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Structure of Hungarian**

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**Towards developing an LFG syntax of
Hungarian WH-questions**

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1.1. Introduction

aims of the presentation

- first steps towards an **LFG**-theoretic and **XLE**-implementational analysis of the most important aspects of Hungarian WH-questions
- concentrating on
 - preverbal domain
 - multiple WH sentences
 - interactions with focus and negation
 - syntactic positions and distribution
- **LFG**: Lexical-Functional Grammar
- **XLE**: Xerox Linguistic Environment
(LFG's implementational platform)

1.2. Introduction

structure of the presentation

1. Introduction
2. The phenomena
3. On LFG
4. Previous approaches
5. The analysis
6. Conclusions

2. The phenomena

(1)	Jani	be	mutatta	Marit	Ferinek.
	Jani.nom	VM	showed	Mari.acc	Feri.dat
	'Jani introduced Mari to Feri.'				

(2)	<i>Jani</i>		KINEK	<i>mutatta</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>Marit?</i>
	Jani.nom		who.dat	showed	VM	Mari.acc

(3)	<i>Jani</i>	<i>kit</i>	KINEK	<i>mutatott</i>	<i>be?</i>
	Jani.nom	who.acc	who.dat	showed	VM

(4)	<i>Jani</i>	<i>miért₂</i>	FERINEK	<i>mutatta</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>Marit?</i>
	Jani.nom	why	Feri.dat	showed	VM	Mari.acc

(5)	<i>Jani</i>		KINEK	nem <i>mutatta</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>Marit?</i>
	Jani.nom		who.dat	not showed	VM	Mari.acc

(6)	<i>Jani</i>	<i>kit</i>	NEM FERINEK	<i>(nem) mutatott</i>	<i>be?</i>
	Jani.nom	who.acc	not Feri.dat	not showed	VM

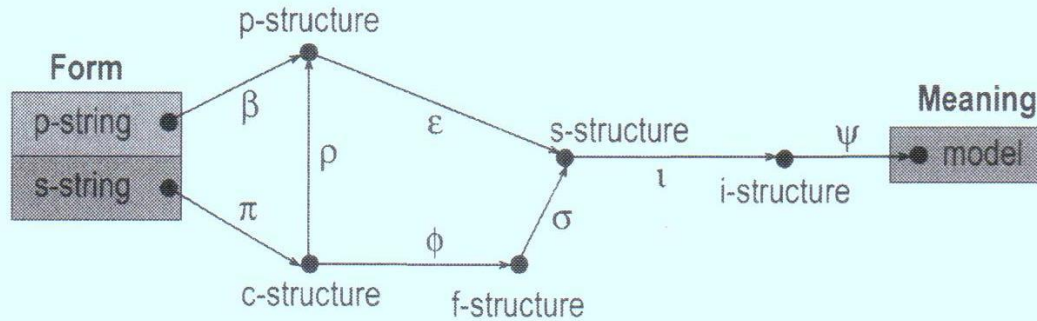
(7)	<i>Jani</i>	MARIT	kinek	<i>mutatta</i>	<i>be?</i>
	Jani.nom	Mari.acc	who.dat	showed	VM

3.1. On LFG

- a non-transformational generative grammar (no movements, empty categories in constituent structure)
- a representational (\Leftrightarrow derivational) model: parallel syntactic and other levels of representation
- strictly limited number (= nature) of functional categories: DP, IP, CP
- much closer to Surányi's (2011) (SEM, PHON) interface MP model than to cartographic MP
 - but still radically different from it wrt architecture, principles and assumptions
- exocentricity (S sentence structure) is a parametric option

3.2. On LFG

Dalrymple & Nikolaeva (2011), (Mycock 2010: 292)



LEVEL OF STRUCTURE

TYPE OF LINGUISTIC INFORMATION

s-string

lexical items

p-string

phonological words

c(onstituent)-structure

surface syntactic representation

f(unctional)-structure

abstract grammatical functions
(e.g. subject, object) and features

p(rosodic or phonological)-structure

phonological and prosodic features

i(nformation)-structure

information packaging (discourse functions)

s(emantic)-structure

meaning

4.1. Previous approaches

É. Kiss (1992), Lipták (2001), Surányi (2007), Kenesei (2009), Brody & Szendrői (2011), Horvath (2013), a. o. – cartographic and interface type accounts

immediately preverbal WH = Foc; features:

- F, WH/Q, ID, EXH, EXH-ID

on the treatment of high WHs

- ***universal quantifiers***: É. Kiss (1992, 2002), Horvath (1998), Lipták (2001) – criticized by Surányi (2006), Mycock (2006)
- ***multiple [Spec,XP]s***: Surányi (2006, 2007), Mycock (2006, 2010) [LFG]
- ***topics***: Gazdik (2012) [LFG]
[Surányi: (i) not universal quantifiers either syntactically or semantically
(ii) topics semantically but not syntactically ⇔ Gazdik: both]

4.2. Previous approaches

Mycock (2008: 10)

“all question words must appear in the immediately preverbal focus position, forming a group which cannot be separated from each other or from the verb, even by a VM”

problems

- [Foc,VP] \Leftrightarrow [WH*,VP]
- *miért*₂ + [Foc,VP] (*Miért JÁNOS mutatta be Marit Ferinek?*)
& also a problem for her general prosodic analysis
- WH + [Neg-Foc,VP]
- Foc + [WH*,VP] (*JÁNOS kit mutatott be Ferinek?*)
& also a problem for her general prosodic analysis

although (technically) my analysis could also be accommodated in this [Spec*,VP] context

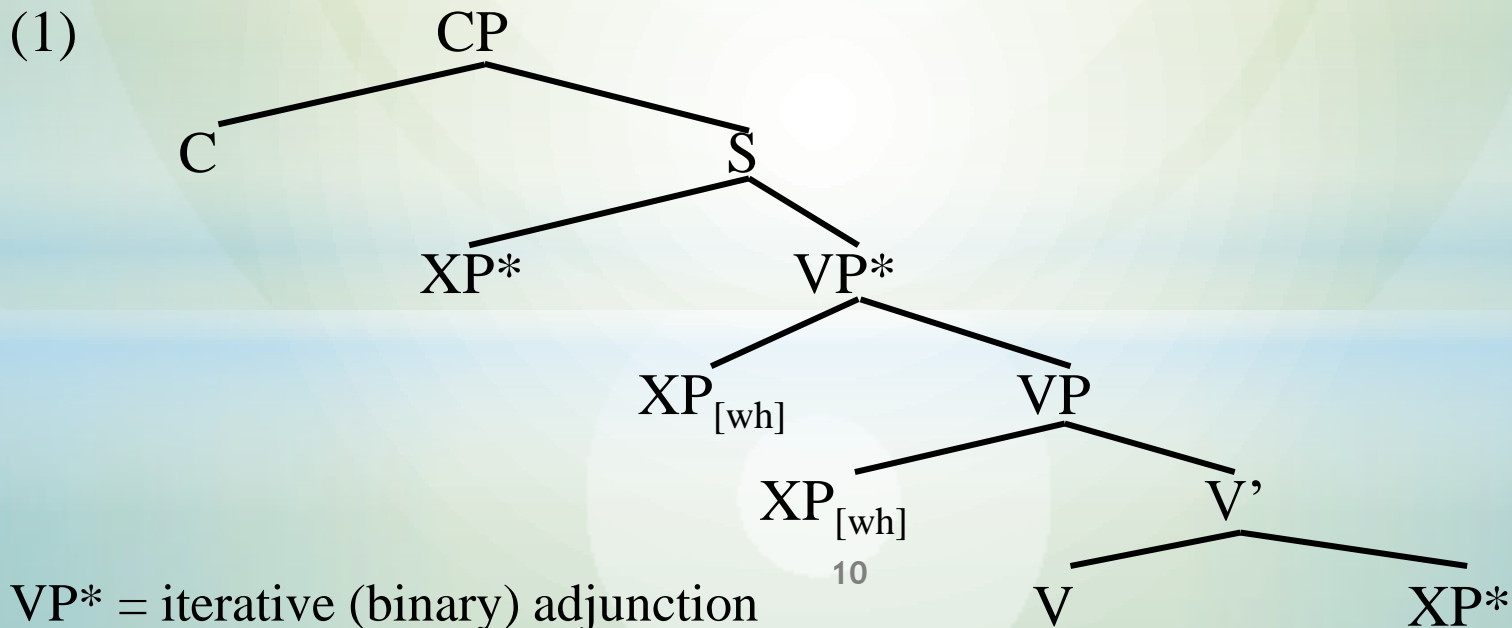
5.1. The analysis

É. Kiss (1992)

- exocentricity
- flat parts of sentence structure (below S and V')
- a fundamental problem: the XP in [Spec,VP] is assumed to have the [+F(ocus)] feature obligatorily (cf. VMs in neutral sentences)

É. Kiss (2002) against collapsing focus and VM:

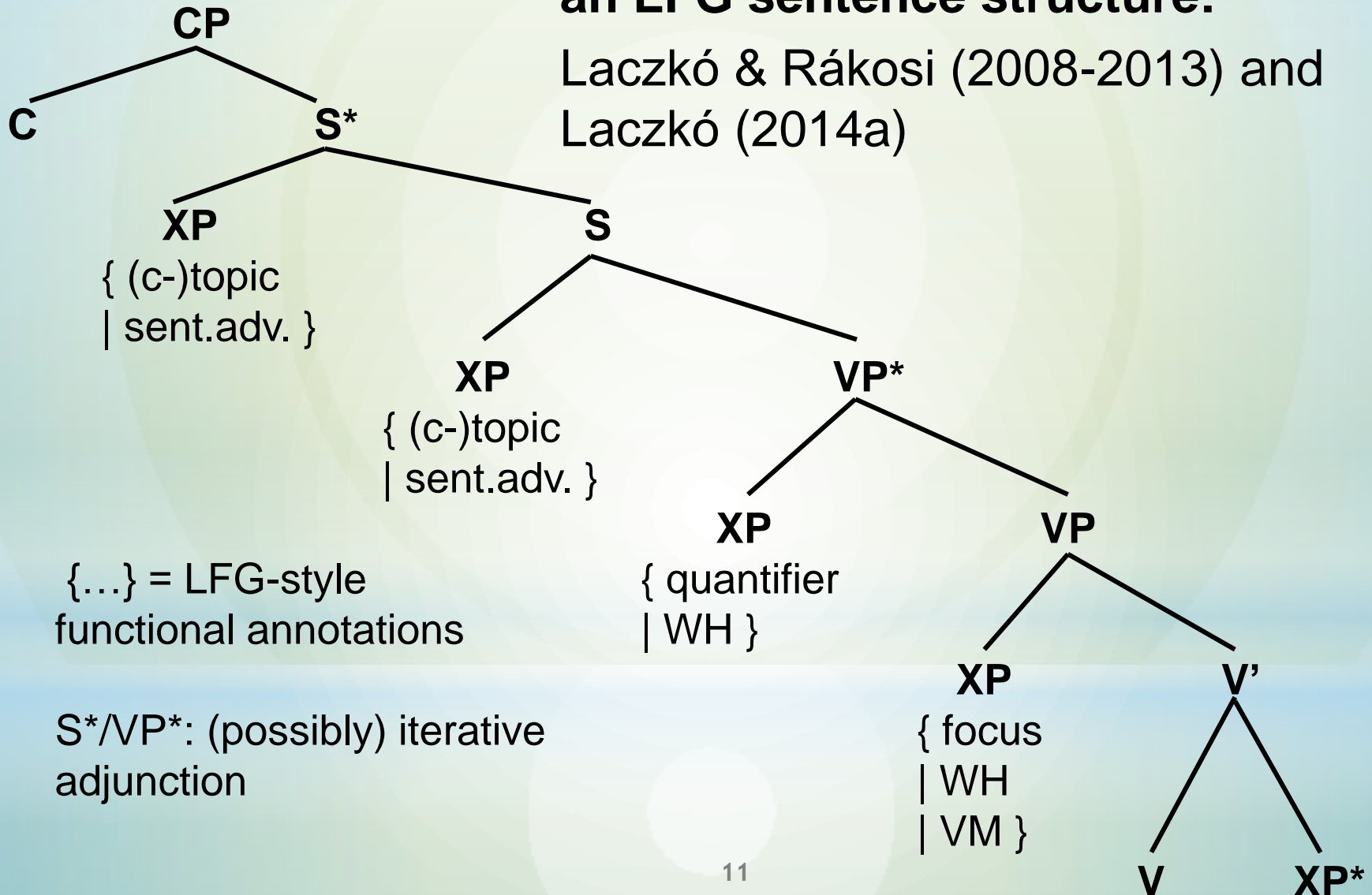
- impossible to associate an unambiguous interpretation with a single syntactic position
- ⇔ LFG's parallel representational architecture makes this possible in a principled manner



5.2. The analysis

an LFG sentence structure:

Laczkó & Rákosi (2008-2013) and
Laczkó (2014a)



5.3. The analysis

- the basic idea, in the spirit of LFG's "what-you-see-is-what-you-get" principle-of-thumb
 - the complementarity of all these preverbal elements is to be captured by assuming that they compete for the same single preverbal position
 - disjunctive functional annotations in c-structure, supported by prosodic features, and specific functional annotations in the relevant lexical forms handle this complementarity

5.4. The analysis

an LFG sentence structure: Laczko (2014a)

{(c-)topic sent.adv.}	{quantifier WH}	{focus WH VM}
$(\uparrow \text{GF}) = \downarrow$ $\{ \downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{TOPIC})$ $ \downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{CONTR-TOPIC})$ $ (\downarrow \text{ADV-TYPE})=c \text{ SENT} \}$	$(\uparrow \text{GF}) = \downarrow$ $\{ (\downarrow \text{CHECK_QP})=c +$ $ (\uparrow \text{CHECK_VM-INTER})=c +$ $(\downarrow \text{CHECK_QP-INTER})=c +$ $(\downarrow \text{SPECIFIC})=c + \}$	$\{ (\uparrow \text{GF})= \downarrow$ $(\uparrow \text{FOCUS})= \downarrow$ $ (\uparrow \text{GF})= \downarrow$ $(\downarrow \text{CHECK_VM-INTER})=c +$ $((\uparrow \text{CHECK_VM-INTER})= +)$ $ \{ (\uparrow \text{GF})= \downarrow \uparrow = \downarrow \}$ $(\downarrow \text{CHECK_VM})=c + \}$
<p>here: arguing for this (→) and developing it further - to capture additional data</p>	$(\uparrow \text{GF}) = \downarrow$ $\uparrow \text{CHECK_VM-INTER})=c +$ $(\downarrow \text{CHECK_QP-INTER})=c +$ $(\downarrow \text{SPECIFIC})=c +$	$(\uparrow \text{GF})= \downarrow$ $(\downarrow \text{CHECK_VM-INTER})=c +$ $((\uparrow \text{CHECK_VM-INTER})= +)$

5.5. The analysis

{quantifier | WH}

(↑ GF) = ↓
 { (↓ CHECK _QP)=c +
 | (↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c +
 (↓ CHECK _QP-INTER)=c +
 (↓ SPECIFIC)=c + }

- XLE-style CHECK features constrain the position to quantifiers and ‘wh’-phrases (marked in the lexicon)
- in the second disjunct, the two CHECK features together ensure that a ‘wh’-phrase can occur in this position iff another occupies [Spec,VP] - see the corresponding CHECK feature on the next slide

• L (quantifier) ...
 (CHECK _QP (GF* ↑))= +

- L (wh-word) ...
 (↑ PRON-TYPE)= interrogative
 (STMT-TYPE (GF* ↑))= wh-interrogative
 { (CHECK _VM-INTER (GF* ↑))= +
 | (CHECK _QP-INTER (GF* ↑))= + }

5.6. The analysis

{focus | WH | VM}

{ (↑ GF)= ↓
 (↑ FOCUS)= ↓
| {(↑ GF)= ↓ | ↑=↓ }
 (↓ CHECK _VM)=c +
| (↑ GF)= ↓
 (↓ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c +
 ((↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)= +) }

- in the second disjunct, the ↑=↓ annotation is for particles (see Laczkó & Rákosi (2011))

- the three-way disjunction encodes the complementarity in [Spec,VP] of
 - focussed constituents
 - VMs (see Laczkó 2014b)
 - ‘wh’-phrases
- the optional (↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)= + feature licenses the presence of a ‘wh’-phrase in the VP-adjoined QP position (cf. its counterpart there: (↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c +)
 - when the feature is present, it requires the presence of its counterpart (→ the presence of at least one ‘wh’-phrase in QP)
 - when it is absent, it blocks ‘wh’-phrases in QP

5.7. The analysis

[XP,S]

(↑ SUBJ)= ↓
↓ ∈ (↑ TOPIC)

DP

János

(↑ SUBJ)= ↓
↓ ∈ (↑ TOPIC)

DP

János

[XP,VP]

(↑ OBJ)= ↓
(↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c +
(↓ CHECK _QP-INTER)=c +
(↓ SPECIFIC)=c +

DP

kit

[Spec,VP]

(↑ OBL)= ↓
(↓ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c +

DP

KINEK

(↑ OBL)= ↓
(↓ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c +
(↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)= +

DP

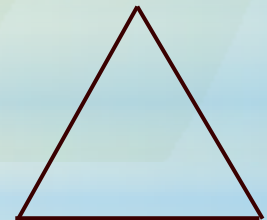
KINEK

V'



mutatta be
Marit?

V'



mutatott
be?

5.8. The analysis

[XP,S]

(↑SUBJ) = ↓
↓ ∈ (↑ TOPIC)

DP

János

[XP,VP]

(↑ ADJUNCT) = ↓
(↑ FOCUS)
(↓ CHECK_QP-INTER)=c +

ADVP

miért₂

[Spec,VP]

(↑ OBL)= ↓
(↑ FOCUS)= ↓

DP

FERINEK

V'

mutatta be
Marit?

annotations in the lexical forms of WH words
(including *miért₁*, cf. *kiért*)

(↑ PRON-TYPE)= interrogative
(STMT-TYPE (GF* ↑))= wh-interrogative

{ (CHECK_VM-INTER (GF* ↑))= +
| (CHECK_QP-INTER (GF* ↑))= + }

annotations in the lexical form of *miért₂*

(↑ PRON-TYPE)= interrogative
{ (↑ CHECK_VM-INTER)= +
(STMT-TYPE (GF* ↑))= wh-interrogative
| (↑ CHECK_QP-INTER)= +
(STMT-TYPE (GF* ↑))= wh-interrogative
(FOCUS (GF* ↑)) }

5.9. The analysis

[XP,VP]

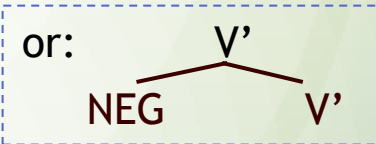
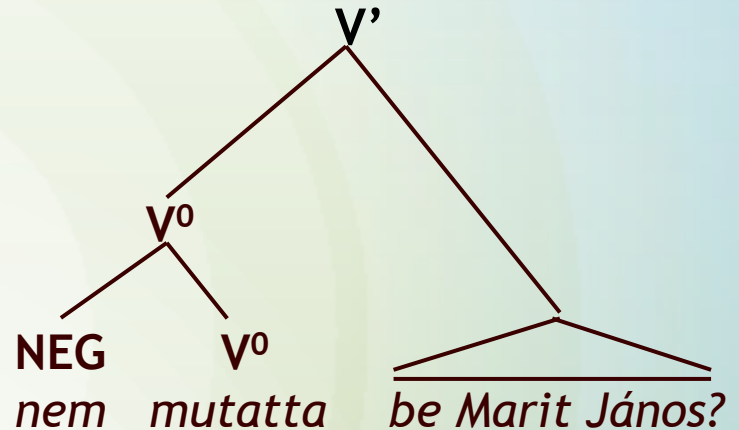
[Spec,VP]

(↑ OBL)= ↓
 (↓ CHECK_VM-INTER)=c +

DP

KINEK

(cf: FERINEK)



{ (↑ FOCUS)
 | (↑ STMT-TYPE)= int }

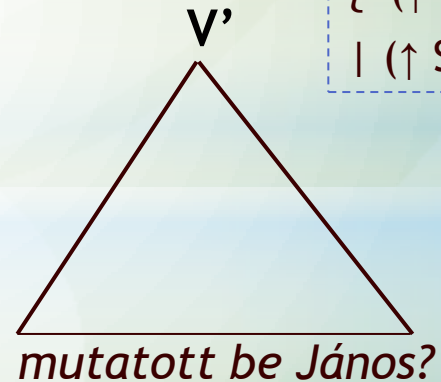
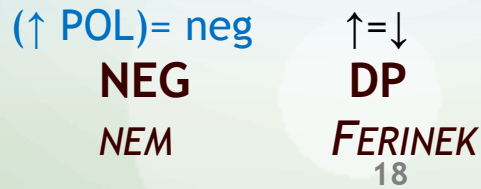
(↑ OBJ)= ↓
 (↓ CHECK_QP-INTER)= c +
 (↑ FOCUS POL)=neg
 (↓ SPECIFIC)=c +

DP

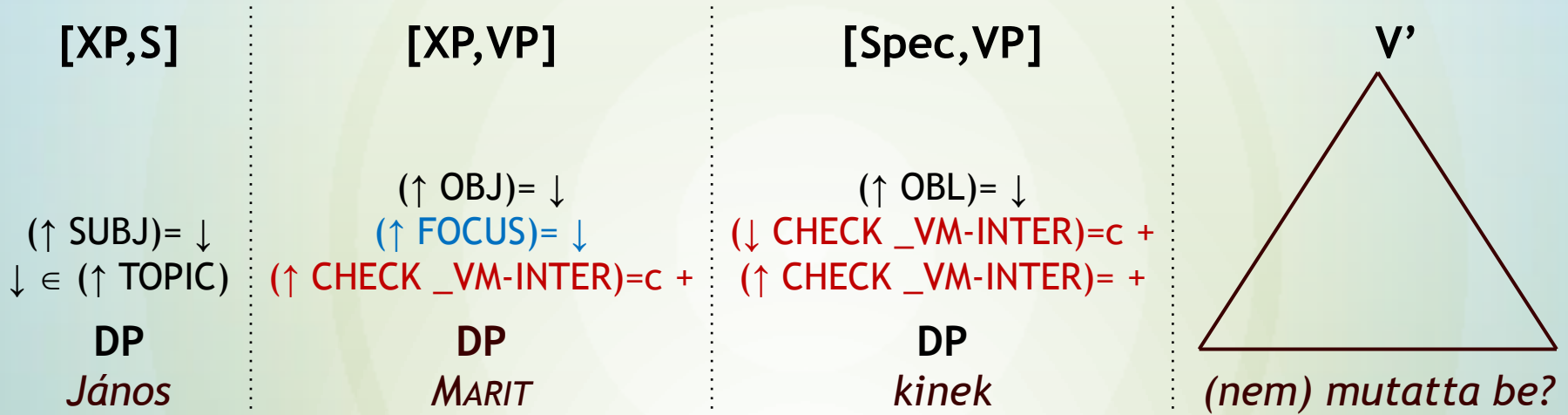
Kit

(↑ OBL)= ↓
 (↑ FOCUS)= ↓

DP



5.10. The analysis



5.11. The analysis

[XP,S]	[XP,VP]	[Spec,VP]
(↑ GF) = ↓ { ↓ ∈ (↑ TOPIC) ↓ ∈ (↑ CONTR-TOPIC) (↓ ADV-TYPE)=c SENT }	(↑ GF)= ↓ (↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c + (↓ CHECK _QP-INTER)=c + (↓ SPECIFIC)=c +	(↑ GF)= ↓ (↓ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c + ((↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)= +)
<i>János</i>	<i>kit</i>	<i>KINEK (nem)</i>
	(↑ ADJUNCT) = ↓ (↓ CHECK _QP-INTER)=c + (↑ FOCUS)	(↑ GF)= ↓ (↑ FOCUS)= ↓
	<i>miért₂</i>	<i>FERINEK</i>
	(↑ GF)= ↓ (↓ CHECK _QP-INTER)= c + (↑ FOCUS POL)=c neg (↓ SPECIFIC)=c +	(↑ GF)= ↓ (↑ FOCUS)= ↓
	<i>kit</i>	<i>nem FERINEK</i>
	(↑ GF)= ↓ (↑ FOCUS)= ↓ (↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c +	(↑ GF)= ↓ (↓ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c + ((↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)= +)
	<i>MARIT</i>	<i>KINEK (nem)</i>

5.12. The analysis

[XP,VP]	[Spec,VP]
(↑ GF)= ↓	(↑ GF)= ↓
(↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c + (↓ CHECK _QP-INTER)=c + (↓ SPECIFIC)=c +	(↓ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c + ((↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)= +)
(↓ CHECK _QP-INTER)=c + (↑ FOCUS)	(↑ FOCUS)= ↓
(↓ CHECK _QP-INTER)= c + (↑ FOCUS POL)=c neg (↓ SPECIFIC)=c +	(↑ FOCUS)= ↓
(↑ FOCUS)= ↓ (↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c +	(↓ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c + (↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)= +

5.13. The analysis

[XP,VP]

(↑ GF)= ↓

{ (↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c +

(↓ CHECK _QP-INTER)=c +

(↓ SPECIFIC)=c +

| (↓ CHECK _QP-INTER)=c +

(↑ FOCUS)

| (↓ CHECK _QP-INTER)= c +

(↑ FOCUS POL)=c neg

(↓ SPECIFIC)=c +

| (↑ FOCUS)= ↓

(↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c + }

[Spec,VP]

(↑ GF)= ↓

{ (↓ CHECK _VM-INTER)=c +

((↑ CHECK _VM-INTER)= +)

| (↑ FOCUS)= ↓ }

6.1. Conclusions

- essentials of an LFG-XLE treatment of WH questions in Hungarian (cf. theory and implementation)
 - preverbal domain
 - also multiple WH
 - interactions with focus and negation
- É. Kiss (1992) style sentence structure accommodated in a (what-you-see-is-what-you-get) LFG-XLE framework
- disjunctive functional annotations, constraints and CHECK features associated with syntactic nodes and lexical items
 - no (discourse) functional projections, no NegP, no movements
- the syntactic distribution of WH, Foc and Neg

6.2. Conclusions

- the basic generalizations
 - single [Spec,VP] is a special, designated (ID/EXH) position, in the unmarked case aligned with prosody
 - [XP,VP]* is truly the “operator zone”, where WH, *miért*₂, Foc, and Neg-pol can (scopally-distributionally) interact
- the relevant features (Foc: ID/EXH/CONTR/etc. WH: sorting key, etc.) can also be naturally associated with syntactic positions and/or prosodic properties and linked to information structure (cf. LFG’s parallel levels of representation)
- on an experimental study of the prosody of WH sentences (among others) in Hungarian in an LFG framework, see Mycock (2010)
- on a possible typology of WH constituents, see Mycock (2013)

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A.1. On the classification of DFs

Choi (2001)

	+PROM	–PROM
–NEW	(shifted) topic , link	continuing topic , tail
+NEW	contrastive / emphatic focus	completive / presentational focus

cf. identificational vs. informational focus, É. Kiss (1998)

Gazdik (2012)

+PROM	¬ D-LINKED	FOCUS, HOCUS, Q
	D-LINKED	THEMATIC SHIFTER, CONTRASTIVE TOPIC, Q
–PROM	¬ D-LINKED	COMPLETIVE INFORMATION
	D-LINKED	BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A.2. On the classification of DFs

Mycock (2013) on discourse functions of question words

Focus [+NEW, +PROM]

New Information Focus

A: What did Lily buy at the market?

B: She bought flowers at the market.

[+Q] Questioning Focus

A: What did Lily buy at the market?

B: She bought flowers at the market.

Completive Information [+NEW, -PROM]

Completive Information

A: Where has Lily been shopping?

B: She's just bought flowers at the market.

[+Q] Non-Sorting Key

A: Who bought what?

B: Lily bought flowers, Eve bought cakes ...

Topic [-NEW, +PROM]

Topic

A: What did Lily do?

B: She bought flowers at the market.

[+Q] Sorting Key

A: Who bought what?

B: Lily bought flowers, Eve bought cakes ...

Background Information [-NEW, -PROM]

Background Information

A: Who did Lily buy flowers for?

B: She bought them for her mother.

[+Q] Echo Question

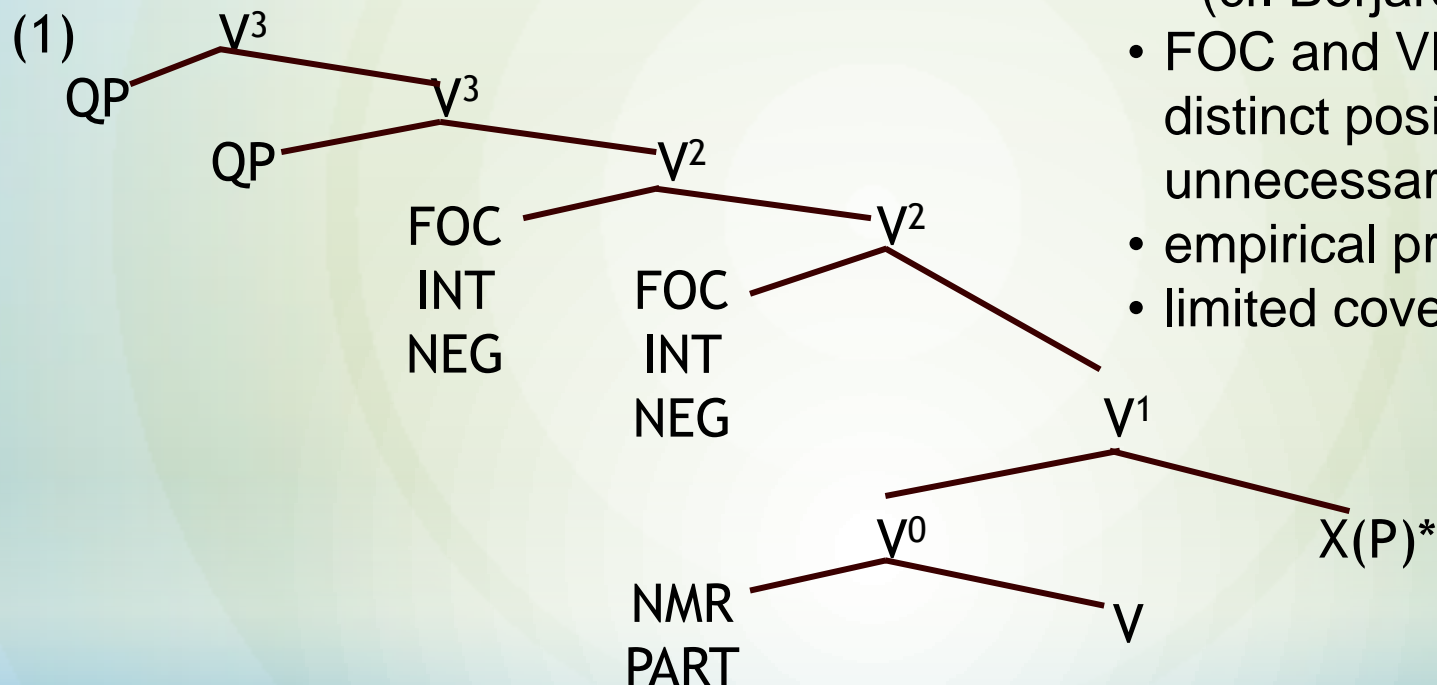
A: Lily bought flowers yesterday.

B: Lily bought WHAT yesterday?

A: Flowers.

A.3. On previous approaches

Payne and Chisarik (2000)



- **LFG-friendly OT**
(cf. Börjars et al. 1999)
- FOC and VM (= PRT) in distinct positions -- unnecessarily
- empirical problems
- limited coverage

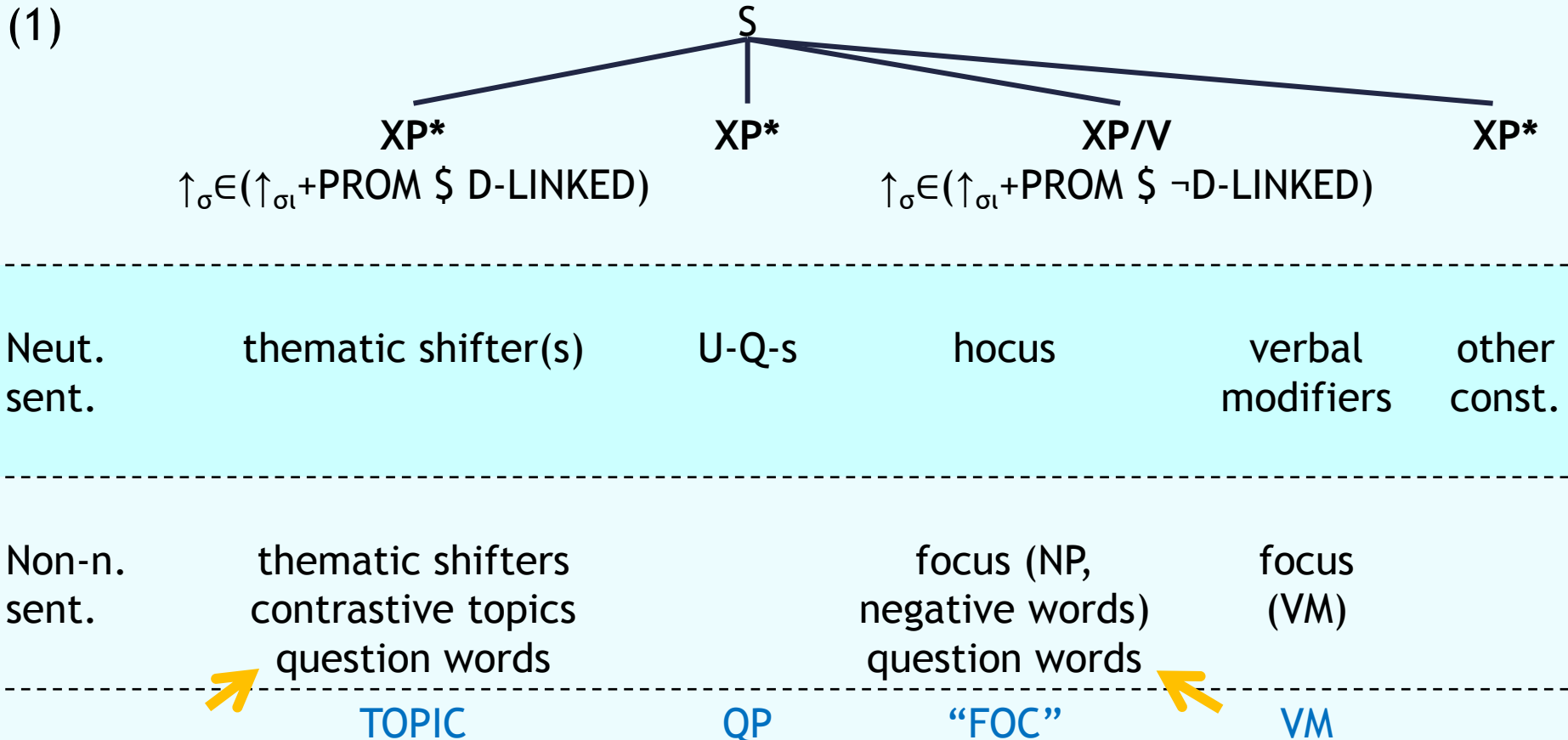
ALIGN INT > ALIGN FOC > ALIGN NEG > {ALIGN NCI, IN SITU} wrt preverbal position

ALIGN V⁰ > ALIGN NMR > ALIGN INCORP > {ALIGN V | *INCORP} below V¹

QP=quantifier phrase FOC=focus INT=interrogative NEG=negative phrase
(either constituent negation or negative concord item) NMR=negative marker
PART=particle/VM

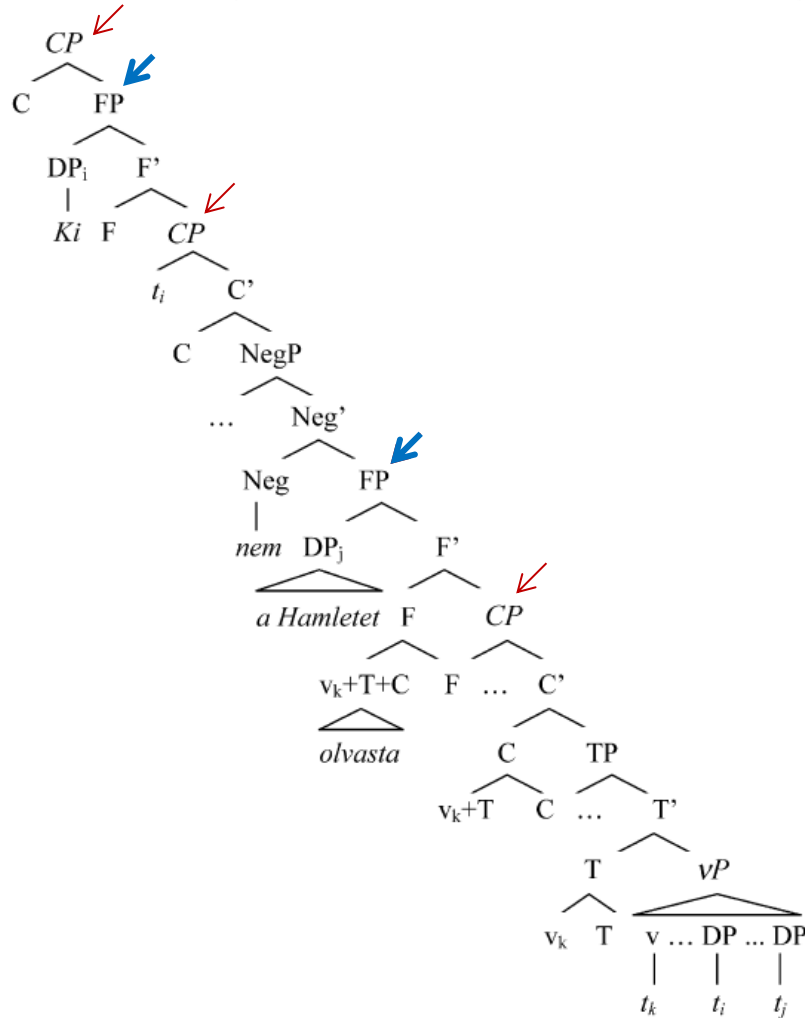
A.4. On previous approaches

Gazdik (2012)



A.5. On previous approaches

(34) [CP [FP Ki F [CP t_i [NegP nem [FP a Hamlet t_j olvasta-T-C $_k$ -F [CP t_k t_j t_i [TP t_k [vP t_k t_j t_i]]]]]]]]]]
 who not the Hamlet-ACC read
 'For which person y is it the case that the x that is not Hamlet such that y has read x '



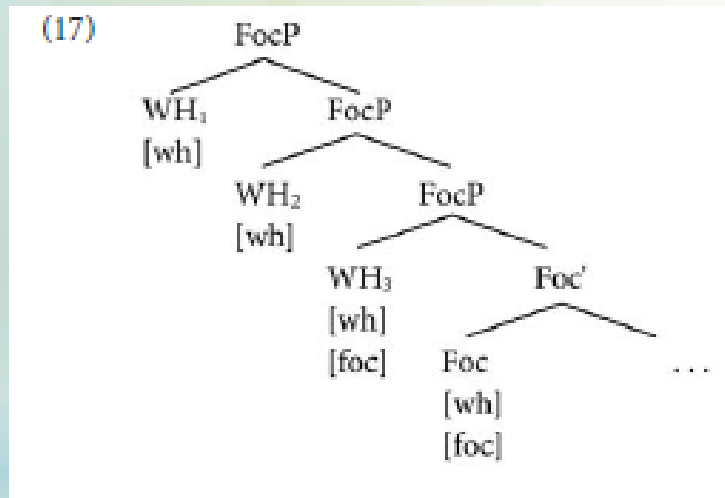
Kenesei (2009: 583)

(34) *Ki nem a Hamletet olvasta?*

A.6. On previous approaches

Šurányi (2006): high wh-elements are not universal quantifiers (\Leftrightarrow É. Kiss (1992, 2002), Horváth (1998), Lipták (2001))

Surányi (2006: 297): “high wh-elements are not syntactically topicalized; nevertheless, they have the discourse semantic status of a topic” (cf. sorting key)



Surányi (2007: 237)

cf. **Surányi (2011)**: no FocP, NegP

[_{TP} Spec* [[_T V] [_{AspP} ...]]]

A.7. On previous approaches

□ on the quantifier field and [Spec,VP] -- 1

Surányi (2002, 2006, 2007), Mycock (2006, 2010)

Surányi:

- (A) higher question words need not be interpreted exhaustively in all cases
- (B) a distributive quantifier cannot intervene between two question phrases in a multiple CQ

(1) *Ki mindenki-t mikor hív-ott fel?

Mycock:

- (C) quantifier—focus and question-word—question-word sequences have different intonation patterns

(2) [**Mindenki-t**]_{DISTRIB} [János]_{FOC} hív-ott fel.

‘For every x, x = person, John called x.’

(3) Ki **ki-nek** mutat-t-a be Mari-t?₃₅

‘Who introduced Mary to whom?’

A.8. On previous approaches

□ on the quantifier field and [Spec,VP] -- 2

- **(A)** they are in complementary distribution in a particular position – but this doesn't necessarily require in an LFG (\Leftrightarrow GB/MP) approach a (fully) identical semantics (cf. the treatment of [Spec,VP]) – but their targeting the same position can be taken to be motivated by the fact that they are operators
- **(B)** BUT: a distributive quantifier cannot even precede two or more question phrases in a multiple CQ
 - (1) *Mindenki-t ki mikor hív-ott fel?
- **(Ci)** the same position doesn't necessarily have to be associated with the same, single prosodic pattern (see, again, [Spec,VP])
- **(Cii)** in my idiolect, *mindenki-t* doesn't necessarily get heavier stress – also note that it can (but doesn't have to) get heavy stress when there is a VM in [Spec,VP]: *Mindenki-t/Mindenki-t* fel hívott János. – in the presence of FOC *mindenki-t* strongly needs heavy stress, otherwise it can easily be (mis)interpreted as being in the scope of FOC (as a CT)

A.9. On previous approaches

□ on the quantifier field and [Spec,VP] -- 3

two further problems

- **(D)** the treatment of *miért*₂ (why) when combined with FOC
 - (1) Miért JÁNOS hívott fel mindenkit?
- **(E)** the treatment of FOC preceding a WH-phrase
 - (2) ..., de JÁNOS mit csinált?