DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 067 962 48 FL 003 683

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TITLE Notes on Hungarian Grammar. Research on Syntactic Typology, Volume II of III Volumes. Final Substantive Report.
INSTITUTION Language Research Foundation, Cambridge, Mass.
SPONS AGENCY Institute of International Studies (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C.
BUREAU NO BR-0-7721
PUB DATE [30 Aug 72]
CONTRACT OEC-0-70-4986-823
NOTE 85p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Case (Grammar); Deep Structure; *Grammar; *Hungarian; *Language Research; Nominals; *Sentence Structure; Suffixes; Surface Structure; *Syntax; Transformation Generative Grammar; Transformations (Language); Verbs

ABSTRACT

This second volume of a three-part language research report presents a sketch of Hungarian syntax with emphasis on several particular aspects of grammar. The first section considers the noun phrase and covers such issues as internal word order, number, demonstratives, cases and postpositions, genitive constructions, pronominal forms of cases and postpositions, and concord. The second section on the verb and its complements concerns verbal forms and surface structure constraint phenomena. The final section presents a preliminary analysis of Hungarian complement constructions and the syntactic operations needed to account for them. For Volumes 1 and 3 of this research project, see FL 003 682 and FL 003 684. (VM)

VOLUME II

OF III VOLUMES

NOTES ON HUNGARIAN GRAMMAR

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Notes on Hungarian Grammar

Michael Szamosi

Introduction

The present work is a set of continuing notes on Hungarian which I have been working on for some time. It includes the things that I have found interesting enough to write up, with other sections included for reasons of explicatory necessity. Thus, only some of the sections will be (I hope) of interest; the others will contain material which it was necessary to present in order for the reader to understand the "interesting" sections.

In section I, I will deal with the noun phrase, in section II with some noteworthy aspects of verbal forms, and in section III I will present an outline of the complementation system. Certain language-particular rules and their interaction with other rules make Hungarian quite different from English, at least in surface structure, and it is this difference that I was most concerned in bringing out and explaining in some detail, as best I could.

The Hungarian examples are all written in standard Hungarian orthography. I will not annex a guide to pronunciation, since this seems to me to be pointless; a good explanation can be found in any textbook of Hungarian.

All references to sections in Arabic numerals are to sections inside the main section (Roman numeral I, II, III), where the reference is made. References to other main sections will be preceded by the Roman numeral of that section.

I. The Noun Phrase

I will be concerned here with "traditional" noun phrases, that is, those with a lexical head, and will return to complements in NP position in §III.

1. Internal word order

All modifiers except relative clauses precede the head:

(1) egy ember
one man

szép lány
pretty girl

egy újságot olvasó ember
a paper-acc reading man 'A man reading the papers'

Generally, the order of modifiers is as follows:

	Demonstrative	Article	Numeral	Adjective	Noun
(2)	Ez	a	három	szép	lány
	This	the	three	pretty	girl

'These three pretty girls'

2. Number

While the above example shows no plural, Hungarian does have morphologically expressed number. The singular form is the bare stem, and the plural is expressed by the suffix -k, preceded, when appropriate, by an epenthetic 'auxiliary' vowel:

(3) lány -- lányok
girl girls

(2) shows one Hungarian peculiarity: nouns, when preceded by a numeral (or any quantifier), appear in the singular form, never in the plural. Thus:

(4) három lány (*lányok)
three girl 'three girls'

sok ember (*emberek)
many man 'many men', 'many people'

egy néhány gyerek (*gyerekek)
a few child 'a few children'

3. The Demonstrative

(2) points up another peculiarity: demonstratives precede the article, and, generally, do not appear without it. The demonstratives are: ez ('this') and az ('that') (pl. ezek, azok). Ez may, in literary style, appear without the article:

(5) e lány
this girl

(The morphemes ez and az both lose the consonant z before another consonant.) Or more commonly, we have ez with the article:

(6) ez a lány
this the girl 'this girl'

4. Cases and postpositions

The function of prepositions (and case-endings) in English (and other languages) is fulfilled in Hungarian by an extensive set of postpositions and suffixes, some of which express grammatical funtions (e.g. Accusative, Genitive, etc.), while others are place-, time-, manner-, etc. markers.

In general, there seems to be no need to make a distinction between case-suffixes and postpositions. Traditionally, those elements which are suffixed to the noun and form one phonological unit with it are called case-markers. These suffixes participate in the general phonological processes of the noun; they undergo a rule of vowel harmony and they condition certain changes in noun stems. Those, on the other hand, which are not suffixed to the

noun stem, and do not form a phonological unit with it, are called postpositions. This distinction seems to be largely arbitrary, but several points are worth making about these elements in general.

i) There are two "pure" case suffixes comparable to those of, say, the Indo-European languages, namely the accusative and the dative/genitive. The direct object of a sentence is always marked with the accusative suffix -t (with an epenthetic vowel, where appropriate).

(7) Péter szereti a lányt
Peter loves the girl-Acc
'Peter loves the girl'

The presence of this marker on direct objects is obligatory:

(8) *Peter szereti a lány
Peter loves the girl

with one exception which will be dealt with later.

ii) The so-called Dative/Genitive suffix (nak/-nek) is also a "pure" case-suffix most of the time. It has a dual function (at least):

a) it serves as a dative marker corresponding to some uses of English to and for:

(9) Péter ad a lánynak egy virágot
Peter gives the girl-Dat a flower-Acc
'Peter gives a flower to the girl'

(10) Péter félreteszi a virágot a lánynak
Peter aside-puts the flower-Acc the girl-Dat
'Peter puts aside the flower for the girl'

b) This suffix also serves as a genitive marker. The genitive construction will be described later, in section 5.

Further, this Dative/Genitive suffix appears in certain other constructions, as on the subject of certain infinitival complements, some predicative complements, etc. These cases will be discussed

in § III. 6.

iii) In addition to the above, Hungarian possesses a set of locative suffixes analogous to the English prepositions in, on, from, onto, etc. I will list and describe the use of a few here:

Suffixes concerning an enclosed space:

a) -ban/-ben 'in, inside'

(11) a házban
the house-in
'in the house'

(12) a dobozban
the box-in

b) -ba/-be 'into'

(13) Bementem a házba
I in-went the house-into
'I went into the house'

(14) Eltettem a dobozba
I away-put (it) the box-into
'I put it away in(to) the box'

c) -ból/-ből 'from, out of'

(15) Kiment a házból
he out-went the house-from
'He went out of the house'

(16) Elment Bostonból New Yorkba
he away-went Boston-from New York-to (-into)
'He went from Boston to New York'

Aside from its purely spatial meaning of 'out of', -ból also means 'from' in the sense of 'having origins in':

(16) János Bostonból való
John Boston-from being
'John is from Boston'

It can also be the equivalent of English from in the following sense:

(17) Ivott a vízből
He drank the water-from
'He drank from the water'

Suffixes concerning surfaces:

a) -on/-en/-ön/-n 'on'

(18) A könyv az asztalon van
The book the desk-on is
'The book is on the desk'

-on, is another context, may also be counted among the pure case suffixes. We will describe this aspect in the next section, under postpositions.

b) -ra/-re 'onto' It is a directional, indicating motion to a place designated by -on:

(19) A könyvet az asztalra teszi
The book-Acc the desk-onto he-puts
'He is placing the book on the desk'

(20) Leesett a földre
down-it-fell the ground-to
'It fell down on the ground; It fell to the ground'

c) -ról/-ről 'down from, up from, off of, etc.' Again a directional, indicating motion away from a place designated by -on:

(21) Péter lemászott a fáról
Peter down-he-climbed the tree-from
'Peter climbed down from the tree'

(22) A madár felszállt a fáról
The bird up-flew the tree-from
'The bird flew up from the tree'

Suffixes concerning points in space:

a) -nál/-nél 'at'

(23) A saroknál visszafordult
The corner-at back-he-turned
'He turned back at the corner'

(24) Péter Nagyéknál van
Peter Nagys'-at is
'Peter is (over) at the Nagys'(place)'

b) -hoz/-höz/-hez 'to'

(25) Megyek Nagyékhoz
I-go the Nagys'-to
'I'm going to the Nagys' (place)'

(26) Leült az asztalhoz
Down-he sat the table-to
'He sat down at the table'

c) -tól/-től 'from'

(27) Most jövök Nagyéktól
Now I-come the Nagys'-from
'I've just come from the Nagys' (place)'

Aside from being the opposite of -hoz (i.e. it indicates motion away from a point in space), -tól is also used as the opposite of -nak, the Dative 'to':

(28) Elvettem a könyvet Pétertől
Away-I-took the book-Acc Peter-from
'I took the book away from Peter'

d) -ig 'up to (and no further)'

(29) Elmegyek a sarokig és vissza
Away-I-go the corner-up-to and back
'I'll walk to the corner and back'

This has, of course, been a very sketchy look at the Hungarian locative directional suffix system. Certain features, however, are readily apparent. The system is organized somewhat differently than the "equivalent" English prepositional system. In English, as in Hungarian, there are three main locatives: indicating location in (a confined) space, on a surface, and at a point in space. Their function, in English, however, is not restricted to indicating location, as it is in Hungarian; they may be used as directionals in English, but never in Hungarian:

(30) It is in the box

(31) A dobozban van
The box-in (it) is

(32) He put it in the box

(33) A dobozba tette
The box-into (he) put (it)

(34) *A dobozban tette

Similarly,

(35) He is lying on the ground

(36) Fekszik a földön
He-lies the ground-on

(37) He lay (down) on the ground

(38) Lefeküdt a földre
down-he-lay the ground-on

(39) *Lefeküdt a földön

And:

(40) He sat at the table

(41) Ült az asztalnál
He-sat the table-at

(42) He sat down at the table

(43) Leült az asztalhoz
down-he-sat the table-to

(44) *Leült az asztalnál

It appears, in general, that Hungarian has a more tightly organized system of locatives and directionals than English. There are no "generalized" directionals like English to and from. In English, one can say:

(45) He went to his room

meaning that the person actually entered the room. In Hungarian, one must use the appropriate directional, in this case, into (ba).

In terms of "true" locatives and directionals, a spatial entity is classified as belonging to the in, on, or at class, and then, within the same context, all motion toward and away from, as well as being at this entity must be expressed within this class. This, of course, is true of English as well (and it is probably a universal feature of language), but English has a looser system or usage. First, as we have seen above, it allows for the "pure" locatives to be used as directionals. Second, it has two "generalized" directionals to and from which indicate a general motion toward or away from something without specifying whether it is motion into, onto, or toward it (or out of, etc.). Thus in English, one can say:

(46) Peter went to his room

meaning that he has entered it, or

(47) Peter went out to the street

meaning that he is now on it, or

(48) Peter went to the door

meaning that he is at the door now.

Similarly,

(49) John is coming from the store

means that he has been in it,

(50) John took the book from the table

presupposes that the book had been on the table, and

(51) John walked away from the lamppost

assumes that he has been at the lamppost. In contrast to this, the equivalents of the above sentences in Hungarian must be constructed with the directional suffixes of the appropriate in, on, or at class.

Postpositions

Postpositions serve in a function parallel to that of the locative/directional suffixes; they cannot be considered case-markers but rather, they form postpositional phrases, generally adverbial, which are analogous to English prepositional phrases. They are also mainly locative, temporal, directional, and causal in meaning; a few examples will suffice here:

mellett 'next to, by'

mellé 'next to' (a "towards" directional)

mellől 'from next to'

(52) A szék az asztal mellett áll
the chair the table next-to stands
'The chair is standing next to the table'

(53) Péter az asztal mellé tette a széket
Peter the table next-to put the chair-Acc
'Peter put the chair next to the table'

(54) Péter elvette a széket az asztal mellől
Peter away-took the chair-Acc the table from-next-to
'Peter took away the chair from next to the table'

miatt 'because of, on account of'

(55) Péter miatt vagyunk bajban
Peter on-account-of we-are trouble-in
'We are in trouble on account of Peter'

után 'after'

(56) János Péter után jött be
John Peter after came in
'John came in after Peter'

Postpositions are also used to describe a variety of other relationships: "according to", "compared to", "instead of","without", etc., just like prepositional compounds in English.

Differences between suffixes and postpositions

We mentioned above that postpositions do not form a phonological

unit with the noun they follow. As a consequence, we also find some non-phonological points of difference between the two classes.

In conjoined noun phrases the repetition of a suffix is obligatory; that of a postposition is not:

(57) A széken vagy az asztalon
The chair-on or the table-on
'On the chair or on the table'

(58) *A szék vagy az asztalon

(59) A szék mellett vagy az asztal mellett
The chair next-to or the table next-to
'Next to the chair or next to the table'

(60) A szék vagy az asztal mellett
The chair or the table next-to

Whatever the mechanism is for the deletion of "parallel" items in conjoined structures, it is clear that this mechanism operates on words. Since postpositions are separate words and suffixes are not, it follows that only the former are deletable in conjoined structures.

Several of the postpositions "govern a case"; that is, they require the noun that precedes them to carry a case-suffix. (Usually the surface-locative case -on/-en, sometimes the directional -hoz.) Thus:

kívül 'outside of, except'

(61) a. a házon kívül
the house-on outside
'Outside the house'

b. *a ház kívül

felül, alul 'above, below'

(62) a. a házon alul
the house-on below
'Below the house'

b. *a ház alul

túl 'beyond'

(63) a. a folyón túl
the river-on beyond
'Beyond the river'

b. *a folyó túl

kepest 'in comparison (with), compared to'

(64) Jánoshoz képest Péter egy zseni
John-to compared Peter a genius
'Compared to John, Peter is a genius'

There are no suffixes, either "pure" case-markers, or locative/temporal/directional/etc. markers, which require or allow a separate suffix to precede them. This might seem obvious; no language allows two case-markers on the same noun. Yet we know that, in Hungarian, not all suffixes (of the kind discussed in this section) are case-markers. It is also true that Hungarian, and other languages, allow two suffixes to coexist on the same stem: e.g. a plural marker -k, and the accusative -t: hazakat 'the houses (acc)'. Thus, it is not so obvious why Hungarian doesn't allow a locative suffix, say, to be preceded by some kind of case-marker, be it the accusative, the dative, or some other case. The answer seems to lie in the formal difference between postpositions and suffixes. It seems that, in any language that uses suffixes, the order of the suffixes is never random. Thus, in Hungarian, as in, say, Turkish, the plural suffix has to precede the case- or locative-marker. Similarly, the suffix on a possessed object must precede the case marker. Assume that suffixes are constrained by a surface filter in the sense of Perlmutter (1971). That is, there is a filter of the form A B C D, where A, B, etc., stand for sets of elements (suffixes) and their order indicate the order in which the elements

of different sets may appear. It follows from the structure of the filter that no two suffixes from the same set may follow one another; if a_1 is a member of A, b_1 of B, etc., then a b c, a c, b c, etc. are allowable orders, but a_1 a_2 b is not, since the filter prescribes that a must be followed only by b_1, c_1, etc.

Now assume that the classes A, B, etc. stand for classes of suffixes in Hungarian. Let A be the set of the plural suffix (and possibly some others like the possessive suffix, etc., which we haven't described), and B be the set of case, locative, instrumental, etc. suffixes. Then, it follows that a locative suffix cannot govern a case, since no noun stem may appear with two elements of the same set. The locative suffix -nál, for example, belongs to the same class as the rest of the case-suffixes (class B), and therefore no case-suffix may co-occur with it. The postposition kívül, which is analogous in function to -nál, is formally different from it; it does not belong to the same set (in fact it is not clear whether postpositions are subject to the same filter, since they are separate words), therefore it can have a case-suffix on the preceding noun.

We will describe one more area where suffixes and postpositions differ. Hungarian has an adjectival suffix -i which forms adjectives out of nominals. Its semantic range is very wide and idiosyncratic, and it can form an adjective out of a nominal or nominal phrase:

(65)	víz	'water'	:	vizi	'aquatic'
(66)	király	'king'	:	királyi	'royal'
(67)	Budapest		:	budapesti	'of, from Budapest'

In phrases with postpositions, one can similarly form a modifying or adjectival phrase. Thus, corresponding to the sentence:

(68) A kert a ház mellett van
The garden the house next-to is
'The garden is next to the house'

we have

(69) A haz melletti kert
The house next-to-Adj garden
'The garden next to the house'

or:

(70) A villamos a föld alatt jár
The tram the ground under runs
'The tram runs under the ground'

(71) földalatti villamos
ground-under-Adj tram
'subway'

However, if the nominal phrase ends in a suffix (like a locative or directional, analogous in function to the above postpositions), the adjectival suffix may not be attached (this observation is due to Wayles Brown):

(72) A könyv az asztalon van
The book the table-on is
'The book is on the table'

does not have the corresponding adjectival phrase:

(73) *az asztaloni könyv
the table-on-Adj book
'the book on the table'

The reason for this discrepancy between the behavior of suffixes and postpositions seems to be that the adjectival suffix -i is a derivational suffix. It is a nearly universal phenomenon that derivational suffixes must precede the inflectional suffixes in languages that have them. Therefore, while we cannot state the exact conditions on the appearance of the derivational suffix -i (it must be noted, however, that it may take an entire postpositional phrase

as its "stem"), it is safe to say that the reason (73) is ungrammatical is that it contains a derivational suffix which follows an inflectional one.

5. Genitive constructions

One of the characteristic features of Hungarian genitive constructions is that both the possessor and the possessed are marked in it. In the Indo-European languages usually only the possessor is marked, either by a special genitive case, or by a preposition, or both, as is the case in English (my uncle's wife, the wife of my uncle). In Hungarian, however, the possessed object is also marked, by a special suffix, which we will call the Possessive. In fact, very often it is the only mark of the genitive construction, the genitive proper being deleted under certain conditions (more of this deletion rule later). The genitive marker is formally identical with the dative-marker discussed above: -nak/-nek. The possessive marker is inflected for person, the forms being:

Person	singular	plural
1st	-m	-unk/-ünk
2nd	-d	-tok/-tök/-tek
3rd	-a/-e; -ja/-je	-uk/-ük; -juk/-jük

where the conditions for the alternating forms are phonological (and the 1st and 2nd person forms carry an epenthetic vowel where appropriate.) The above describe singular possessed objects. If the object is plural, the forms are:

Person	singular	plural
1st	-im	-ink
2nd	-id	-itok-/-itek
3rd	-i; -ai/-ei; -jai/-jei	-ik; -aik/-eik; -jaik/-jeik

Their behavior is exactly the same as that of the singular Possessives. Thus genitive phrases in Hungarian look like this:

(74) a háznak a teteje
the house-Gen the roof-Poss3sg
'the roof of the house'

(where tető is 'roof' and ő—→e by a phonological rule.)

(75) a gyufának a lángja
the match-Gen the flame-Poss3sg
'the flame of the match'

(76) Jánosnak az apja
John-Gen the father-Poss3sg
'John's father'

There is a general rule in Hungarian (as in many other languages) which deletes unemphatic pronouns. Thus, when the possessor is first or second person, or a pronominal third person, it is usually absent. The possessive ending is sufficient to indicate the person and number of the possessor. Thus:

(77) (az) apám
(the) father-Poss1sg
'my father' (the definite article is optional; it is usually present.)

(78) (a) könyvetek
(the) book-Poss2pl
'your (pl) book'

(79) (az) ablakuk
(the) window-Poss3pl
'their window'

As noted above, the genitive marker is usually deleted, especially with constructions in which there is no article present before the possessed part. The following phrases are the exact equivalents

of (74), (75), and (76), and are more common:

(80) a ház teteje
the house roof-Poss3sg
'the roof of the house'

(81) a gyufa lángja
the match flame-Poss3sg
'the flame of the match'

(82) János apja
John father-Poss3sg
'John's father'

As will be seen later, the behavior of the genitive suffix is a special case of a general deletion rule which deletes suffixes within a phrase if they are followed by a suffix bearing element. An example of this deletion rule in genitives can be seen in the constructions which have more than one embedded genitive. In such "genitive-chains", usually only the last possessor carries the -nak genitive mark:

(83) Péter barátja apjának a nagynénje
Peter friend-Poss3sg father-Poss3sg-Gen the aunt-Poss3sg
'the aunt of the father of Peter's friend;
Peter's friend's father's aunt'

although this is not obligatory:

(84) Péter barátjanak az apjának a nagynénje

or even:

(85) Péternek a barátjának az apjának a nagynénje

although this last one sounds quite stilted.

Other peculiarities of the presence and absence of the genitive marker are the following: if the possessor is a personal pronoun which is not deleted (because of emphasis, or some other reason), it will usually appear in the nominative, without the genitive case-marker. Thus, beside (77), (78), and (79) we also find

(86) (az) én apám
(the) I father-Posslsg
'my father'

(87) (a) ti könyvetek
(the) you(pl) book-Poss2pl
'your book'

(88) (az) ő ablakuk
(the) they- window-Poss3pl
'their window'

An irregularity within this paradigm is that in the genitive of this type (with a non-deletable pronoun), the pronoun for the third person plural is ő (same as the 3. sg. pronoun), rather than the usual nominative 3. pl. ők.

The following, with the pronoun in the genitive, are ungrammatical:

(89) * (a)(én)nekem apám
(the) I-Gen father-Posslsg

(90) * (a) (ti)nektek könyvetek
(the) you(pl)-Gen book-Poss2pl

(91) * (az) (ő)nekik ablakuk
(the) they-Gen window-Poss3pl

On the other hand, if the pronoun is indefinite, demonstrative, relative, or interrogative, the genitive marker -nak is obligatory.

(92) annak a lámpája nem ég
that-Gen the lamp-Poss3sg not is on
'The headlights of that (one) aren't on' (said of a car)

(Note: ez+nek = ennek, az+nak = annak)

(93) * az(a)lámpája nem ég

(94) Ez valakinek az udvaráról került ide
this someone-Gen the back yard-Poss3sg-from got here
'This got here from someone's back yard'

(95) ?Ez valaki (az) udvaráról került ide

(96) az az ember, akinek a lányát
that the man who(Rel)-Gen the daughter-Poss3sg-Acc

elveszed
you marry
'the man whose daughter you are marrying'

(97) * az az ember, aki (a) lányát elveszed

All of the above are much worse when the definite article is present. This is not surprising, since, as we have seen earlier, the genitive marker may not be deleted if the possessor is immediately followed by an article.

6. Pronominal forms of cases and postpositions

It was necessary to present the characteristics of the genitive construction first, in order to understand the formation of the pronominal forms of cases and postpositions. Formally, these pronominal forms are genitive constructions. The suffix, or the postposition in question becomes the stem to which the personal possessive markers are added, forming, in effect, genitive phrases, so that a literal translation of Hungarian 'next to me' is "my-next-to". The following examples illustrate the principle involved.

(98) postposition mellett 'next to'

(én)mellettem
(I) next-to-Posslsg
'next to me'

(te)melletted
(you) next-to-Poss2sg
'next to you (sg)'

(ő)mellettük
(they) next-to-Poss3pl
'next to them'

(99) the dative suffix -nak/-nek 'to,for'

(mi)nekünk
(we) to-Posslpl
'to us'

The personal pronouns are in parentheses because, as a rule, they are deleted unless emphasized.

Quite a few of the case/locative suffixes have suppletive or partially suppletive forms as stems for the pronominal forms. Thus, the suffix -ból/-ből, has a suppletive stem belől- which is historically the postposition out of which the modern suffix evolved. The suffix -on/-en/-on has a completely suppletive stem rajt-: rajtam, rajtad 'on me, on you'.

The pronominal forms of the accusative present some interesting features. The stems are partially suppletive, and do not follow the regular formation of pronominal case-forms. The paradigm is as follows:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	engem	minket
2nd	téged	titeket
3rd	őt	őket

Some of the elements of the above items are easily recognizable. The possessive marker, which is the main identifier of person in the pronominal forms of the other suffixes, is present in the -m, -d endings of the 1st, 2nd sg., and the -nk, -tek of the 1st, 2nd pl. On the other hand, as opposed to the forms presented above, the accusative pronouns carry an overt accusative marker (except in the first and 2nd sg.) In other words, in this instance, instead of the suffix forming a stem for the pronominal form it is the pronominal forms which carry the case-marker. This is most transparent in the 3rd sg. and pl., when we can contrast the nominative ő, ők with the accusative őt, őket.

In a previous section discussing the accusative case and its use, it was pointed out that the accusative appears obligatorily on direct objects, with one exception. The necessary background for

pointing out the exception has now been provided. If the direct object is marked by the possessive marker of the 1st, 2nd sg. and, especially if it is an inalienable possession (e.g. a body part, a parent, the words denoting "name" or "soul"), the accusative case-marker is optional. If the possessor is not 1, 2 sg., the case-marker is obligatory, as it is in all other instances:

(100) Beütöttem a lábam(at) az asztalba
I banged the foot-Posslsg(-Acc) the table-in
'I banged my foot against the table'

(101) *Beütötte a lába az asztalba
He banged the foot-Poss3sg the table-in

(but OK: lábat - 'his foot-Acc')

(102) Tudta a neved(et)
He knew the name-Poss2sg(-Acc)
'He knew your name'

(103) *Tudta a nevünk
He knew the name-Posslpl (but OK: nevünket - 'our name-Acc')
'He knew our name(s)'

Sometimes possession other than an inalienable can do this also:

(104) Eladom a könyveim(et)
I sell the books-Posslsg(-Acc)
'I'll sell my books'

(105) Lecsutakolták a lovam(at)
They rubbed down the horse-Posslsg(-Acc)
'They rubbed down my horse'

Similarly, the reflexive pronoun, which is formally a possessive construction, allows the accusative to be left off in direct object position, if it is a 1 or 2 sg. pronoun:

(106) Hogy viselted magad?
how you behaved yourself
'How did you behave?" (behave takes an obligatory reflexive pronoun)

No doubt the reflexive can also be classified as an "inalienable possession". I have no explicit explanation for this phenomenon.

I am certain, however, that it is closely connected with the fact, described earlier, that among the accusative pronouns, it is exactly the 1st and 2nd sg. which do not have an explicit accusative marker, and end in the possessive markers -m and -d. Present grammatical theory does not allow us to state the interdependence of this fact and the optionality of the accusative in the above cases, except by positing some ad-hoc condition which is nothing but another way of describing the facts. It is possible to state a condition on Hungarian grammar, stating that the accusative marker is optional after the possessive markers -m, -d of the 1st and 2nd sg. This device, however, would not account for the fact that the accusative is not optional after the -m and -d of the personal pronouns; it is obligatorily missing. Nor for the fact that the optionality is not a straight choice between the presence or the absence of the marker in all cases. There exist definite preferences in one's choice of having it or not. The more "personal-like" the direct object is, the less likely it is to carry the accusative suffix. The personal pronoun never has it, the reflexive very rarely, most inalienable possessions sometimes, and the other possessed objects very often. It is quite impossible to state these in a straight condition on the grammar, and any attempt would require several ad-hoc statements describing the facts. What is needed is a way to capture the proper generalization that both the optionality and its gradations are a consequence of the lack of an accusative suffix on the personal pronominal forms.

7. Concord

I will turn now to a discussion of agreement, in case and number, within a noun phrase, between the head noun and its modifiers. Following Perlmutter and Oresnik (1971), I will refer to this phenomenon as concord. In traditional Hungarian grammars the phenomenon of concord is hardly treated at all (cf. e.g., Tompa (1961)). In some it is stated (as it is in all the Hungarian grammar books for foreigners) that Hungarian does not have noun phrase concord, except when the noun is modified by a demonstrative, in which case the demonstrative (but not the other modifiers) carries the case- and number-suffixes of the head noun. This view seems correct when we consider, as the traditionalists did, the simple facts inside the noun phrase. The simple pronominal modifiers inside the noun phrase do not exhibit concord with the head:

(107) A szép fiatal lány bejött a szobába
the pretty young girl in-came the room-into
'The pretty young girl walked into the room'

(108) a. Láttam a szép fiatal lányt
I saw the pretty young girl-Acc
'I saw the pretty young girl'

b. *Láttam a szépet fiatalt lányt
I saw the pretty-Acc young-Acc girl-Acc

(109) a. Adtam egy virágot a szép fiatal lánynak
I gave a flower-Acc the pretty young girl-Dat
'I gave a flower to the pretty young girl'

b. *Adtam egy virágot a szépnek fiatalnak
I gave a flower-Acc the pretty-Dat young-Dat

lánynak
girl-Dat

There is also no concord with respect to number:

(110) a. A szép fiatal lányok bejöttek a szobába
The pretty young girl-Pl in-came the room-into
"The pretty young girls came into the room'

b.*A szépek fiatalok lányok bejöttek a szobába
The pretty-PL young-Pl girl-Pl in-came the room-into

(111) a. Láttam a szép fiatal lányokat
I saw the pretty young girl-Pl-Acc
'I saw the pretty young girls'

b.*Láttam a szépeket fiatalokat lányokat
I saw the pretty-Pl-Acc young-Pl-Acc girl-Pl-Acc

However, from the point of view of transformational syntax, it is not enough to look at this one set of cases. It is necessary to examine other available evidence, to try to construct an analysis which will account for this and other phenomena involving modifiers and case-marking. Then we can see whether the traditionalist viewpoint is justified. There are some constructions which may give us an indication of what is going on. It has been recognized by traditional Hungarian grammarians that, under certain conditions, adjectives may stand "alone", without a head noun; these are called "substantivized" adjectives, or "adjectives which behave like nouns". These adjectives seem "to take the place of nouns" and acquire the same number and case-markers as the nouns in the same syntactic position. Considered from the transformational point of view, these adjectives are the result of a transformation known as Identity of Sense Pronominalization or One-Pronominalization, an example of which is given below.

(112) a. John saw a pretty young black woman and Peter saw an ugly old white woman

b. John saw a pretty young black woman and Peter saw an ugly old white one

c. ... and Peter saw an ugly old one

d. ... and Peter saw an ugly one

e. ... and Peter saw one, too.

The output of the transformation depends on how much of the underlined noun phrase in the second conjunct is identical to the underlined noun phrase in the first conjunct. In (112 a), only woman is identical in the two noun phrases, giving (112 b). In the structure underlying (112 c), black woman is identical in both conjuncts, and in (112 d) and (112 c), the identical parts are young black woman and pretty young black woman respectively. In each case, the pronoun one is substituted for the identical part in the second conjunct, giving the above result.

The same transformation exists in Hungarian, with some differences. If the element undergoing ISP is the entire noun phrase, the result is, like in English, the pronoun egy 'one'.

(113) Péter sok levelet kapott ma, de neked is jött
Peter many letter-Acc got today but for-you too came

egy
one

'Peter got many letters today, but one came for you, too'

The pronoun is accompanied by all the case-endings and postpositions that the noun it stands for would receive.

(114) Péter sok levelet kapott ma, es te is
Peter many letter-Acc got today and you too

kaptál egyet
got one-Acc

'Peter got many letters today, and you got one, too'

(115) Peter egy szep lánnyal táncolt tegnap es
Peter a pretty girl-with danced yesterday and

ma én is táncoltam eggyel
today I too danced one-with

'Peter danced with a pretty girl yesterday, and today I danced with one, too'

If the identical string in the second conjunct is less than the entire noun phrase, and a modifier or more are left behind, then there is no egy; the string simply disappears from the second conjunct, leaving the modifiers to stand alone. This gives rise to situations where the adjective is "substantivized"; we see (or hear) an adjective, but have the intuitive feeling that there is a noun (phrase) there, which there is, only it is not visible any more. Thus, (116) gives (117):

(116) A szép lány dohányzik, a csunya lány
the pretty girl smokes the ugly girl

meg iszik
on-the-other hand drinks

'The pretty girl smokes, and the ugly girl drinks'

(117) A szép lány dohányzik, a csúnya meg
the pretty girl smokes the ugly on-the-other hand

iszik
drinks

'The pretty girl smokes, and the ugly one drinks'

If the noun phrase undergoing Identity of Sense Pronominalization is in the plural, the adjective left behind by the deletion will "pick up" the plural mark:

(118) A szép lányok dohányoznak, a csunyák meg isznak
The pretty girl-Pl smoke the ugly-Pl and drink
'The pretty girls smoke, and the ugly ones drink'

Similarly, if the deleted noun was to bear some case-marker, this marker shows up on the preceding adjective:

(119) Péter a szép lányokkal táncolt, János meg a
Peter the pretty girl-Pl-with danced John and the

csunyákkal
ugly-Pl-with

'Peter danced with the pretty girls, and John with the ugly ones'

If there is more than one modifier in the noun phrase remaining after deletion, only the last one will exhibit case- and number-markers:

(120) Péter a szép magas lányokkal táncolt, János
Peter the pretty tall girl-Pl-with danced, John

meg a csunya alcsonyokkal
and the ugly short-Pl-with

'Peter danced with the pretty tall girls and John with the ugly short ones'

At this point we can start thinking about the mechanism which accomplishes the above "case-transfer" from the deleted noun (phrase) to the remaining adjective, and about whether it has any relation to concord. There are two approaches, given the data so far, to describing what is going on in Identity of Sense Pronominalization. One, which I have heard mentioned, but have not seen in print is the following. Assume that case-markers are attached to noun phrases as their rightmost daughter-node (or, alternatively, that they are Chomsky-adjoined on the right side of NPs). Assume, also, that there is a rule of Case-Attachment, which is rather late in the grammar; it follows ISP and various deletion rules. This rule attaches the case- and number-marking suffixes to the node, or lexical item immediately preceding them. Thus, if a rule like ISP deletes the rightmost lexical item in a noun phrase (i.e. the head noun), Case-Attachment, which comes later, will simply attach the case-marker or postposition to the rightmost remaining element, which will be the last prenominal modifier, producing sentences like (118) - (120). If no rule intervenes to delete the head noun, Case-Attachment will attach the suffix to the head noun itself.

This hypothesis accounts for the facts observed above, namely, that if a head noun is present, it receives the requisite suffixes, and if it is not there, the suffixes appear on the last prenominal modifier. I will call this hypothesis hypothesis A.

There is another, seemingly less attractive analysis. We could assume that there exists, in Hungarian, a rule of Case-Distribution, or Concord. We would still assume that case- and/or number-markers are attached to the entire noun phrase as its rightmost constituent. Concord would distribute these markers to every constituent in the noun phrase, in effect making all modifiers "agree with the head noun" in case and number. A later rule would then erase all occurrences of the suffixes except the last one. Again, this is an adequate, albeit more complicated solution, which would account for the phenomena above, provided that Case Erasure follows the last stage of ISP. Under this analysis, a noun phrase would look like this at the various stages of syntactic derivation:

(121) $[_{NP}$ A B C $[_{N}$ D$]_{N}$ [suff] $]_{NP}$ before any relevant transformations; D is the head noun.

$[_{NP}$ A-suff B-suff C-suff $[_{N}$D-suff$]_{N}]_{NP}$ after Concord

$[_{NP}$ A-suff B-suff C-suff $]_{NP}$ after ISP and Pron-Deletion

$[_{NP}$ A B C-suff$]_{NP}$ after Case Erasure

If ISP does not apply, Case Erasure will erase the suffixes on all the modifiers, leaving them on the head noun, which is the desired

result. This analysis will also account for all the facts seen so far. I will refer to this hypothesis as hypothesis B.

Is there a way to decide between the two hypotheses? On the basis of the data given above, the answer is no. But, since the two hypotheses have different structures, they make different predictions with respect to interactions with other rules. In particular, if we could show that there is a rule which must apply between the rules of Concord and Case-Erasure of hypothesis B, it would prove that hypothesis B is the correct one. We are going to try to do just that.

In Hungarian there is a rule, analogous to the Japanese rule of Wa-fronting (cf. Kuno (1970)), which fronts themes and contrastive elements to the front of the sentence. We will call the transformation in Hungarian Wa-fronting as well, there being no better term for it, and will describe its operation in the following paragraphs. Theme is a concept which I find very hard to define. Let us just say that a theme is an element in the sentence which is well known to both the speaker and a hearer (it has been entered in the discourse register) and about which the speaker is making a statement. In English, themes are usually "as for ...." phrases which begin a sentence, as in the following:

(122) As for cats, they are sneaky, malicious animals.

(123) As for the man who killed Robert Kennedy, he does not seem to have been involved in any conspiracy.

(124) As for John, he is my friend

(The above examples are taken from Kuno, ibid.)

The above feel slightly different from the ordinary sentences like this one, contrasting with (122):

(125) Cats are sneaky, malicious animals.

In (125), one is making a plain statement. In (122) one is talking about cats, making a statement about cats, and prefaces it with "as for...". In the above situation, Japanese uses Wa-fronted noun phrases, that is, noun phrases which appear at the beginning of the sentence, and are marked by a special "theme marker" called the thematic wa by Kuno.

The other situation in which the use of initial wa-marked phrases is necessary in Japanese, is when one element of a conjunct is contrastively emphasized with respect to either a parallel element of the other conjunct(s), or the entire statement of the other conjunct(s). An example of this would be the following:

(126) John read the book, but Mary didn't

(From Kuno, ibid.)

I feel that quite similar things are going on in both the thematic and the contrastive wa sentences, but I haven't worked out a formal relationship between them, nor do I think that I can. An indication of some deep-lying connections between the two types is provided by the fact that in Hungarian, too, the same transformation takes care of both of them. In Hungarian Wa-fronting, the transformation simply takes the thematic or contrastive element, and moves it to initial position in the sentence, or the conjunct sentence. (In the following, unless otherwise stated, all references to Wa-fronting will be to the Hungarian variety.) Very often, under conditions whose exact nature does not concern us here, a pronominal copy of the fronted element will also appear in the sentence. I will indicate this pronominal copy in parentheses. Thus:

(127) (A) Macskak, (azok) alattomos es rosszindulatú
(the) cat-Pl (they-Pl) sneaky and malicious

állatok
animal-Pl

'As for the cats, they are sneaky, malicious animals'

The above is an example of thematic Wa-fronting. The contrastive use, as in the English (126), is illustrated in:

(128) János, (az) elolvasta a könyvet, de Mária, (az) nem
John (he) read the book-Acc but Mary (she) not
'John read the book, but Mary didn't'

We can show that an actual movement rule is involved here, rather than a special deep-structural "theme node". If the initial noun phrase in a thematic or contrastive sentence is not the subject or part of the subject, it will show up with its appropriate case-suffix:

(129) (A) macskákat, (azokat) szeretem
(The) cat-Pl-Acc (those-Acc) I like

'As for cats, I like them'

(130) A levest János ette meg, a húst pedig
the soup-Acc John ate up the meat-Acc on the other hand

Mária
Mary

'The soup was eaten by John, and the meat by Mary' or closer to the original, 'As for the soup, it was John who ate it, and as for the meat, it was Mary'

In the above, the initial noun carries an accusative marker, the marker of the direct object. It has been generally assumed in transformational grammar, that the relations subject, direct object, etc. are structurally defined, and the appropriate case-markers are transformationally introduced onto the appropriate items. I know of no non-ad-hoc way to mark the initial noun phrases above

with the accusative suffix, and to capture the intuition that they are in fact direct objects, except by having them start out as direct objects in deep structure, and moving them to initial position by Wa-fronting, after the appropriate case-markings have been carried out. Thus, we can safely assume that there is a rule of Wa-fronting in Hungarian, and that it is a bonafide movement rule. One of the noteworthy features of this rule in Hungarian (I don't know whether this is the case in Japanese as well), is that it can take a head noun from inside the noun phrase and front it to the head of the sentence, leaving the rest of the NP in its place. This, then, has the effect of splitting up a noun phrase, as in (131):

(131) Könyv (az) csak barna volt ott
book (it) only brown was there
'As for books, there were only brown ones there'

which presumably comes from:

(132) Csak $[_{NP}$barna könyv$]_{NP}$ volt ott

only brown book was there
'There were only brown books there'

Similarly, we get:

(133) Kabát nem volt ott más, mint a tied
Overcoat not was there other than the yours
'As for the overcoat, there were none, other than yours'

from:

(134) Nem volt ott $[_{NP}$más kabát mint a tied$]_{NP}$

not was there other overcoat than the yours
'There were no overcoats there other than yours'

At this point we can return to the question of deciding between hypothesis A and hypothesis B, advanced above for handling case-

marking phenomena inside noun phrases. Wa-fronting can provide us with crucial evidence for this decision. If Wa-fronting splits up a case-marked noun phrase, both the "fronted" head noun, and the remaining modifier will exhibit the appropriate case-marker.

(135) Könyvet csak barnát láttam ott
book-Acc only brown-Acc I saw there
'As for books, I only saw brown ones there'

from:

(136) Csak barna könyvet láttam ott
only brown book-Acc I saw there
'I saw only brown books there'

Or:

(137) Asszonnyal Péter csak csunyával táncolt,
married-woman-with Peter only ugly-with danced

de lánnyal szeppel is
but girl-with pretty-with too

'As for married women, Peter danced only with ugly ones, but as for girls, he danced with pretty ones, too.

Recall now the two hypotheses for case-marking. Hypothesis A utilizes only one rule, that of Case-Attachment, which attaches the case-suffix to the rightmost element in the noun phrase. If Wa-fronting follows Case-Attachment, the case gets attached to the head noun. Then, when Wa-fronting moves the head noun away, we should be left with the bare modifier in its original position. Obviously this is not the desired result. If Wa-fronting precedes Case-Attachment, the fronted head noun should appear without the suffix, which gets attached to the last modifier after fronting. This is also unacceptable. Since the result of the interaction of case-marking and Wa-fronting is that both the fronted noun and the

stationary modifier receive case-markers. Thus, hypothesis A, without additional assumptions, is unable to account for the above phenomenon, although it can account for the simple cases of case-marking and Identity of Sense Pronominalization. On the other hand, hypothesis B, while more complicated and less attractive at first, takes the instances of Wa-fronting in stride. It contains two rules: Case-Distribution (or Concord) and Case-Erasure. If Wa-fronting precedes or follows both of these rules, the result would be the same as with hypothesis A: either a bare head noun, or a bare modifier. But there is another possibility: Wa-fronting could come between the two rules. And, in fact, this is the necessary ordering. If Wa-fronting follows Concord and precedes Case-Erasure, we get exactly the desired result. First, Concord distributes the case-markers on all members of the noun phrase. Next, Wa-fronting moves the head noun to initial position. Lastly, Case-Erasure erases the case-markers from all items which are followed by items bearing the identical case-marker. Therefore, the fronted head noun, not being followed by another element bearing the same suffix, will retain its case-marker, and so will the last modifier of the remainder of the noun phrase which had been left behind. Here is a sample derivation:

(138) Házőrző kutyát János csak egy nagy feketét venne
watching dog-Acc John only a big black-Acc would buy
'As for a watchdog, John would buy only a big black one'

The above derives from (139a), with (139b,c) as intermediate stages. (I will assume that the rule which places the emphatic direct object, only a big black watchdog, before the verb has already acted. Its actual ordering with respect to the other transformations is not

important.)

(139) a. János csak [$_{NP}$ egy nagy fekete házőrző kutya
John only a big black watching dog

t]$_{NP}$ venne
Acc would buy

b. after Concord:

János csak egyet nagyot feketét házőrzőt
John only one-Acc big-Acc black-Acc watching-Acc

kutyát venne
dog-Acc would buy

c. after Wa-fronting:

Házőrzőt kutyát János csak egyet nagyot
watching-Acc dog-Acc John only one-Acc big-Acc

feketét venne
black-Acc would buy

d. after Case-Erasure (same as (138)):

Házőrzo kutyát János csak egy nagy feketét
watching dog-Acc John only a big black-Acc

venne
would buy

'As for a watchdog, John would buy only a big black one'

By having shown that Wa-fronting must apply between Concord and Case-Erasure, we have demonstrated that hypothesis B is the correct one. This has some added advantages. First, it shows that, contrary to the traditionalists' view, Hungarian, like many other languages, does have a rule of Concord. This is nice because Perlmutter (personal communication) has hypothesized that there may be no language which has agreement between subject and non-verbal predicate, and does not have Concord. Since Hungarian has agreement of the first type, e.g.:

(140) a. A lány szép
the girl pretty
'The girl is pretty'

b. A lányok szépek
the girl-Pl pretty-Pl
'The girls are pretty'

c.*A lányok szép
the girl-Pl pretty

it was a counterexample to Perlmutter's hypothesis, motivated on independent grounds. Since we have shown Hungarian to have Concord as well, it is not a counterexample any more. Further, with hypothesis B, we can explain some other, hitherto misterious phenomena.

Recall that at the beginning of the discussion on noun phrase concord, we remarked that the one exception to the general lack of concord inside noun phrases is the case when the noun was modified by a demonstrative, in which case the demonstrative carries the inflectional suffixes of the head noun.

For example:

(141) a. Olavastam ezt a könyvet
I read this-Acc the book-Acc
'I was reading this book'

b.*Olvastam ez a könyvet
I read this the book-Acc

(142) a. Felmásztam erről a székről arra
up-I-climbed this-from the chair-from that-onto

az asztalra
the table-onto

'I climbed up from this chair to that table'

(erről = ez + ről; arra = az + ra)

b.*Felmásztam ez a székről az az asztalra
up-I-climbed this the chair-from that the table-onto

Note that, as was pointed out in section 3 above, demonstratives generally appear with the article. This means that the rule of Case-Erasure will not apply to the demonstrative, because it is not followed by the definite article, a grammatical morpheme which, not being a modifier, is not given any case-markers by the Concord transformation. We also said, back in section 3, that in literary style, the article may be omitted after the demonstrative. The behavior of the suffixes in such a construction is further evidence that our hypothesis is correct. In these constructions the demonstrative carries no suffixes:

(143) a. Szeretem e lányokat
I like this girl-Pl
'I like these girls'

b.*Szeretem ezeket lányokat
I like this-Pl-Acc girl-Pl-Acc

but, as in (141) and (142) above,

c. Szeretem ezeket a lányokat
I like this-Pl-Acc the girl-
'I like these girls'

We see, then, that whether or not the suffix appears on the demonstrative is a function of whether it is followed by the article. Under the hypothesis under discussion, this can be accounted for by the proposed rule of Case-Erasure, which will erase the suffix on the demonstrative only if it is followed by an item which also bears that suffix.

Another phenomenon which Case-Erasure can help us account for has to do with the genitive construction described in section 4. We saw there that the genitive marker -nak is obligatory just in case it is followed by the article. I will repeat an example for

convenience:

(144) a. a gyufának a lángja
the match-Gen the flame-Poss3sg

b.*a gyufa a lángja
the match the flame-Poss3sg

c.?a gyufának lángja
the match-Gen flame-Poss3sg

d. a gyufa lángja
the match flame-Poss3sg

'the flame of the match'

(144a-b) show that the genitive marker -nak may not be deleted if it is followed by the article. (144c-d) suggest that without the article, deletion is possible. Again we may find some support for the rule of Case-Erasure in these examples. While I am not certain how to state this rule, two of its ingredients are clear. First, it operates only inside a constituent, more exactly, a noun phrase. Second, its most general application is in the cases where the case-markers on each element in the constituent are the same. While this second condition is not met in the genitive constructions, the first is, and it makes me suspect that the rule responsible for (144d) is an extension of Case-Erasure. This would explain why deletion is impossible just in case the article is present. The troublemaker is (144c). It seems to suggest that the deletion of the genitive suffix is optional. I can think of two ways of "explaining away" (144c) (which implies that neither may be right). First, it may be that, because the two suffixes on the consecutive items are not identical, this rule is optional in this case. Second, while (144a,d) are totally synonymous, I am not at all sure

that (144c) means exactly the same thing as the others. In fact, in the example given above, (144c) is only marginally grammatical. I can think of some contexts in which it improves in quality, and there are similar examples, with different lexical items, which are much more felicitous. In short, I am not certain that (144c) is the same construction as the other genitives, which may account for why Case-Erasure does not apply here.

To conclude this discussion of genitives and Case-Erasure, let me point out that there is a rule in Hungarian which inverts genitive phrases. Under certain conditions (most notably, emphasis of the possessed object) the order of possessor and possessed becomes reversed. Thus, (145) gives (146):

(145) a gyufa(-nak a) langja
the match(-Gen the) flame-Poss3sg
'the flame of the match'

(146) (a) lángja a gyufának
(the) flame-Poss3sg the match-Gen
'the flame of the match'

By a different rule, but with similar effect, the possessed object may be moved, under emphasis, "away from under" the genitive, to a position immediately preceding the main verb:

(147) Lángját láttam a gyufának nem
Flame-Poss3sg-Acc I-saw the match-Gen not

szikrájat
spark-Poss3sg-Acc

'It was the flame of the match that I saw, not its spark'

Both of the above phenomena, namely (146) and (147) show that when the possessor is not immediately followed by a case-marked element in the same noun phrase, deletion of the genitive does not

take place. But this is exactly the condition under which Case-Erasure cannot apply. Thus, these facts also provide evidence for such a rule. The facts furnished by the earlier genitive cases (144) and the demonstratives in (141) - (143), together with the phenomena in (146) - (147), suggest very strongly that there is a rule of Case-Erasure in Hungarian, and it is this rule which is responsible for the fact that Hungarian exhibits noun phrase concord so little of the time.

II. The Verb and its Complements

1. Verbal forms

Verbs in Hungarian are inflected for tense, person and number, and the definiteness of the direct object (if present). There is no marker for the present tense. The future tense is used much less than in English (usually simple present will do, especially when there is a future adverb in the sentence). When it is used, it is a periphrastic form, using the auxiliary verbal stem fog-, and the infinitive of the verb. The infinitive is not inflected in the future; the auxiliary fog- carries the person and number suffixes. The past tense is marked by the suffix -tt/-t, with an auxiliary vowel where appropriate. The person and number suffixes have two forms. One is used when the direct object is syntactically definite (a possessive form, a proper name, or a noun phrase with the definite article), while the other is used when the direct object is syntactically indefinite, or if there is no direct object. I will refer to the two forms as the definite and the indefinite conjugations., respectively.

The Definite Conjugation:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-m	-juk/-jük
2nd	-d	-játok/-jétek; -átok/-étek
3rd	-ja/-i; -a/-e	-ják/-ik; -ák/-ék

The Indefinite Conjugation:

1st	-k; -m	-unk/-ünk
2nd	-sz/-l; -l	-tok/-tök/-tek
3rd	ø	-nak/-nek; -k

(The alternations separated by / are phonological. The forms preceding the semicolon are used with the present tense, those following it with the past tense.)

Apart from these, Hungarian has two more conjugations, which I will be mention: the conditional, which has a special set of suffixes for both the definite and the indefinite in the present and a periphrasic construction in the past, and the subjunctive, with its own dual set of markers, which is only used in the present. All told, Hungarian has forty-eight potentially distinct non-periphrastic verbal forms, only a couple of which are not realized. I will henceforth ignore the conditional and the subjunctive.

The following examples will illustrate the use of the definite and indefinite conjugations:

(148) a. Akart egy könyvet
he wanted(Ind) a book-Acc
'He wanted a book'

b. Akarta a könyvet
he wanted (Def) the book-Acc
'He wanted the book'

c. *Akarta egy könyvet
he wanted(Def)

d. *Akart a könyvet
he wanted(Ind)

It is reasonable to suppose, on the basis of facts like (148), that there exists a rule which makes the verb agree with the object in definiteness. The exact mechanics of the rule does not concern us here. We will refer to this rule as the verb-object agreement rule.

2. A Surface Structure Constraint in the Verb Phrase

This section deals with the verb-object agreement rule and the wh-movement rules in Hungarian. The results of the interaction of these rules suggests that there is a surface structure constraint which restricts the co-occurrence of noun phrases and verbs in a clause. By assuming the existence of such a constraint, we can explain why certain sentences are ungrammatical. The only rules that are involved in this argument are the verb-object agreement rule demonstrated above, the rules of wh-movement (or wh-fronting), which produce questions and relative clauses (with which I will assume familiarity on the part of the reader), and the rule of Emph-movement, which I will introduce later.

Sentential (direct object) complements are syntactically definite. That is, a verb which has a tensed that-clause as its direct object, is definite:

(149) a. János akarta, hogy (el)hozzak egy könyvet
John wanted(Def) that I bring(Ind) a book-Acc
'John wanted me to bring a book'

b.*János akart hogy (el)hozzak egy könyvet
John wanted(Ind)

In ordinary relative clauses, where the relativized NP is a direct object (Accusative), the verb always shows up in its indefinite form, regardless of the definiteness of the head noun.

(150) a. Egy könyv amit akart
A book which-Acc he wanted(Ind)
'A book which he wanted'

b. A könyv amit akart
The book which-Acc he wanted(Ind)
'The book which he wanted'

c.*Egy könyv amit akarta
he wanted(Def)

d.*A könyv amit akarta
he wanted(Def)

Similarly, in wh-questions, where the questioned element is a direct object NP, the verb is always indefinite:

(151) a. Mit akart János?
What-Acc he wanted(Ind) John
'What did John want'

b.*Mit akarta János?
wanted(Def)

In addition to the wh-words mit ('what-Acc?') and amit ('which-Acc'), Hungarian also has melyik(et) ('which-Acc?') and amelyiket ('which$_2$-Acc', 'the one which'). When these are used in a question or a relative clause, the verb shows up as definite:

(152) a. Melyik könyvet akarta?
Which book-Acc he wanted(Def)
'Which book did he want?'

b. *akart

Similar examples may be found for relative clauses employing amelyiket.

The facts of (150) - (152) can be captured by postulating that the wh-words mit and amit are syntactically indefinite, while melyik(et) and amelyiket are definite, at least at that point in the derivation, where the verb-object agreement rule applies.

Browne (1970a, 1970b) has pointed out that in many languages, some wh-words are inherently +or- [definite]. Note, incidentally, that it is not the case that the verbs in (150) - (152) just agree with the accusative NP in their clause. Consider:

(153) Ez az a könyv amelyiket János akarta
This that the book which$_2$-Acc John wanted(Def)

hogy elhozzam
that I bring(Def)

'This is the book which John wanted me to bring.'

Here, akarta is definite for the same reason it is definite in (149); it has a sentential direct object. Elhozzam is also definite, but this has to be attributed to amelyiket. Since it is unlikely that elhozzam in the embedded clause is agreeing with amelyiket in the matrix sentence, (153) suggests that verb-object agreement precedes wh-movement.

In the following, we shall not be concerned with melyiket and amelyiket. They were brought in to illustrate the above ordering, which would have been harder using mit and amit.

I will now turn to constructions using mit and amit, in which the NP's represented by these (i.e., the questioned or relativized NP's) originate in an embedded sentence. Some of these are grammatical, while others are not. First consider a subject-embedding matrix verb kell 'is necessary'.

(154) Az, hogy elhozzam a könyvet, kell
It that I bring(Def) the book-Acc is necessary
'It is necessary that I bring the book'

The fact that the expletive az (Rosenbaum's IT) is nominative, indicates that kell is a subject-embedding verb. (154) is grammatical if the sentence 'that I bring the book' is emphasized.

Usually, however, this clause is extraposed:

(155) (Az) kell hogy elhozzam a könyvet
(It) is necessary that I bring the book.

Once this happens, the accusative NP, konyvet, can be freely questioned, or relativized:

(156) Mit kell hogy elhozzak?
What-Acc is necessary that I bring(Ind)
'What is it necessary for me to bring?

(157) {A / Egy} könyv, amit kell hogy elhozzak
{The / A} book which-Acc is necessary that I bring(Ind)
{'The / 'A} book which it is necessary for me to bring'

So, we have no problem with wh-words pulled out of an extraposed subject complement.

Consider next, clauses embedded under a NP which is in an oblique case. The verb fél 'be afraid of' is an intransitive, whose object is in a non-accusative case. Thus, we have:

(158) Félsz a kutyától
You are afraid the dog-of
'You are afraid of the dog'

Now, if, instead of kutya 'dog' we have a sentential object, we get

(159) Félsz, hogy ellopom a könyvet
You are afraid that I steal(Def) the book-Acc
'You are afraid that I will steal the book'

Again, relativization and questioning of the object of the embedded sentence is quite free:

(160) Mit félsz hogy ellopok?
What-Acc you are afraid that I steal(Ind)?
'What are you afraid that I'll steal?'

(161) {A / Egy} könyv amit félsz hogy ellopok
{The / A} book which-Acc you are afraid that I steal(Ind)
{'The / 'A} book which you are afraid that I'll steal'

We begin to get into problems with the regular, direct-object-embedding verbs, like akar 'want'. Given a sentence:

(162) Akarta hogy elhozzam a könyvet
He wanted(Def) that I bring(Def) the book-Acc
'He wanted me to bring the book'

We find that the object of the embedded sentence cannot be relativized or questioned with amit or mit. So, in opposition to (153), we have:

(163) {A / *Egy} könyv amit akarta, hogy elhozzak
{The / A} book which-Acc he wanted(Def) that I bring(Ind)
{'The / 'A} book which he wanted me to bring'

(164) *Mit akarta hogy elhozzak?
What-Acc he wanted(Def) that I bring(Ind)?
'What did he want me to bring?'

An indefinite matrix verb in (163), (164) is also ungrammatical, which is predictable, since we know (from (149)) that sentential direct objects require a definite matrix verb:

(165) *{A / Egy} könyv amit akart, hogy elhozzak
wanted(Ind)

(166) * Mit akart, hogy elhozzak?
wanted(Ind) =

((165) and (166) are somewhat better than (163) and (164) and, in some dialects, they are even grammatical. I will return to this point later.)

We have to explain, then, why (163) and (164) are ungrammatical. Before jumping to premature conclusions, let us examine one more type of embedding, which will give us a clue to what's going on. The verb kér or megkér 'ask' appears in the following construction (meg)kér NP-Acc $[_{NP}$that S$]_{NP}$. The NP dominating the complement

sentence is in a non-accusative case (its head noun, when present, carries the locative -ra/-re). The important thing to note is that it is the lexical NP (NP-Acc, above) that the matrix verb agrees with in definiteness (i.e., its direct object). Thus, we have the following alternation:

(167) Megkérte őt hogy hozza el a könyvet
He asked(Def) she-Acc that she bring(Def) the book-Acc
'He asked her to bring the book'

(168) Megkért engem, hogy hozzam el a könyvet
He asked(Ind) I-Acc that I bring(Def) the book
'He asked me to bring the book'

This alternation is due to the difference between ot 'she-Acc' and engem 'me-Acc'. It is just one of those crazy facts about Hungarian, that the 3rd person accusative form of the pronoun is syntactically definite, while the others are indefinite. So the alternation in (167, 168) is the same as in

(169) Akarta őt
He wanted(Def) her
wanted

(170) Akart engem
He wanted(Ind) me
'He wanted me'

(which, of course, is the same as that exhibited in (148)). The reason I introduced the minor wrinkle of using pronouns instead of nouns is that, for completely irrelevant reasons, (167) and (168) cannot be used for my purposes if they contain an overt direct object in the matrix clause. This can be gotten around by using pronouns, which are deletable:

(171) Megkérte, hogy hozza el a könyvet
He asked(Def) (her) that she bring(Def) the book-Acc
'He asked her to bring the book'

(172) Megkért, hogy hozzam el a könyvet
He asked(Ind) (me) that I bring(Def) the book-Acc
'He asked me to bring the book'

(171) and (172) are completely synonymous with (167) and (168), respectively; they contain no overt direct object, so we can proceed with illustrating the point. Consider now what happens when the direct object of the embedded clause is wh-fronted. From a structure parallel to (171), we get:

(173) *{A / Egy} könyv amit megkérte, hogy hozzon el
{The / A} book which-Acc he asked(Def) (her) that she bring(Ind)
{'The / 'A} book which he asked her to bring'

and

(174) *Mit kérte meg, hogy hozzon el?
What-Acc he asked(Def) (her) that she bring?
'What did he ask her to bring?'

And from (172):

(175) {A / Egy} könyv amit megkért, hogy hozzak el
{The / A} book which-Acc he asked(Ind) (me) that I bring(Ind)
{'The / 'A} book which he asked me to bring'

(176) Mit kért meg, hogy hozzak el?
What-Acc he asked(Ind) (me) that I bring(Ind)?
'What did he ask me to bring?'

Now, if we look at (163), (164), (173) and (174) which are all umgrammatical as opposed to (175) and (176), which are fine, we find a very simple generalization: wh-fronting, involving the wh-words mit and amit from an embedded clause, results in an ungrammatical sentence, if the matrix verb (the verb which is in the same clause as the head noun) is definite. This generalization will also account for the grammaticality of all the cases shown previously.

(156), (157), (160) and (161). The matrix verbs in these sentences are intransitive, i.e., they lack a direct object, and consequently, they "take" the indefinite forms only, as was pointed out in Section I. The generalization also reflects, to some extent, the native speaker's intuition about the ungrammatical sentences: the wrongness is "felt" to be centered, somehow, on the matrix verb -- one doesn't quite know whether it should be definite or indefinite.

Having arrived at a generalization, our next problem is to represent it in the grammar. A rather ad-hoc way of doing it would be to place a restriction on WH-movement: (A) Wh-movement of a direct object from an embedded clause involving indefinite wh-words is blocked if the verb of the clause which contains the head noun is definite. This of course, is just a restatement of the generalization. Another point which shows up the ad-hocness of this proposal is that wh-fronting is not the only rule which needs a condition like this. There exists in Hungarian a rule which I will call Emph-movement, which takes any emphasized NP in a string and moves it to a position just in front of the main verb, So from (177) we get (178):

(177) János akarta hogy menjek a moziba
John wanted(Def) that I go the cinema-to
'John wanted me to go to the movies'

(178) A moziba akarta János, hogy menjek
The cinema-to wanted(Def) John that I go
'It was to the movies that John wanted me to go'

This transformation, when applied to direct objects of embedded clauses, will have results similar to that of wh-movement. Operating on the structures underlying (155), (159) and (172), it will give (179) (180) and (181) respectively, which are grammatical:

(179) A könyvet kell, hogy elhozzam
The book-Acc is necessary that I bring
'It is the book that it is necessary for me to bring'

(180) A könyvet félsz, hogy ellopom
The book-Acc you are afraid that I steal
'It is the book that you're afraid that I'll steal'

(181) A könyvet kért meg, hogy hozzam el
The book-Acc he asked (me) that I bring
'It was the book that he asked me to bring'

(179), (180) and (181) are also grammatical if we replace the definite NP a konyvet 'the book-Acc' with the indefinite NP egy konyvet 'a book-Acc'. Now when Emph-movement operates on the structures underlying (162) and (171) we still have grammatical sentences:

(182) A könyvet akarta, hogy elhozzam
The book-Acc he wanted(Def) that I bring(Def)
'It was the book that he wanted me to bring'

(183) A könyvet kérte meg, hogy hozza el
The book-Acc he asked(Def) (her) that she bring(Def)
'It was the book that he asked her to bring'

But here, if we replace a könyvet by egy könyvet, we get ungrammatical sentences:

(184) *Egy könyvet akarta hogy elhozzak
A book-Acc he wanted(Def) that I bring(Ind)
'It was a book that he wanted me to bring'

(185) *Egy könyvet kérte meg, hogy hozzon el
A book-Acc he asked(Def) (her) that she bring(Ind)
'It was a book that he asked her to bring'

Although, if the matrix verb is indefinite, as in (175) or (176), the sentences are again grammatical:

(186) Egy könyvet kért meg hogy hozzak el
A book-Acc he asked(Ind) (me) that I bring(Ind)
'It was a book that he asked me to bring'

Thus, the situation is exactly analogous to that of the indefinite wh-words.

One could, of course, just as easily place a condition on Emph-movement: (A'): Emph-movement of an indefinite direct object from an embedded clause is blocked if the main verb is definite.

It is obvious that the two conditions, (A) and (A') are the same, and that we are missing a generalization. The generalization seems to be that an indefinite accusative NP cannot end up in the same clause with a definite verb. One could argue, then, that what is needed is a general condition on movement rules which will prevent indefinite direct objects from being moved into a clause containing a definite verb. It can be shown, however, that such a constraint will not work, unless we put a completely unmotivated condition on the constraint itself.

There is a consistent class of exceptions to the above generalization. It consists of those sentences in which the matrix verb is in the first person, singular, of the past indicative, or in the first person, plural, of the present conditional. Sentences (163), (164), (173), (174), (184) and (185), which were ungrammatical above, turn out to be grammatical if their matrix verb is in one of the above forms. For example, to take just the counterparts of (163) and (184):

(187) A könyv amit akarnánk, hogy elhozzon
The book which-Acc we would want that he bring
'The book which we would want him to bring'

(188) Egy könyvet akartam hogy elhozzon
A book-Acc I wanted that he bring
'It was a book that I wanted him to bring'

At first, this seems like a totally crazy fact. It is, however, not an accident, that it is these forms, and these forms only, that are grammatical. It is exactly in these cases, namely in the first

person singular of the past indicative (as can be seen in the chart in Section I) and the first person plural of the present conditional, that the definite and indefinite conjugations collapse, -- they exhibit phonologically identical shapes. So in (185) and (187) the forms akarnank and akartam belong to both the definite and the indefinite conjugations.

In order to save the proposal for placing the conditions (A) and (A') on wh-movement and Emph-movement, respectively, we have to put an identical exception clause on both: the rules block under the circumstances indicated in the conditions, unless the matrix verb is in the first person, singular, or the past indicative or in the first person, plural, of the present conditional. It should be clear that something obvious is being missed. The exception clause is the same in both (A) and (A'), it is totally unmotivated, and it fails to connect up in any way the fact that the very forms mentioned in it are the ones which exhibit no difference in the two conjugations.

This line of thought seems to have two consequences. First, it seems that the generalization that we are trying to express in the grammar has been somewhat loosely stated. Above, I stated that the generalization following from the two separate conditions seems to be that an indefinite accusative NP cannot end up in the same clause with a definite verb. But, given the class of exceptions that we have considered, it seems that they can be incorporated into a more correct generalization, namely, that an indefinite accusative NP cannot be in the same clause with a verb which is not in the indefinite conjugation. This formulation covers the cases covered by the earlier generalization, and the sentences which were exceptions

to the latter, are no longer exceptions, since the verbal forms in them are in the indefinite conjugation (as well as in the definite one).

Second, if this is indeed the right generalization, then it is impossible to state it in the way that was suggested earlier. The generalization is a statement about a surface phenomenon; it makes crucial use of the accidental phonological collapsing of certain distinct forms. Since verb-object agreement precedes wh-movement (and, of course, Emph-movement), we expect that all verbal forms, including the first person singular of the past indicative, etc. are, in some way, marked as definite by the time wh-movement applies. Thus, there is no way to constrain wh-movement or Emph-movement except in the highly unnatural way outlined above. In fact, the generalization cannot be stated on a transformational level, since the transformation cannot "know" about the surface form of the verb.

What I propose, then, is that there exists in Hungarian, a surface structure constraint, in the sense of Perlmutter (1971). The constraint states that:

(189) if a clause contains an indefinite NP in the accusative case, and a finite verb, the verb has to be in the indefinite conjugation.

Perlmutter's conception of a surface structure constraint, for which he has argued convincingly, is that of a template, which serves as a filter. In other words, at some level after the transformational component (in this case after the input to the phonological component), the surface phrase-marker is matched against such

a template. If it meets the conditions of the template, the sentence will be grammatical. If it doesn't, it won't. Applied in this way, (189) will correctly prevent (163), (164), (173), (174), (184) and (185) from being generated, while allowing (187) and (188), because the verbs in (187) and (188) are in the indefinite conjugation, which is what matters for "passing through" (189), regardless of the fact that they happen to be in the definite conjugation as well.

There is one more point which illustrates this proposal. A conjoined sentence is usually ungrammatical if either conjunct is. Thus:

(190) *János elhozta azt a könyvet amit
John brought(Def) that-Acc the book-Acc which-Acc
'John brought the book which

én akartam, hogy elhozzon, de nem azt
I wanted, that he bring(Ind), but not that-Acc
I wanted him to bring but not the one

amit te akartad, hogy elhozzon
which-Acc you wanted(Def) that he bring(Ind)
which you wanted him to bring'

This ungrammaticality can be accounted for both by the "condition-on-the-rule" hypothesis, and by the surface structure constraint. Now (190) is rather redundant. In Hungarian, as in many other languages, it is possible to delete parts of a conjunct which are identical to parts of the other conjunct(s). Unlike English, however, Hungarian permits the deletion of the verb. Thus we get:

(191) János elhozta azt a könyvet amit
John brought(Def) that-Acc the book-Acc which-Acc
?John brought the book which

Én akartam hogy elhozzon, de nem azt amit te
I wanted that he bring, but not that-Acc which-Acc you
I wanted, but not the one that you did'

in which the matrix verb, along with its complement has been deleted in the second conjunct. (191) is grammatical, which is not predicted by the "condition-on-the-rule" hypothesis. Deletion in the derivation of (191) occurs after wh-movement, i.e., after the stage illustrated by (190). So there is nothing to "correct" the ungrammaticality of (190) in passing on to (191). According to that hypothesis, then, (191) should be as ungrammatical as (190). The surface structure condition, on the other hand, predicts that (191) will be grammatical, while (190) will not. The reason is that, in deleting the verb of the second conjunct, we have eliminated the "offending element". There being no verb, the clause cannot run afoul of the surface structure constraint, so it is grammatical.

It seems then, that we can do away with the straw-man "condition-on-the-rule" hypothesis, and accept the proposed surface structure constraint. The statement of the constraint is far from exact and its scope of operation is not quite clear. It seems that the greater the distance between the indefinite accusative NP and the verb, the less powerful the constraint. For example,

(192) ?*Itt van a könyv amit péntek este
Here is the book which-Acc Friday evening
'Here is the book which

megkérte hogy hozzon el
he asked of(her) that she bring(Ind)
he asked her to bring, on Friday evening'

(where "Friday evening" modifies "ask"), sounds much better than (173) in which there was no "material" intervening between amit and megkérte.

There remain a couple of interesting side-issues worth remarking. As noted above, (165) and (166), which have indefinite matrix verbs, sound somewhat better than (163) and (164). In fact, when a speaker starts to say a relative clause like (165) or (163), he will usually come out with the (165) version of it, although, if later confronted with (165), he will say that it is ungrammatical. The ungrammaticality of (165) stems from the fact that the verb-object agreement rule has been violated. The sentence fits the surface structure constraint, however, while in (163), it is the constraint that is violated. It seems then that given the choice between violating a rule and conforming to the constraint, on the one hand, and conforming to the rule and violating the constraint, on the other, the speaker will opt for the former. What makes this interesting is that the same thing seems to be going on in English. Perlmutter, (ibid), has argued for the existence of a surface structure constraint in English, which throws out any tensed clause which does not have a subject. This accounts for the ungrammaticality of (193):

(193)* "I used this butter, which I don't know whether is good, where the NP butter appears, in deep structure, as the subject of the clause: whether this butter is good. After wh-movement, this NP appears only as the wh-word which, which is moved into the matrix clause, the clause is left without a subject, and is thrown

out by the constraint. Now note that wh-movement, in English, does not leave a pronominal copy of the relativized NP in the relative clause. We have: the book which I read, not: *the book which I read it. Nevertheless, when someone starts to say the sentence which is approximate by (193), he will almost invariably come out with:

(194) *I used this butter which I don't know whether it's good, which is also ungrammatical. But it undeniably sounds better than (193). Thus, when an English speaker is faced with the same choice, he will "make the same decision".

Lastly, I would like to point out the peculiar nature of this surface structure constraint. What is interesting is that Hungarian has this constraint in addition to the verb-object agreement rule. The constraint seems to be "checking up" on the rule, but in one direction only. That is, this constraint refers only to indefinite NP's -- it has no counterpart saying that definite NP's have to co-occur with verbs in the definite conjugation. I have a feeling that something is lurking behind this asymmetry, but I have no idea what it is.

These above observations on the above surface-constraint phenomena conclude our cursory examination of verbs and verb phrases. There is much more to be investigated in this area. Some topics that I have not touched upon include the behavior of the verbal prefixes, and the phenomenon of causative and potential verbs. I hope to deal with these in a later study.

III. Complementation

1. Introduction

In this section, I will present a preliminary analysis of Hungarian complement constructions and the syntactic operations needed to account for them. The expository framework (and the implicit framework of the research itself) is based upon that of Rosenbaum (1967). Needless to say, this latter is not the last word in syntactic analysis, and, in fact, much of it has been shown to be wrong. Nevertheless, quite a few of its assumptions and conclusions can still be regarded as valid, if not in detail, at least in the insights that they were intended to capture. The main advantage of such a framework is that it provides a consistent set of terms (and some syntactic criteria) for talking about the facts of complementation. My aim, at this point, is not to seek or to provide evidence for possible approaches to complementation, (although this is constantly kept in mind), but rather to arrive at a rough picture of the kinds of structures and syntactic devices evidenced by Hungarian complement (and other) constructions. The "Rosenbaum approach" is an excellent starting point and a useful tool in such an investigation. It has proved useful in this type of research in other languages whose complement structures include tensed and infinitival clauses (Cf. Perlmutter (1971), Kayne (1970)).

In particular, then, I will justify, in the following, the validity of the following notions in a grammar of Hungarian complementation: the existence, in the base component, of a phrase

structure rule NP → N (S) ; and the presence of the syntactic transformations of Extraposition, Equi-Noun-Phrase Deletion and, possibly, Subject Raising (but see below).

In sections 2 - 4, I will present my reasons for the above syntactic machinery, with some comments on processes that are peculiar to Hungarian. In section 5, I will pull together this machinery, and show how it works in the derivation of a variety of surface constructions involving essentially the same underlying structure. In section 6 I will present a brief discussion of Subject-Raising.

2. To begin with, then, I will show that the phrase structure rule NP → N (S), posited for English by Rosenbaum, also exists in the base component of the grammar of Hungarian. What this rule is intended to express is that, in the underlying Phrase Marker of a complex sentence (a sentence which contains an embedded sentence), the embedded S-node is (a) dominated by an NP-node, and (b) accompanied by a sister-node, which is an N. Since I do not propose to reduce all arguments in this demonstration to first principles, it is sufficient to show for (a), above, that the embedded S-node appears in putative deep structures in the same position as a lexical noun phrase and that transformations affect embedded sentences the same way as they do noun phrases. For (b) I will first point to the lexical N which appears in the "head-noun" position for almost every embedded sentence; second, I will show that the transformations that move this embedded S-node move this lexical head noun along with it.

Consider (195) and (196) below:

(195) a. János titkolta a betegségét
John kept secret the illness-his-Acc
'John kept his illness a secret'

b. Jenő örült az ajándéknak
Eugene was happy the gift-Dat
'Eugene was happy with the gift'

c. Péter válasza nem lepte meg Olgát
Peter answer-his not surprised Olga-Acc
'Peter's answer did not surprise Olga'

d. Károly ötkor még nem volt otthon
Carl five-at yet not was home
At five o'clock, Carl was not home yet'

(196) a. János titkolta azt, hogy a felesége beteg
John kept secret it-Acc that the wife-his sick
'John kept it a secret that his wife was sick'

b. Jenő örült annak, hogy a lánya
Eugene was happy it-Dat that the daughter-his
'Eugene was happy that his daughter

férjhezmegy
gets married
was getting married'

c. Az, hogy Peter nem szereti őt, nem lepte meg
It-Nom that Peter not love her-Acc not surprised
'That Peter did not love her did not surprise

Olgát
Olga-Acc
Olga'

d. Károly akkor, amikor hazajöttem,
Carl it-at (time) which-at (time) I came home

nem volt otthon
not was home
or:
Carl then when I came home not was home
Carl was not home when I came home

The above examples illustrate several things at once. Note first that, in (196), a sentential complement appears in the place where

we see a lexical noun phrase in the corresponding sentence of (195). (Hogy is the equivalent of English 'that', the complementizer which introduces a tensed embedded clause.) Thus, in (195a), the direct object of titkolta is a lexical noun, a betegségét, while in (196a) the direct object is an entire sentence: azt, hogy a felesége beteg; and so on down, through (196d). This suggests that an embedded S-node is dominated by an NP-node.

Second, note the underlined forms in (196a-d). They are all case-marked (or postpositional) forms of the demonstrative az, 'that it', which appears in its unmarked, nominative form in (196c). In the other forms, azt = az+t (Acc), annak = az+nak (Dat), akkor = az+kor (at(time)), by regular phonological rules. (This demonstrative is the "head noun" for all embedded sentences in Hungarian equivalent to the IT in English posited by Rosenbaum.) That this is so is suggested by the intuition of native speakers, who "feel" that, in every case, this demonstrative is to be "construed with" the sentential complement.

There is also a syntactic argument to show this. The rule of Wa-movement, introduced above (II, 6), relates the two sentences below:

(197) János titkolta a betegségét (same as (195))

(198) A betegségét, (azt) János titkolta
The illness-his-Acc (it-Acc) John kept secret
'His illness, John kept secret'
or: 'As for his illness, John kept it secret'

Note that we can tell whether a sentence like (198) is an instance of Wa-movement rather than simple word order shift, because of the appearance of the anaphoric pronoun azt 'it-Acc'. This rule can

also apply to noun phrases in subject position, in which case the pronoun left behind will be in the nominative:

(199) Péter válasza nem lepte meg Olgát (same as (195c))

(200) Péter válasza, az nem lepte meg Olgát
'As for Peter's reply, it did not surprise Olga'

Now if embedded S-nodes are dominated by NP, then we could expect Wa-movement to apply to embedded clauses as well. Indeed it does, as evidenced by (201) and (202) which are the topicalized (Wa-fronted) versions of (196a) and (196c) respectively. Note, further, that when the embedded clauses of (196a) and (196c) are moved by this rule of Topicalization, their putative "head-nouns", the underlined demonstratives azt and az, move along. This means that the NP-node dominating S, which is moved, also dominates these demonstratives: $[_{NP}$az S$]_{NP}$

(201) Azt, hogy a felesege beteg, azt János titkolta
'As for (the fact) that his wife was sick, John kept it a secret'

(202) Az, hogy Péter nem szereti őt, az nem lepte meg Olgát
'As for (the fact) that Peter doesn't love her, it did not surprise Olga'

This captures the "feeling" alluded to above that the demonstrative is "construed with" the sentential complement. We have seen, then, that sentential complements appear in the same places as lexical noun phrases, that they are affected by transformations which refer to noun-phrases; in effect, they are dominated by noun phrases. Furthermore, the noun-phrases which dominate sentences also dominate another noun, namely, the demonstrative "head-noun". This is sufficient justification for the Phrase-Structure rule

NP -- N (S), mentioned at the beginning of this section (III, 2).

3. This section illustrates the operation of the rule of Extraposition in Hungarian. This rule, as posited by Rosenbaum for English, moves a tensed clause which is in a $[_{NP}N\ S]_{NP}$ structure around any lexical material that is found to its right. There is no doubt that the rule exists in Hungarian, and I will only give a few examples of its operation.

The clearest examples of this rule in Hungarian are ones involving sentential subjects. Accordingly, consider (196c), which I will repeat here for convenience:

(203) Az, hogy Péter nem szereti őt, nem lepte meg Olgát
(It) that Peter does not like her didn't surprise Olga.

Extraposition is the rule which brings the tensed clause, between the commas in (203), to the end of the sentence:

(204) Az nem lepte meg Olgát, hogy Péter nem szerti őt
It did not surprise Olga that Peter doesn't love her

For another example which does not involve an embedded subject, consider first sentences of the type:

(205) A problémának érdekes következményei vannak
The problem-Dat interesting consequences-its are
'The problem has interesting consequences!

Now instead of the initial noun phrase, problema, we could have an embedded clause, again with a demonstrative head noun, in the dative case:

(206) Annak, hogy az árak felmentek, érdekes következményei
It-Dat that the prices went up interesting consequences-

vannak
its are
'(The fact) that the prices went up, has interesting consequences'

As expected, the embedded tensed clause can also appear at the end

of the sentence -- another example of Extraposition:

(207) Annak érdekes kovetkezmenyei vannak, hogy az árak felmentek

Obviously, one of the discernible surface-effects of this transformation is the separation of a tensed clause from its head noun. There are examples, other than the ones shown above, where this happens, but it is hard to show beyond a doubt that, in those cases, such a surface separation is indeed the result of this rule.

4. In this section I will be concerned with the main source of infinitival complements in Hungarian, Equi-Noun-Phrase Deletion. The justification for this rule is straightforward enough; it involves the familiar gap-in-the-paradigm argument.

For the sake of convenience, I will consider first cases in which the sentential complement is a verbal object; e.g. of the verb akar, 'want'. Usually, the sentential complement of this verb is a tensed clause:

(208) (Én) akartam, hogy János olvasson
I wanted that John read
'I wanted John to read'

But, just in case the matrix subject and the complement subject are identical, we find

(209) *(Én) akartam, hogy (én) olvassak
I wanted that I read

On the other hand, the meaning of (209) is conveyed, just as in English, by the use of the infinitive form of the complement verb:

(210) (Én) akartam olvasni
I wanted to read

Now, above, in section 2, we have seen that the syntactic apparatus which generates (209) exists in Hungarian (Cf. (169a-d)). In light

of this, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that (210) is transformationally derived from an underlying phrase marker which is structurally identical to the one underlying (209). The transformation in question would then be Equi-NP-Deletion, whose effect is to delete the subject of a complement sentence just in case it is identical to the subject (or, in other cases, some other designated NP) of the matrix sentence.

There are other cases of Equi-NP-Deletion, in which the NP of the matrix sentence, with which the subject of the complement is identical, is not a subject. Thus, with the verb segit, 'help', we find both:

(211) Segitettem Jánosnak
I helped John-Dat
'I helped John'

without a complement, and

(212) Segitettem Jánosnak hazahozni az elefántot
I helped John-Dat to bring home the elephant-Acc
'I helped John (to) bring home the elephant'

with an infinitival complement. Here too, it seems reasonable to assume that Equi-NP-Deletion has applied, deleting the subject of the embedded clause, with the identity condition that this subject be identical to the Dative NP in the matrix sentence.

Note, finally, that just as the "control NP" (the NP of the matrix clause, under identity with which the subject of the embedding is deleted) varies from verb to verb, so does the applicability of the Equi-NP Deletion rule itself. In Hungarian, as in English, there are verbs which require that the identity condition be met. Whether this is to be stated at the level where the rule applies (following

Lakoff (1965)), or at the deep structure level (following Perlmutter (1971)), is immaterial for present purposes. In both languages there are verbs which may never appear with a tensed clause complement -- only with an infinitive. Próbál 'try' and segit 'help' are such (both in English and Hungarian). Segit appears above with an infinitival complement. It cannot appear with a tensed clause:

(213) *Segitettem Jánosnak, hogy Pista elmenjen
I helped John-Dat that Steve leave

As for próbál, we find:

(214) *Próbaltam, hogy Pista olvasson
I tried that Steve read

(215) *Próbáltam, hogy én olvassak
I tried that I read

(216) Próbáltam olvasni
I tried to read

We also find verbs which do not allow Equi-NP Deletion even when the subject of the embedded clause is identical to the subject (or object) of the matrix. Elhatároz 'decide' and kér 'ask' are like this:

(217) *Elhatároztam elmenni
I decided to leave

But:

(218) Elhatároztam, hogy elmegyek
I decided that I leave

Similarly,

(219) *Kértem Pistát elmenni
I asked Steve-Acc to leave

But:

(220) Kértem Pistát, hogy menjen el
I asked Steve-Acc that he leave

It appears that Equi-NP deletion also operates on complement sen-

tences in subject position. This will be shown in section 5.

There is another source of infinitival complements in Hungarian, namely PRO subject deletion. By PRO subject I mean a kind of generalized, indefinite subject, rather like the English word "one" in "One should not eat only brown rice." This PRO subject deletion rule also appears in English, again giving rise to infinitives. Thus, in English, given an underlying structure of the form:

(221) PRO eat brown rice only is bad

the surface output, through this rule and others will be:

(222) It is bad to eat only brown rice

Infinitival complements with such meanings are also found in Hungarian:

(223) Nem jó csak barna rizst enni
Not good only brown rice-Acc to eat
'It is not good to eat only brown rice'

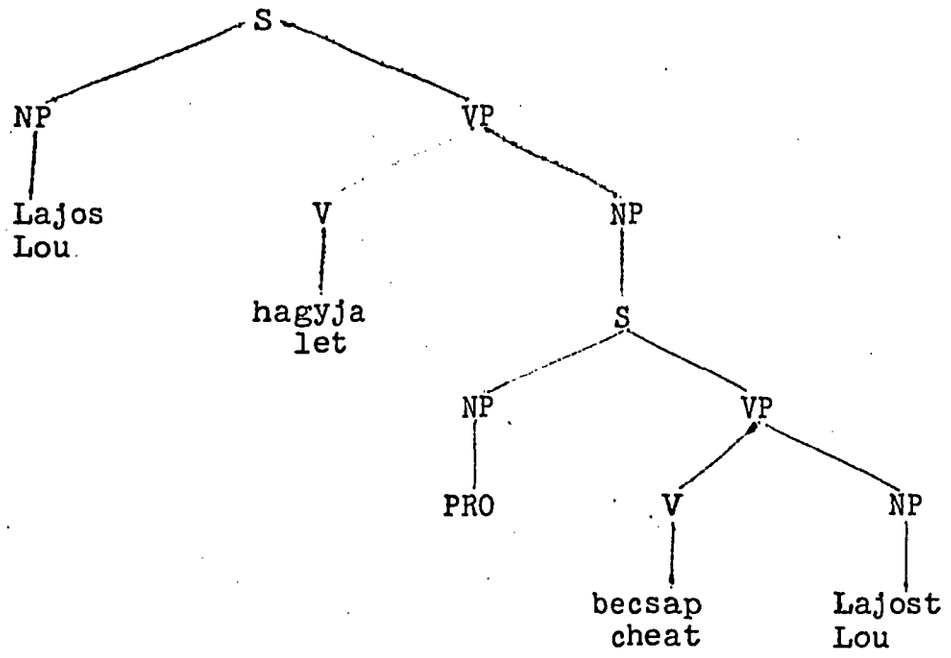
That such a rule indeed gives rise to tree-pruning (an operation which deletes a non-branching S-node) in Hungarian, is illustrated by the following sentence:

(224) Lajos mindig hagyja magát becsapni
Lou always lets himself-Acc to cheat

which, surprisingly enough, means:

'Lou always lets himself be cheated'

The structure underlying (224) is, presumably, something like:



Since the subject of the embedded clause is PRO, and Reflexivization in Hungarian does not operate across sentence-nodes, in order to account for the reflexive pronoun magat 'himself' in (224), we have to assume that, after PRO subject deletion, the embedded S-node "prunes" (is deleted), allowing Reflexivization to operate on the object of the embedded clause.

To conclude this discussion of infinitival complements, I will consider, briefly, the interaction of two other syntactic phenomena with Equi-NP-Deletion.

Recall the rule of verb-object agreement, introduced in section II.1., which marks a transitive verb in accordance with the definiteness of its direct object . I will repeat the examples for convenience.

(226) Olvasom a könyvet
I read-Def the book-Acc
'I am reading the book'

(227) Olvasok egy könyvet
I read-Indef a book-Acc
'I am reading a book'

This agreement takes place only between a direct object and a tensed (or finite) verbal form. If the verb is an infinitive, its form remains the same, regardless of its object:

(228) Nem szabad {a / egy} könyvet olvasni

Not permitted {the / a} book-Acc to read

'It is not permitted to read {the / a} book'

However, if the infinitive is the complement of a tensed verb which has no lexical object (e.g., if the infinitive is the result of Equi-NP Deletion of a subject of an embedded sentential object), then the agreement will show up on this tensed matrix verb. Thus:

(229) Akarok olvasni egy könyvet (*Akarom)
I want-Indef to read a book-Acc I want-Def
'I want to read a book'

(230) Akarom olvasni a könyvet (*Akarok)
I want-Def to read the book-Acc I want-Indef

This will happen no matter how many infinitives stand between the tensed verb and the accusative noun phrase:

(231) János akarja próbálni olvasni a könyvet (*Akar)
John wants-Def to try to read the book-Acc wants-Ind
'John wants to try to read the book'

The second set of interesting facts concerns the so-called verbal prefixes in Hungarian. While it is not at all clear to me what governs their distribution and placement in surface structure, it is a fact that certain verbs may (or must), under certain conditions, appear with an invariable prefix. The conditions for the

appearance of the prefixes are probably semantic (at least in part) -- they are adverbial in nature, denoting direction and sometimes aspect. The conditions on their placement in surface structure are quite possibly syntactic. It is enough to point out here that the most "neutral" position for them is immediately preceding the verb, and that a given verb may have only one prefix. If, however, the verb is negated, the negation nem 'not' "takes precedence" over the prefix in that nem will immediately precede the verb, and the prefix will follow:

(232) Megettem a dinnyét
I ate the melon-Acc
'I ate (up) the melon'

(233) Nem ettem meg a dinnyét
Not I ate up the melon-Acc
'I did not eat up the melon'

What is interesting about these prefixes is that they have a tendency to move "up" towards a tensed verb, if they can. Thus:

(234) *Akarom megenni a dinnyét
I want pref-to eat the melon

(235) Meg akarom enni a dinnyét
Pref I want to eat the melon

On the other hand, if akarom is already preceded by a negative particle, the prefix cannot move to the above position:

(236) Nem akarom megenni a dinnyét
Not I want pref-to eat the melon
'I don't want to eat the melon'

(237) *Nem meg akarom enni a dinnyet

Again, as in the case of the verb-object agreement, there is no limit as to how far the prefix can move, if only infinitives intervene:

(238) Meg fogom akarni tudni enni a dinnyét
Pref I will to want to be able to eat the melon
'I will want to be able to eat the melon'

It should be pointed out that, in a simple sentence, the kind of prefix that appears depends solely on the verb. In particular, enni may take meg (cf. (232)) and a few others, but neither akarni 'want', which appears in (235), nor fogni (future auxiliary) in (238) may ever take any kind of prefix in isolation. This should make it clear that these prefixes do, indeed, originiate, in underlying structure, in some embedded clause (e.g., in the most deeply embedded clause, the one containing enni, in (238)), and are subsequently moved up into the main sentence.

5. The verb kell; a case study

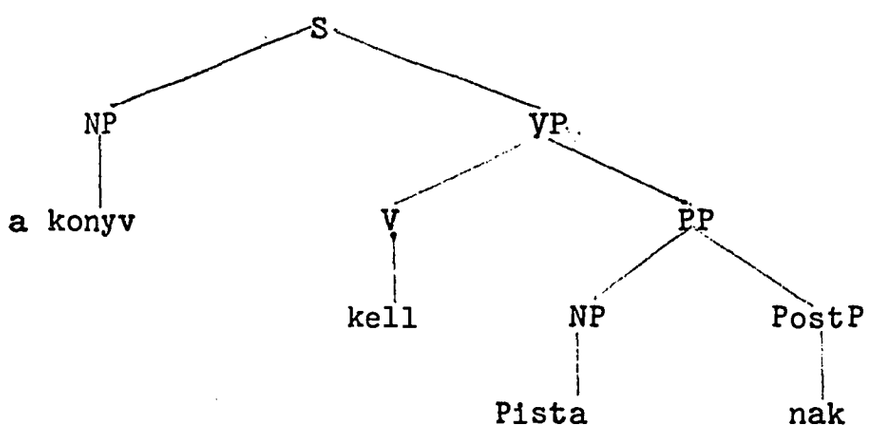
In this section I would like to pull together some of the ideas and operations introduced in the first three sections, by using them to account for the constructions in which the verb kell 'is necessary', 'is needed' appears.

To begin with, consider the simplex sentences in which this verb appears.

(239) A könyv kell Pistának
The book is needed Steve-Dat
'Steve needs the book'

It seems that there is no reason to suppose that the deep structure of (239) is any different (in relevant respects) from the phrase marker in (240)

(240)



This is the basic structure that we shall adopt. It can be seen from (241), that the Postpositional Phrase following the verb is an optional element:

(241) A könyv nem kell
The book not is needed
'The book is not needed'

Kell can also occur in a variety of complex constructions:

(242) (Az) kell Pistának, hogy Júlia elmenjen
It-nom is needed Steve-Dat that Julia leave
'It is necessary for Steve for Julia to go away'

(243) (Az) kell hogy Júlia elmenjen
It is necessary that Julia leave
'It is necessary for Julia to leave' (Impersonal construction)

(244) Júlia el kell, hogy menjen
Julia Pref(away) is necessary that go
'It is necessary for Julia to leave' (same meaning as (243)

(245) Júliának el kell menni(e)
Julia-Dat Pref (away) is necessary to go
'It is necessary for Julia to leave' (In the sense of necessary for, incumbent upon Julia)

(242) is rather easily accounted for if we recall that az...hogy, (nominative demonstrative...tensed clause) is typical of constructions with sentential subjects to which Extraposition has applied (cf. (204)). In other words, (242) is accounted for by the same structure in (240), with the clause hogy Júlia elmenjen instead of the lexical noun phrase könyv, and the rule of Extraposition. As for (243), the situation is similar. The structure underlying this is the same as that underlying (241), again with a sentential subject. The optional postpositional phrase is missing, which simply means that it is not indicated for whom it is necessary

that Julia leave; hence the "impersonal construction" meaning. Extraposition has applied in (243) as well. In both (242) and (243), a later rule optionally deletes the demonstrative az.

(244) is nothing but a stylistic variant of (243). It seems that there is a very late rule, which does not affect the shape of the complement clause, which takes the subject of a complement sentence, and moves it into sentence initial position, provided that (a) the matrix clause has no lexical subject, and (b) there is no noun phrase in the "path" of this rule. In other words, this rule will apply, after Extraposition and az-deletion, to subjects of tensed subject-clauses, whose predicates have no objects. Thus, from:

(246) Jó, hogy János elment
good that John left
'It is good that John left'

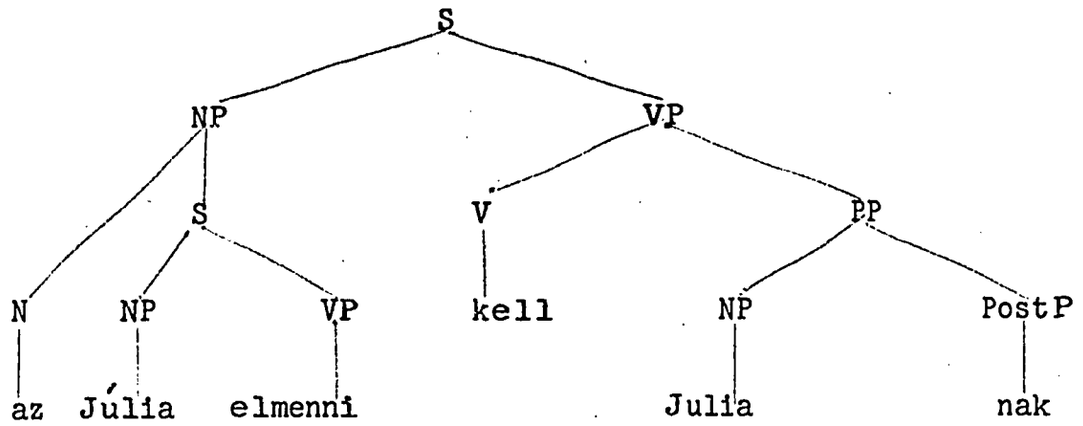
we get, by this rule:

(247) János jó, hogy élment
'It is good that John left'

which, although of questionable status in isolation, will pass as a conversational, stylistic variant of (246). The main difference between (247) and (244) is the position of the verbal prefix el. This is a natural consequence of the fact that while kell is a full-fledged, tensed verb, jó is a tenseless predicate, an adjective; prefixes move to tensed verbs only.

(244) is, for some people, marginal at best. It appears that, in some dialects (my own for example), the Prefix-movement rule is generalized, in some instances, to cases where the prefix does not necessarily originate on an infinitive.

As for (245), its proposed analysis is this:



with subsequent Equi-NP Deletion and Prefix Movement to give (245).

6. In what follows, I will present a brief discussion of the relevance of Subject Raising for a grammar of Hungarian. In section 2, above, we saw that the analysis of the deep structures of complement constructions as developed in Rosenbaum (at least the part pertaining to head-nouns) fits Hungarian like a glove. At the same time, as subsequent research has shown, it is dubious for English complement constructions. The situation is exactly the opposite as far as the rule of Subject-Raising is concerned. The evidence for it, in English, is abundant; hence the framework of Rosenbaum, in which this investigation is conducted, allows for, and relies heavily on this rule in English syntax. Nevertheless, it may be hasty judgement to postulate its existence in Hungarian without examining the evidence for it.

What is the kind of evidence that one would look for, to determine whether Raising exists in Hungarian? In English, Raising accounts for a large number of infinitival complement constructions which cannot be otherwise accounted for. Unfortunately, these do

not exist in Hungarian. Except for a handful of cases which I will examine below, all infinitival complements in Hungarian can be handled by the operations discussed above, namely, Equi-NP Deletion and PRO Subject-Deletion. Even in those cases where it is not clear whether it is viable to posit an Equi-NP analysis, it is almost impossible to provide clear-cut evidence for or against a Raising analysis. The reasons for this become obvious when we consider the basic strategies used in justifying Subject-Raising in English. There are a number of them. First, the familiar Reflexive argument. If one considers a sentence like

(249) John believes himself to be silly.

in conjunction with the sentence

(250) John believes that he is silly.

whose complement analysis is already known, and when one considers further that Reflexivization operates only within simplex sentences in English, then the obvious way to account for the appearance of the reflexive in (249) is to assume that (249) has basically the same deep structure as (250), and that the subject of the embedded clause has been "raised" out of its clause into object position in the matrix clause, where it can undergo Reflexivization, leaving an infinitival clause behind. There are no sentences of this type in Hungarian, that I know of.

The other basic argument for Raising comes from sentences of the type:

(251) I expect there to be a riot.

(252) There seems to be a riot.

(253) I expect advantage to be taken of their innocence.

(254) Advantage seems to have been taken of their innocence. With respect to expect (Raising into object position) the argument goes like this: we know from independent evidence that there is a transformationally introduced subject and hence it can never be the deep structure object of any verb. Similarly, advantage can only be the object of take, and no other verb. Thus to account for the fact that in (251) and (253), there and advantage are the objects of expect, we will posit sentential object complements $[_S$a riot be$]_S$ and $[_S$PRO take advantage...$]_S$, respectively, derive there and advantage as subjects by There-insertion and Passive, and then let Raising apply, to get there and advantage as objects of expect. As for (252) and (254) (Raising into subject position), the argument is centered around the generality of statements that There-insertion and Passive transformations should be expected to make.

Note, however, that crucial to these arguments is the idea of a unique subject. Now unique underlying subjects are very rare -- the ones discussed above are derived. Unfortunately there seems to be no evidence that Hungarian has any way of deriving such things. It has no expletives; no there's, no "weather it"'s, and no productive passive transformation. This is why evidence for Raising is so hard to find.

As pointed out above, there are only a handful of verbs in Hungarian involved with infinitival constructions, for which I find it hard to justify an analysis involving Equi-NP Deletion. While I cannot find any evidence that this would be a wrong analysis, I just have not been able to deal with these verbs in a satisfactory way. First, there are the perception verbs: lat 'see'; hall 'hear'; nez 'watch', etc. E.g.,

(255) Láttam őt hazajönni
I saw him-Acc to come home
'I saw him come home'

I have a strong suspicion that these verbs have an underlying structure of the schematic form:

$$[_S NP [_{VP} V\ NP [_{NP} [_S NP\ \ VP]_S]\ NP]\ VP]_S$$

but I cannot show it conclusively.

Next, we have the verb talál, which, with an infinitival complement, means 'happen'. Semantically, this verb is the strongest candidate for Subject Raising, but I can find no syntactic arguments to show this. I might point out that this verb is not even cognate with the other Hungarian word for "happen", namely történik, which allows only a tensed complement, in subject position.

Lastly, there is the verb hagy 'to let', 'allow', for which I cannot even begin to state the constructions in which it appears -- they seem to depend on other lexical material within the matrix and/or embedded sentences. In short, more research will have to be done on these verbs before their exact syntactic nature can be determined, and before they can be brought to bear on the question of the Raising rule. I have mentioned them here only for the sake of completeness.

We see, then, that, while we cannot rule out the possibility of there being a Raising rule in Hungarian, it seems that, if it exists, it has to be a very marginal rule. It would have nowhere near the syntactic significance of the Raising rule in English. There is, however, one type of syntactic construction not involving infinitives, which is very similar to constructions (also without infinitives) in English and French, which, in these languages are

assumed to be derived through the application of Raising. I will present an argument showing that, by themselves, these constructions do not necessitate postulating such a rule in Hungarian, since there is a very natural alternative for deriving them.

Consider:

(256) Pista Jánost okosnak gondolja
Steve John-Acc clever-Dat thinks, believes, considers
'Steve considers John clever'

(257) János betegnek látszik
John sick-Dat seems
'John seems sick'

Expressions like this are derived, in English, from an underlying structure which has a sentential complement; Steve considers $[_S$John be clever$]_S$, through Raising: Steve considers John to be clever, and finally, to be deletion gives the English version of (256). Similarly, for the English version of (257), the embedded complement is in subject position, and the sentence is derived through Raising and to be deletion.

I will show now that this derivation is not necessary in Hungarian. The lexical item latszik ('seems' in (257)) has a number of different senses. Each of its senses is associated with one (or more) particular syntactic construction. Thus, when it has a lexical subject (and no adjectival or other complement), its meaning is 'to appear' (physically) or 'to be showing':

(258) A zoknija látszik
The socks-his are showing
'His socks are showing'

When it has a sentential subject, its meaning is 'to be apparent', 'to be evident':

(259) (Az) látszik, hogy soha nem jártál iskolaba
(It) is apparent that never not you went school-to
'It is apparent that you never went to school'

Now when we come to the meaning exhibited in (63), namely 'seem', we find that there are two constructions for this sense of latszik; (257), and another one with a sentential complement:

(260) (Az) Úgy latszik, hogy esni fog
(It) so (in that way) seems that to rain will
'It seems that it will rain today'

Similarly, for gondol 'think', 'believe' (or for talal 'find'), we find that the sense of this verb that we saw in (256) can also appear with a sentential complement, as in:

(261) Károly (azt) úgy gondolta hogy György
Carl (it-Acc) so(in that way) {thought / considered / figured} that George

talán bemászott az ablakon
perhaps climbed in the window

Now the central point in this argument is this: we can find evidence in (260) and (261) that the verbs in these sentences have to be subcategorized in a certain way. Given that the sense of the verbs in (257) and (256) is the same as in (260) and (261), respectively, we can make use of the fact about the subcategorization evidenced in the latter sentences to show that the former are, pretty nearly their own deep structures (structurally).

Consider the status of the sentential complements in (260) and (261). I claim that, in (260), the complement is not the subject of the verb, nor is the complement in (261) the direct object. Rather, they are dominated, in both cases, by some other NP-node, which, for convenience only, we will denote by NP(Manner).

That this is so is evidenced by the appearance, in both (260) and (261), of the word úgy 'so'; 'in that way'; 'in that manner'.

We have seen in section 1 that every occurrence of a sentential complement in Hungarian is accompanied by a demonstrative, or "head-noun", and that these demonstratives are always "case-marked" according to the syntactic function they serve (or according to the case that the verb they appear with governs). Now, úgy is, in fact, a demonstrative; it means 'so', 'in that way'. It is not phonologically akin to the demonstrative az, seen in (196), simply because it is the result of morphological suppletion. While a good number of pro-forms are built around the stem az for demonstratives and mi for questions (parallel to th-words and wh-words in English), some are simply suppletions, like the manner-adverbial proforms: úgy for the demonstrative, and hogy 'how' for the question word. My claim, then, is that it is this úgy that is the head-noun of the sentential complements above, rather than az in (260) or azt in (261). The support for this claim comes from two sources: first, it is felt by a native speaker that úgy is to be "construed with" the sentential complement in both of the above sentences. Second, if we apply a movement transformation to the sentential complement, such as the rule of Wa-movement mentioned in section 1, we see that the constituent which appears at the beginning of the sentence is úgy, hogy..., rather than az, hogy... or azt, hogy...; and the reduplicated pronoun that appears in these "Wa-fronted" forms is, again, the manner pro-form, ugy:

(262) Úgy, hogy esni fog, úgy latszik

(263) Úgy, hogy György bemászott az ablakon, úgy gondolta (azt) Karoly

(with very heavy stress on both ugy's)

This establishes the claim that these sentential complements are neither subjects, in sentences like (260), nor direct objects, in constructions like (261). The question remains, then, what are the optional demonstratives (or pronouns) in parentheses in (260) and (261). I have no ready answer. All one can say about them is that they "feel" to be almost empty, semantically, and it seems that they are simply "fillers" for the subject (or object) NP-nodes that are generated for the underlying forms in which latszik and gondol appear. An intuitive idea of their semantic (or syntactic) import can be given if one considers the pro-form it in the English sentences:

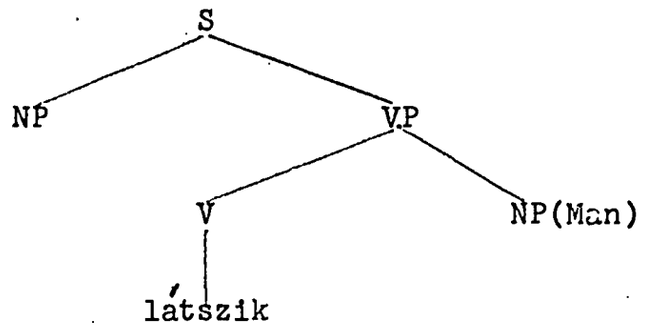
(264) The way it strikes me is that it must be very hard to read Arabic.

(265) The way Carl figured it is that George must have climbed in the window

I find no ready referent of this it in English.

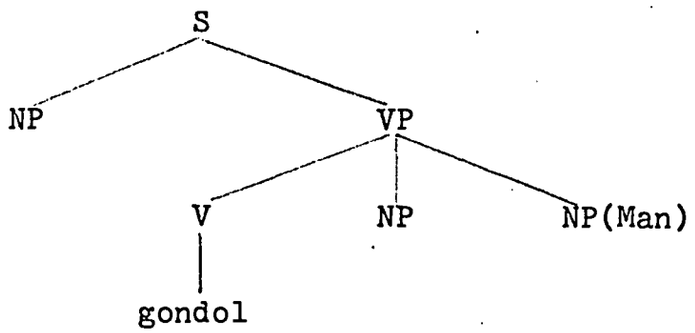
Consider, now, what we have shown. The sense of latszik in (260) (and of kinéz, tetszik, tűnik, etc., which also appear in the same construction) is subcategorized in the base component to appear with both a lexical subject (az) and an NP (Manner)-node. Similarly, the sense of gondol in (261) (and of talál, hisz, néz, etc.) is subcategorized to appear with a lexical direct object NP (azt) and an NP(Man)-node. But recall that the sense, or meaning, of látszik in (260) is the same as (257), and that of gondol in (261) is the same as in (256). Given all this, it is not unreasonable to assume that the underlying structure of (257) is essentially the same as that of the matrix sentence in (260), namely:

(266)



with the difference that, in (260) the NP(Man)-node is expanded sententially, and there is no meaning-bearing lexical subject, while in (257), the subject is Janos, and the NP(Man)-node dominates the adjective beteg. Similarly, the deep structure of (256) and of (261) are essentially the same:

(267)



and, again, in (261), NP(Man) is expanded into S, and the direct object is the pro-form azt, while in (256), the direct object is Janost, and the NP(Man)-node dominates the adjective okos.

An additional piece of evidence for this analysis is that with verbs like latszik or kinez 'seem', 'appear' and talal 'find' (though not with gondol) it is possible to question the NP(Man)-node with the manner question word hogy 'how', and (256), (257) are natural answers to these questions:

(268) Hogy néz ki János?
How seems John?
'How does John seem?

(269) Hogy találod Pistát?
How do you find Steve-Acc?
'How do you find Steve?'

A major argument in favor of the sentential complement-cum-Raising analysis for (256),(257), and similar constructions is the fact that certain selectional restrictions obtain between the noun phrase and the adjective (or nominal) in the above, which are typical of Subject-Predicate restrictions and which have to be stated independently, for simple sentences. It seems, however, that there has to be a mechanism which takes care of such restrictions, independently of (256) or (257), because of the existence of sentences, both in Hungarian and in English, like:

(270) Jánost hülyének hívtam
John-Acc silly-Dat I called
'I called John silly'

(271) Pistát elnöknek választottak meg
Steve-Acc president-Dat they elected
'They elected Steve president'

It would be very hard to justify an analysis in which the above had sentential complements like: $[_S$John be silly$]_S$ or $[_S$Steve be president$]_S$, respectively. The mechanism which states the selectional restrictions for (270) and (271) can also be used for (256) or (257).

It should be pointed out that it has not been shown that it is necessary to account for constructions like (256) and (257) in the way outlined above. It seems, though, that this is a possible approach. The value of the demonstration lies in this latter fact; but we have not found clear-cut evidence as to whether Subject Raising does or does not exist in Hungarian.

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