

1. Introduction

So far relatively few works have discussed (certain aspects of) Hungarian syntax from an LFG perspective. Börjars et al. (1999) only offer some programmatic considerations against functional projections like TopP and FocP (a la GB/MP) for languages like Hungarian and some hints at a possible LFG alternative with an extended verbal projection in which word order regularities are capturable by dint of Optimality Theory (OT) style constraints. Adopting the basic representational assumptions and ideas of Börjars et al. (1999) but in an Optimality Theoretic framework Payne and Chisarik (2000) develop an analysis of Hungarian preverbal syntactic phenomena: the complementarity of constituent question expressions, focussed constituents, the negative particle and verbal modifiers. Both Mycock (2006) and Laczkó & Rákosi (2011) deal with some crucial properties of the VP they postulate, the former concentrates on question words, and the latter on particle verb constructions. Gazdik (2012) proposes an LFG style flat structural representation of basic word order facts coupled with an informational structural dimension.

In the talk, we will develop the first detailed and comprehensive LFG analysis of Hungarian finite sentences by presenting arguments for the crucial properties of c-structure configurations, lexical and functional categories and functional annotations. At various points, we will make comparisons with certain salient aspects of the above mentioned LFG/OT approaches as well as É. Kiss’ (1992, 1994) GB account and É. Kiss’ (2002) MP analysis that will be relevant from our perspective.

Consider the sentence in (1) illustrating the most salient word order properties of Hungarian finite clauses, schematically presented in (2).

- (1) *János szerencsére minden könyv-et oda adott Mari-nak a könyvtár-ban.*  
 John.NOM luckily every book-ACC VM gave Mary-DAT the library-in  
 ‘Luckily, John gave every book to Mary in the library.’

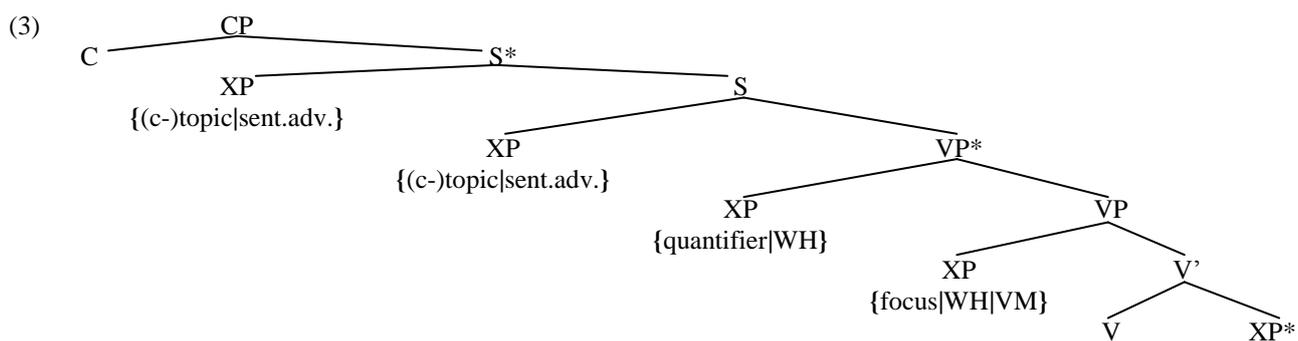
|     |  |                   |                 |            |             |                                |
|-----|--|-------------------|-----------------|------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| (2) | TOPIC  |                   | PREDICATE       |            |             |                                |
|     | (A)<br>(contrastive) topic,<br>sentence adverb | (B)<br>quantifier | (C)<br>focus/VM |            | (D)<br>verb | (E)<br>postverbal constituents |
|     |  |                   | (Ca)<br>focus   | (Cb)<br>VM |             |                                |

VM (= verbal modifier) is a cover term for particles (aka coverbs), bare nouns and designated XP arguments, etc.

As regard the treatment of the preverbal complementarity of focussed constituents and VMs, there are two salient approaches. (i) It is assumed that they are in two distinct syntactic positions, see Bródy (1990) and Gazdik (2012), among others. (ii) There is one designated syntactic position (Spec,VP) all these elements compete for. See É. Kiss (1992, 1994) and our analysis here.

2. Towards developing a detailed and comprehensive LFG analysis

(A) We assume the structure shown in (3).



(B) The use of the C(P) category is justified (as clearly there are complementizers in Hungarian) and it is needed for the treatment of embedded clauses. For a similar LFG approach, see Laczkó & Rákosi (2011), for instance.

(C) We assume that there is no IP in Hungarian; instead, it makes use of the exocentric category S, as a well-established (LFG-)parametric option. For a similar LFG view, see Mycock (2006), Laczkó & Rákosi (2011), and Gazdik (2012).

(D) In the spirit of É. Kiss (1992), we represent the topic–predicate articulation of the sentence by assuming a major [<sub>S</sub> XP VP] division, in which XP encodes the “topic field”, comprising both topics and sentence adverbs. While É. Kiss assumes a “flat” topic field: [<sub>S</sub> XP\* VP], in the talk we will argue for a more hierarchical, binary branching structure in this domain, on the basis of coordination and ellipsis data. It is only the last sentence adverb or topic in a sequence of such elements (closest to the VP constituent) that is the sister of VP and dominated by S, and all the other preceding topics and sentence adverbs are (iteratively) adjoined to S (cf. King’s (1995) treatment of multiple topics in Russian: the “last” one in Spec,IP and all the previous ones adjoined to IP). This is encoded by S\* in (3).

(E) We represent the “quantifier zone” by iterative adjunction to VP, encoded as VP\*.

(F) We assume that in the case of multiple (preverbal) ‘WH’-questions, the “last” ‘WH’-phrase always occupies the Spec,VP position, and all the other preceding ‘WH’-phrases occur in the quantifier zone, adjoined to VP.

(G) Partially motivated by É. Kiss (1992), we assume that focussed constituents and VM (in addition to ‘WH’-phrases) compete for the same Spec,VP position. It is also highly significant in this respect that the main argument É. Kiss (2002) gives against collapsing the focus and VM positions (as in É. Kiss 1992, for instance) is that this would make it impossible to associate an unambiguous interpretation with a single syntactic position. Needless to say, it is one of the strengths of the LFG architecture that it enables us to carry this out in a principled manner.

(H) We offer a detailed analysis of (i) preverbal quantifiers and multiple ‘WH’-questions (ii) negation and (iii) elements in Spec,VP elsewhere. In this (talk and) abstract we have to confine ourselves to summarizing the crucial aspects of the (disjunctive) functional annotations associated with the relevant positions in the preverbal domain of Hungarian sentences (4).

| (4)      {(c-)topic sent.adv.} | {quantifier WH}        | {focus WH VM}          |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| (↑GF)=↓                        | (↑GF)=↓                | { (↑GF)=↓              |
| { ↓ ∈ (↑ TOPIC)                | { (↓ CHECK_QP)=c +     | (↑ FOCUS)=↓            |
| ↓ ∈ (↑ CONTR-TOPIC)            | (↑ CHECK_VM-INTER)=c + | (↑ GF)=↓               |
| (↓ ADV-TYPE)=c SENT}           | (↓ CHECK_QP-INTER)=c + | (↓ CHECK_VM-INTER)=c + |
|                                | (↓ SPECIFIC)=c +}      | ((↑ CHECK_VM-INTER)=+) |
|                                |                        | (↑ GF)=↓               |
|                                |                        | (↓ CHECK_VM)=c +       |
|                                |                        | ↑=↓ }                  |

In the first column the annotations encode the complementarity of topic, contrastive topic and sentence adverb in the XP,S (and the S-adjoined) positions. In the second column, the LFG-XLE style CHECK featural annotations encode the complementarity of quantifiers and ‘WH’-phrases (in multiple preverbal questions) in the VP-adjoined positions. In the third column, the annotations encode the complementarity of focussed constituents, ‘WH’-phrases, designated (VM-type) arguments and verbal particles (coverbs).

(I) In the postverbal domain (below V’) we assume, following É. Kiss (1992, 1994), an absolutely flat structure. Some postverbal constituents can have in situ focus function.

(J) This analysis has three marked aspects to it in the light of widely accepted LFG assumptions about c-structure categories, on the one hand, and grammatical and discourse function associations, on the other hand (for details, see Bresnan 2001). In the talk we will claim that on the basis of the relevant Hungarian phenomena it is reasonable to augment the parametric space of potentially available c-structure—function associations with the following options.

(i) In a [<sub>S</sub> XP VP] configuration, the XP can have the topic discourse function. In a crucial sense, this yields the following parallel: the Spec,IP position is associated with either the subject grammatical function or a discourse function, while in a [<sub>S</sub> NP/XP VP] configuration the first constituent is associated with either the subject grammatical function or a discourse function.

(ii) The postulation of a VP in an S constituent is justified by either a subject grammatical functional or a (topic) discourse functional sister.

(iii) The specifier position of aVP (a lexical projection) can optionally be associated with a (focus) discourse function. This could be supported by the following consideration. Both CP and IP are regarded as extended functional projections of the verb. It can be assumed that it is fundamentally the specifier positions of the projections of the verb (whether lexical: VP or functional: CP, IP) that can optionally host constituents with discourse functions.

We think Hungarian, a robustly discourse-configurational language, is feasibly and appropriately analyzed along these lines and manifests a clear case for an LFG extension of parametric variation.

## REFERENCES

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