit. !

WITH ERADICATING PROSODY:

! ' János ~ meglátogatta Marit. !
 ! ' János ~ Marit látogatta mes. !
 ! ' Marit ~ meglátogatta Jánost. !
 ! ' Marit ~ Jánost látogatta mes. !
 ! ' János ' Marit ~ meglátogatta. !
 ! ' Marit ' János ~ meglátogatta. !
 ! ~ János látogatta mes Marit. !
 ! ~ János látogatta Marit mes. !
 ! ~ Marit látogatta mes János. !
 ! ~ Marit látogatta János mes. !
 ! ~ meglátogatta János Marit. !
 ! ~ meglátogatta Marit János. !

The model showed in 2.2, based on distinguishing the two patterns, comes to contradict model 2.1 at the following points:

- (i) With level prosody, the sentence has no strongest stress.
- (ii) With level prosody, C does not have stepping-down intonation.
- (iii) In an Essential Section with eradicating prosody, the morphemes after the finite suffix can never be "new".
- (iv) If there is a dominant stress in the sentence, and it happens to fall on the V, it will be exactly as strong as when it fell on any argument.

3. FINITES OCCURING WITH THE INFINITIVE AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION

As the practice of Hungarian grammar writing has never recognized the existence of auxiliaries (save for the future auxiliary 'fog' and occasionally one or two others), we have to define:

- (a) the c o r p u s , the group of verbs eligible for our examination;
- (b) the c r i t e r i a that we hold relevant in testing auxiliarihood;
- (c) the m e t h o d that we employ to select from the corpus those elements satisfying the criteria.

3.1 THE CORPUS

Those finite forms (finite verbs, plain adjectives, phrases) next to which in the sentence there can be a verb ending in 'ni' or its allomorphs (e.g. 'nom', 'noml', 'nia', ...).

3.2 CRITERIA OF AUXILIARHOOD

We try to state the criteria of auxiliarihood by reference to the properties of 'fog' ('will'), commonly held to be an auxiliary [7].

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* DEF (1st approach) *
*   Those finites are auxiliaries which are unstressed *
*   under neutral conditions. (They avoid the first major *
*   stressed position before the finite suffix.) *
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We included the expression "in neutral conditions" in the definition (see 15-16), because under special conditions practically all finites can be unstressed (cf. 17).

- (15) ' Mari ' táncolni fog.
Mary to-dance will
= Mary will dance.
- (16) ' Mari ' táncolni akar.
Mary to-dance wants
= Mary wants to dance.
- (17) ' Mari ' táncolni imád.
Mary to-dance loves
= Mary loves to dance.

The verb 'akar' ('want') behaves like 'fog' ('will'): they are both enclitic after the infinitive in a neutral sentence with level prosody. The verb 'imád' ('love') can do so only in a contrastive sentence:

- (18) Mari táncolni imád, nem pedig énekelni.
Mary to-dance loves not but to-sing
= It is dancing that Mary loves and not singing.

This difference can be grasped easily by the framework presented in our chapter on the prosodic structure of Hungarian sentences. Let us put further elements into these examples:

- (19) ' Mari ' táncolni fog a ' tévében.
Mary to-dance will the TV-in
= Mary will dance on TV.
- (20) ' Mari ' táncolni akar a ' tévében.
Mary to-dance wants the TV-in
= Mary wants to dance on TV.
- (21) ' Mari ' táncolni imád a ' tévében.
Mary to-dance loves the TV-in
= [impossible sentence]

Sentences (19-21) have identical word-order, and level prosody. Their different acceptability must be ascribed to inherent properties of 'fog' and 'akar' on the one hand, and 'imád' on the other.

The same argument, however, is acceptable with all three sentences if the prosody is eradicating:

- (22) ' Mari ~ táncolni fog a tévében.
- (23) ' Mari ~ táncolni akar a tévében.
- (24) ' Mari ~ táncolni imád a tévében.

(= It is dancing that Mary $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{will} \\ \text{wants to} \\ \text{loves to} \end{array} \right\}$ do on TV.)

Our definition of auxiliary grasped the difference noted in (19)-(21). We can now re-word it by referring to sentence prosody:

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* DEF (2nd approach) *
* Those finites are auxiliaries which can be unstressed *
* in level prosody. *
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As the auxiliary forms a single composite VP with the infinitive, it is relevant to note that all composite VPs so far known by Hungarian grammars have their finite member unstressed in level prosody (e.g. verbs meaning "be", "seem", "become", "remain", "turn").

Verbs having a verbal prefix are themselves also enclitic, attached to the prefix this time:

- (29) 'Elmegyek 'bevásárolni.
- (perf)-go-I (perf)-to-shop
- = I go shopping.

In fact some verbs are characterized by being enclitic altogether not only after their "own verbal prefix", so much so, that some finites can be enclitic after another verb's prefix:

- (30) 'El akarok menni 'bevásárolni.
- (perf) want-I to-go (perf)-to-shop
- = I want to go shopping.

Let us now examine the relationship between our chief criteria and the information structure of the sentence!

The main verb (just like nouns, adjectives etc.) is normally unstressed when it is "given" in the previous sentence or in the context. In (24) for example, it must have been the subject of conversation whether Mary loves talking — that is, "loves" was given, and now we add to it the new information, "to dance". On the other hand, in (20) anything can be "new", including 'akar', though it is unstressed. This has no outside justification, and has to be seen as an inherent property of 'akar'. The third form of our definition, then, is:

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* DEF (3rd approach) *
* Those finites are auxiliaries which can be unstressed *
* even when "new". *
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3.3 A METHOD TO SELECT THOSE FINITES WITH A TENDENCY TO ENCLISIS

The sentences used as environments have to be

- (a) declarative
- (b) positive
- (c) simple

sentences; Hungarian sentences have such powerful overriding rules for interrogation, negation, imperatives and complex arguments, that these would neutralize the differences stemming from the inherent property are shown in the following table (V = verb, VC = verb carrier of the V, INF = infinitive):

	LEVEL PROSODY				ERADICATING PROSODY			
		'	V	' INF		"	V	INF
		' INF	V	' ...		" INF	V	
*		' INF	V	' ...		' INF "	V	...
		'	V	' VC INF		"	V	VC INF
		' VC INF	V	' ...		" VC INF	V	
*		' VC INF	V	' ...		' VC INF "	V	...
⊕		'	V	' INF ' VC		"	V	INF VC
⊕		' INF	V	' VC		" INF	V	VC
*		' INF	V	' VC		' INF "	V	VC
*		' INF ' VC	V	' ...		' INF " VC	V	...
*		' INF ' VC	V	' ...		' INF ' VC "	V	...
		'	V	' VC ' INF		"	V	VC INF
		' VC	V	' INF		" VC	V	INF
*		' VC	V	' INF		' VC "	V	INF
*		' VC ' INF	V	' ...		' VC " INF	V	
*		' VC INF	V	' ...		' VC INF "	V	...

The arrangements marked with stars do not occur with level prosody, but do occur with eradicating prosody. In this case their reading is due to the pattern

... 'X "(Y) V FIN ...

and not to the finites in them. Such sentences will be said to have post-eradicating prosody. This case (named "contrastive topic" in [6], "counter-topic" in [4]) is irrelevant in determining auxiliaryhood.

We shall not examine the structures marked by "⊕" with either eradicating or level prosody, as in these the verbal prefix is really an adverb (homonymous in form with a verbal prefix). We shall ignore it, because the finite, in both prosodies, can be followed by any member of X, and that includes adverbs.

Nor shall we examine cases where the eradicating stress does not fall on the finite, the infinitive or the verbal prefix (or "reduced argument"), e.g.:

- (31) ' Mari " valcert imád táncolni.
 Mary waltz-(acc) loves to-dance
 = It is the waltz that Mary loves to dance.

Such cases are really pre-eradicating prosodies. As finites cannot be proclitic in Hungarian, all finites in first (that is, before the infinitive) will be stressed. (Unless pre-eradicating, of course.)

The following criteria, then, will be used to determine auxiliarity:

- (i) Prosody: - eradicating
- level
- (ii) Place of finite within the structure: - first position
- enclitic position
- (iii) Form of the infinitive: - plain (without a verbal prefix)
- prefixed - uninterrupted
- interrupted

In the examination we shall test each finite (with any infinitive) in the following environments:

	eradicating prosody		level prosody	
	V first	V enclitic	V first	V enclitic
plain	*V INF	*INF V	*V 'INF	*INF 'V '...
uninterrupted	*V P INF	*P INF V	*V 'P INF	*P INF 'V '...
prefixed				
interrupted		*P V INF		*P V 'INF

In those environments where the finite is acceptable, the "pragmatic" value of the sentences may still differ: it can be neutral (N), emphatic (E), contrastive (C), imperfect (I), emphatic-imperfect (EI). These values are to be found in the following environments:

E/EI/C	E/C/Ø	N/I	N/Ø
E/EI/C	C/Ø	N/I	N/Ø
	E/C/Ø		N/Ø

As we are interested in the appearance of the neutral value, we shall concentrate on level prosody, as neutral values appear here only. Which level arrangement the finite chooses to express its neutral value depends entirely on its inherent properties.

However, level prosody is not always neutral. With finites that appear both in first position and enclitic position, only the latter will have pure neutral value, while their first position (thus "freed" from expressing the neutral) will express something more complex:

- (44) ' Mari ' táncolni próbál a ' macedónokkal.
 Mary to-dance tries the Macedonians-with
 = Mary tries to dance with the Macedonians.
- (45) ' Mari ' próbál ' táncolni a ' macedónokkal.
 Mary tries to-dance the Macedonians-with
 = Mary tries to dance with the Macedonians.

This is not limited to infinitival constructions:

- (46) ' Mari ' szuvenírt hoz ' Macedóniából.
 Mary souvenir-(acc) brings Macedonia-from
 = Mary brings souvenir from Macedonia.
- (47) ' Mari ' hoz ' szuvenírt ' Macedóniából.
 Mary brings souvenir-(acc) Macedonia-from
 = Mary brings souvenir from Macedonia.

We expected to get two classes of finites, namely ideal auxiliaries of the type

!	!	!	I	!	N	!
!	!	!	I	!	Ø	!
!	!	!		!	N	!

and ideal main verbs of the type

!	!	!	N	!	Ø	!
!	!	!	N	!	Ø	!
!	!	!		!	Ø	!

However, a third class emerged, which we term *s u f f i x o i d s* [3]:

!	!	!	I/Ø	!	N	!
!	!	!	I/Ø	!	N	!
	!	!		!	Ø	!

4. THE RELATION BETWEEN COMMUNICATIONAL STRUCTURE AND THE CLASSES OF FINITES

(i) When members of the auxiliary class are put in focus, they make the structure *i m p e r f e c t* in value.

(ii) Some members of the auxiliary and suffixoid classes have Ø in their first positions: such finites never stand in the focus. With suffixoids (which do not have the option of intruding between the verbal prefix and the verb) this entails having no Emphatic occurrence at all. (Some main verbs also lack Emphatic uses, but they are capable of standing in the focus in level prosody first position.)

(iii) Composite and prefixed verbs have a focus component and a finite component; these will be termed *a u t o f o c a l* verbs.

This dichotomy is a property of all Hungarian finites, not only those constructed with an infinitive. Komlósy [5] has arrived at similar conclusions.

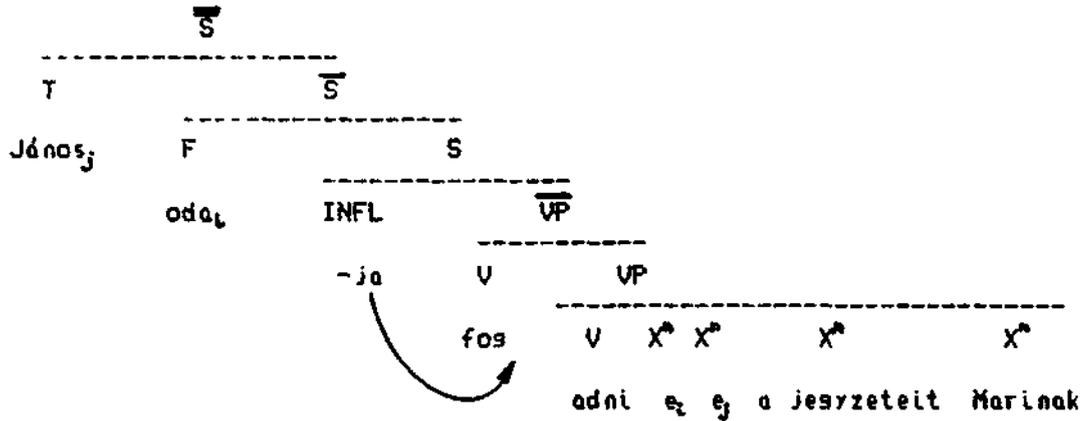
The enclavous of suffixoids to be enclitic after any argument is matched by Komlósy's stem-rejecting verbs.

The main characteristic of auxiliaries - as must have become clear by now - is not just that they are enclitic in general or avoid of the focus position (this is more true of suffixoids), but that they insist on standing immediately after the focus. Considering the overall regularities of the Hungarian language, it is the case of auxiliaries that is unmarked.

5. GENERATIVE SKETCHES

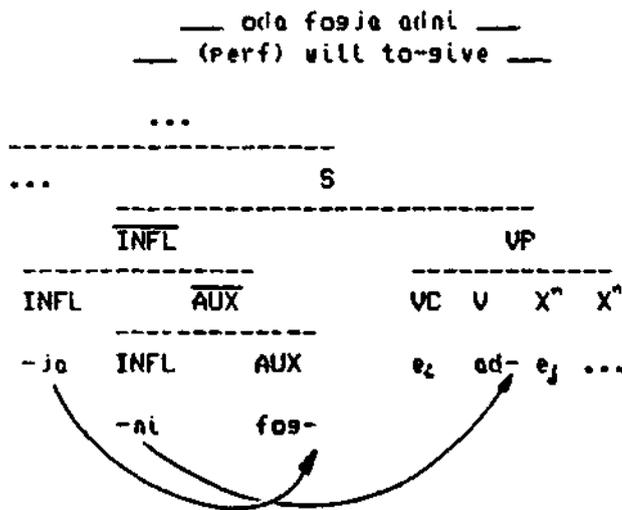
5.1 An example of É.Kiss from [2]:

János oda fogja adni a jegyzeteit Mariának.
 John (perf) will give the lecture-notes-his Mary-to
 = John will give his lecture-notes to Mary.



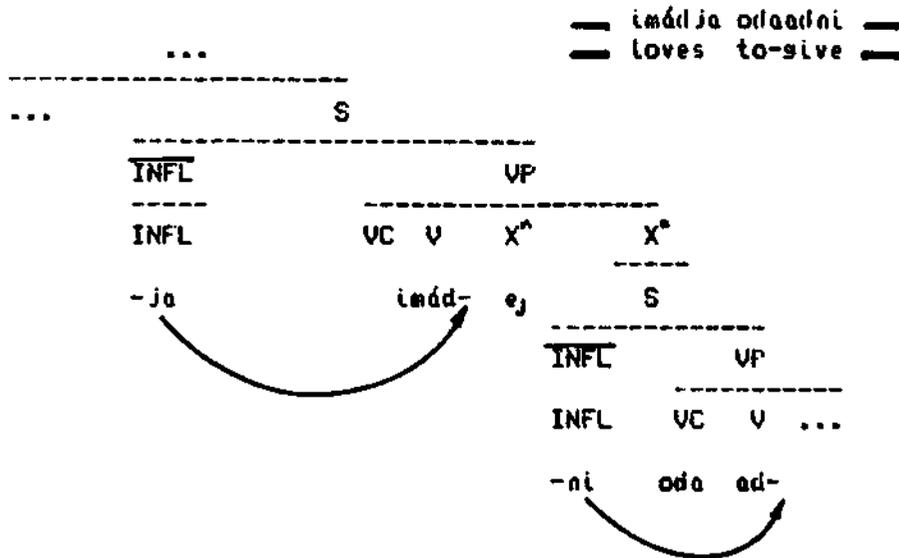
5.2 Instead we propose the following structure (this does not mean that we agree with the basic order VSO and its consequence: the post-verbal positions of the main arguments):

5.2.1 AUXILIARY + VERB STRUCTURE:



5.2.2 TWO-VERB STRUCTURE:

János imádja odaadni a jegyzeteit Mariának.
 John loves (perf)-to-give the lecture-notes-his Mary-to
 = John loves to give his lecture-notes to Mary.



6. CONCLUSION

Having defined the fundamental word-order and prosodic patterns of Hungarian sentences, we have described the syntactic behaviour of a class - that of finites seeking to be enclitic -, a class which seems to be based on lexical properties.

It has turned out that any generative grammar not possessing knowledge of these features will be able to generate nonexistent structures.

By analyzing prosody, we found that the most widely known transformational model for Hungarian does not speak of level prosodic sentences (which, however, are undoubtedly the more unmarked type); more precisely, it mixes them with eradicating ones in certain cases:

(4B) Péter almát eszik.

(a) ' Péter 'almát eszik.
 Peter is apple-eating.

(b) ' Péter ~almát eszik.
 It is apples that Peter is eating.

(a) and (b) do not mean the same, but the difference can be seen only in (c) and (d):

(c) ' Péter 'almát eszik a 'konyhában.
Peter is apple-eating in the kitchen.

(d) ' Péter "almát eszik a konyhában.
It is apples that Peter is eating in the kitchen.

(49) Almát Péter eszik. ' Almát ~ Péter eszik.
As for the apples it is Peter who eats them.

(50) Péter eszik almát. ' Péter "eszik almát.
Peter does eat apples.

The last sentence, of course, has another reading ("Péter eszik almát. = It is Peter who is apple-eating.), but it has pre-eradicating prosody, see 3.3.

The semantic or logical form interpretation pertaining to the É.Kiss model cannot adequately represent the Hungarian sentence unless prosodic relations are classified.

It seems necessary to examine the whole corpus of Hungarian verbs on the same lines as the auxiliaries to make it possible to incorporate into generative models not only the possible or obligatory arguments of verbs, but also the word-order and prosodic relations the verbs enter into with their arguments.

Infinitives can come into existence in two ways:

(i) as arguments of the main verb, or

(ii) as the main verb of the clause, whose suffix has been removed and attached to the auxiliary, and then the "open", non-finite stem comes to terminate in the 'ni' suffix of the infinitive.

The criticism recently raised against generative models of topic-focus prominent languages, seems to have some validity: these models should fill the positions of some kind of communicative structure during generation, rather than generating parts of the sentence in the traditional fashion, producing the unmarked or less marked structures by transformations from one of the most marked structure of the language.

Such a framework (certainly more adequate for Hungarian) has to take into account certain (extra-lexical and extra-syntactic) properties (communicational aim etc.) of the sentence to be uttered, and thus will necessarily depart from the basic idea of the EST, and indeed, of all generative grammar.

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