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On verbs, auxiliaries and Hungarian sentence structure in Lexical-Functional Grammar*

Abstract

The main claim of this paper is that although there are (finite) auxiliaries in Hungarian, they should not be assumed to justify the functional category I in the syntax of Hungarian in the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar. They should be handled as a subgroup of verbal elements (Vs), and their special properties (most of which are shared by a group of lexical Vs) should be encoded in their lexical forms.

Keywords: auxiliary, syntax, Hungarian, Lexical-Functional Grammar, generative grammar

1 Introduction

In this paper¹ I discuss the rather controversial category of auxiliaries in Hungarian and propose a possible treatment for them in the syntax of Hungarian sentences in the framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar (henceforth: LFG). I argue that although LFG uses the functional category I for auxiliaries in languages like English and Russian, for example, and although there are verbal elements in Hungarian that satisfy all the basic criteria of auxiliarihood, they should be taken to belong to the lexical category V. This approach is motivated by the following considerations. Despite the fact that the relevant elements could justify the postulation of I (just like in English and Russian) even according to the principles of LFG, the (uniform) syntactic behaviour of these elements and other (lexical) verbs with respect to designated positions in Hungarian sentence structure makes the use of I untenable. Thus, Hungarian auxiliaries proper and other (more or less) auxiliary-like elements are best handled as special subclasses of verbs, requiring appropriate lexical representations.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I offer a brief overview of the literature on Hungarian auxiliaries. In section 3, I discuss the treatment of the functional category I in LFG and in the Chomskyan mainstream. In section 4, I highlight some salient approaches to the syntax of Hungarian clauses in LFG and in the Chomskyan tradition. In section 5, I suggest a way of treating auxiliaries in my LFG syntax of Hungarian with

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¹ I dedicate this paper to Péter Pelyvás, an ideal colleague and office-mate, on his 65th birthday. For valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper, I am most grateful to my two reviewers. Their comments considerably enhanced the presentational aspects of the paper.

particular attention to focussed constituents and verbal modifiers. In section 6, I summarize the most important claims and assumptions made in this paper.

2 On Hungarian auxiliaries

Kenesei (2000, 2008) offers an excellent critical overview of the three most fundamental approach types to Hungarian auxiliaries, and applies a carefully selected battery of tests for the definition of this category in this language. Below, I summarize his assessment of previous accounts and his proposal.

(A) The traditional, descriptive approaches, represented by Keszler (1995) and M. Korchmáros (1997), among others, simply give a list of what they consider auxiliaries. These are rather mixed lists containing, for instance, *fog* ‘will’, *van* ‘be’ and *marad* ‘remain’. Kenesei remarks that these approaches do not apply any formal-distributional criteria at all, and they only refer to the “values” of the elements in this category: they perform functions similar to those of bound inflectional morphemes.

(B) Another approach, saliently represented by Kálmán et al. (1989), employs very strict formal-distributional criteria. The three most important ones are as follows. (i) These elements are, as a rule, combined with an infinitival verb. (ii) In a neutral sentence, i.e. a sentence containing no heavily stressed preverbal focussed constituent, the infinitive without a preverb (a.k.a. verbal prefix or particle) has to precede the auxiliary immediately (and the auxiliary loses its ordinary word initial stress). (iii) In a neutral sentence, if the infinitive has a preverb, the auxiliary comes between the preverb and the infinitival verb. Given that this approach only uses these distributional diagnostics and that several kinds of verbal elements exhibit the relevant properties, the list of “auxiliaries” has 19 items, including *kíván* ‘wish’, *óhajt* ‘desire’ and *szándékozik* ‘intend’.

(C) Generative approaches, represented by É. Kiss (1987, 1992), for instance, assume that there are no auxiliaries in Hungarian at all. All verbal elements belong to the category V, and it is in the lexical specifications of individual verbs that their “auxiliary-like” distributional behaviour, see (B) above, and their semantic-argument-structural properties have to be captured.

Kenesei’s (2000) main concern is as follows. In (A), the criteria are too loose. In (C), there are no criteria at all. In (B), there are very few criteria, and, therefore, too many ordinary verbs are relegated to the category of auxiliaries. Then Kenesei gives a (selected) list of auxiliary properties taken from Heine (1993). It contains 18 items, some of which are interrelated. He argues that the following five criteria are crucial for identifying Hungarian auxiliaries. (i) Their paradigms are defective. (ii) They cannot function as semantic predicates of sentences. (iii) They cannot be complements of other predicates. (iv) They cannot be nominalized. (v) In their presence, the main verb is in its infinitival form. After applying these five diagnostics, Kenesei (2000) concludes that there are three verbal elements in Hungarian that satisfy all of them: *fog* ‘will’, *szokott* (literally: ‘was accustomed (to)’, meaning: general present habituality despite the past tense morphology), and *talál* (literally: ‘find’ meaning: ‘happen to’). Consider the examples in (1).² Kenesei also notes that *talál* has weaker auxiliary properties inasmuch as it can have both present and past tense forms and it is also compatible with the *-na/-ne* conditional mood suffix and the *-hat/-het* potentiality suffix. Kenesei (2008), on the basis of thematic considerations, adds two further elements in their epistemic use: *kell* ‘must’ and *szabad* ‘possible’. He claims that

² In the gloss, PV stands for “preverb” and INF stands for “infinitival suffix”. In (1), the auxiliaries intervene between the infinitival verb and its preverb.

these five elements make up a closed class of auxiliaries in Hungarian, and he assumes that they belong to the general verbal category (V) and they represent an independent subclass there: V_{Aux} .

(1)	<i>János</i> John.NOM	<i>el</i> PV	<i>fog</i> will <i>szok-ott</i> be.accustomed-PAST.3SG <i>talál-t</i> find-PAST.3SG	<i>me-nni</i> go-INF	<i>a</i> the	<i>mozi-ba.</i> cinema-into
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‘John will go / (usually) goes / happened to go to the cinema.’

Part of Kenesei’s (2008) motivation for treating these Hungarian auxiliaries as Vs comes from the properties of English auxiliaries. He presents the relevant facts in a generalized generative representation in the following way.

(2)	a.	C	Subject	Infl	[VP <i>have</i>	[VP <i>be</i> _{Progr}	[VP <i>be</i> _{Pass}	VP ...]]
	b.		<i>Jim</i>	<i>may</i>				<i>write</i>
	c.			<i>may</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>been</i>		<i>writing</i>
	d.			<i>has</i>	← <i>e</i>			<i>written</i>
	e.			<i>is</i>		← <i>e</i>	<i>being</i>	<i>written</i>
	f.	<i>has</i>		← <i>e</i>	← <i>e</i>	<i>been</i>		<i>writing</i>
	g.	<i>did</i>		← <i>e</i>				<i>write</i>
	h.			<i>to</i>	<i>have</i>			<i>written</i>
	i.			<i>to</i>			<i>be</i>	<i>written</i>

He points out that it is modal auxiliaries like *may*, *can*, *will*, etc. and the *do* of “do-support” that must be taken to belong to the category Infl because they are in complementary distribution in that position, and when they are present in a sentence, they undergo movement to the complementizer (C) position in questions. The other auxiliaries, the perfective *have*, the progressive *be* and the passive *be*, are best treated as verbs subcategorizing for a VP constituent in a particular, hierarchical fashion, see (2). These other auxiliaries can only occupy the Infl position (in this approach, by movement) if it is not filled by an Infl element (a modal auxiliary or *do*), and then they can be negated like an Infl, and they can move to C.

Bresnan (2001) also discusses these auxiliary facts in her LFG framework. Given that LFG fundamentally rejects syntactic movement operations in general and movement of the sort exemplified in (2) in particular, her solution is to assume that the finite forms of *have* and *be* belong to the Infl category and their non-finite forms are Vs. LFG’s lexical representational principles and its commitment to the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis, which assumes that all morphological processes (both derivation and inflection) are lexical, can naturally accommodate this solution.

It is noteworthy that Komlósy (1989), in the same volume as Kálmán et al. (1989), criticizes É. Kiss’s (1983) model partially on the basis of different stress and word order properties of a great number of verbs in Hungarian. Thus, the stress and word order diversity is present in Hungarian not only in the case of verbs that are combinable with infinitival constructions. Pelyvás (1998) remarks that the elements identified by Kálmán et al. (1989) as “central” and “secondary” auxiliaries on the basis of their stress and word order behaviour cannot be characterized with respect to their cognitive-semantic properties, in particular, in terms of epistemic grounding. He observes that out of the 89 verbal elements examined and classified into 6 different categories by

Kálmán et al. (1989), and only the first two being real auxiliary categories (central and secondary), there are only 11 that can be considered epistemic grounding predicates. On the one hand, out of the 19 elements in the first two categories, only 8 are epistemic grounding predicates, and, on the other hand, there are such predicates in the clearly non-auxiliary categories as well. It is important in this connection that Pelyvás (1996) claims that even English auxiliaries exhibit varying degrees of auxiliarihood and this category is better viewed as radial (i.e. it has prototypical organization) rather than discrete. Let me add that Kenesei's (2000, 2008) discussion of the relevant Hungarian elements also invokes the notion of gradience. Furthermore, Kenesei (2001) and Rákosi (2006) also distinguish the category of semi-auxiliaries (although they use different criteria). In this paper, I cannot go into further details of these issues.³ What is crucial for my present purposes is that we can safely identify at least three verbal elements (in certain uses) which satisfy all the relevant and widely acknowledged criteria for auxiliarihood, and this fact could, in principle, justify the postulation of the functional category I in Hungarian in an LFG framework.

3 On the functional category I in English and Russian – in GB and LFG

As regards the treatment of auxiliaries in English, Kenesei's (2008) characterization in (2) uses the classical Government and Binding (GB) phrase structural and categorial system. However, as is well-known, in recent versions of Chomsky's Minimalist Program (MP), the I functional category is no longer used (it has "exploded" and "proliferated"); instead, a whole range of other functional categories (and their X-bar projections) have been introduced: T(ense), Agr(eement), Mood, Mod(ality), Asp(ect), Voice, etc. From this it follows that the relevant verbal elements in (2) can find their respective categorial labels in the new system.

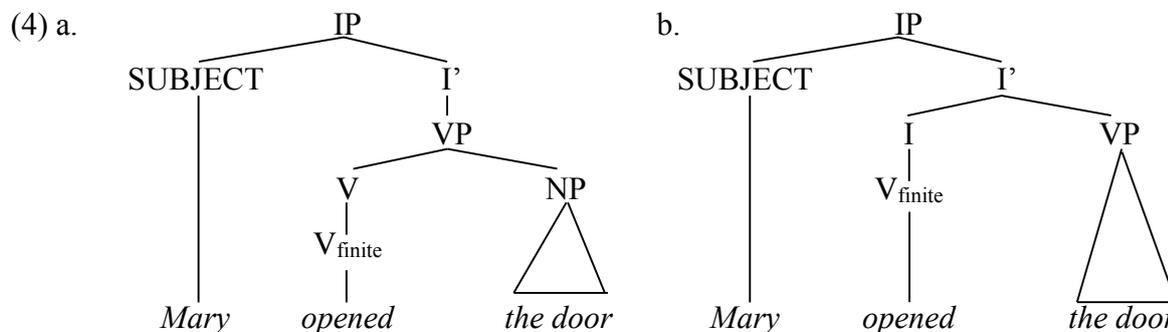
By contrast, mainstream LFG frameworks still standardly admit only three functional categories: I and C for sentences and D for noun phrases. It is important that this theory has always allowed both endocentric (CP, IP) and exocentric (S) sentence structures. It assumes that the choice between them is another dimension of parametric variation: there are languages with only endocentric sentences, there are also exocentric languages, and, as a third option, there are mixed languages. Likewise, in certain languages noun phrases are best treated as NPs, in others they are more amenable to the DP analysis. For further details, see Bresnan (2001) and Dalrymple (2001).

Börjars et al. (1999) offer a very important discussion of the possible special treatments of I(P) structures that the principles of LFG allow, concentrating on sentences which contain a finite verb and no auxiliary. They schematize the two possibilities as in (4a,b). I have additionally included the words of the example in (3). The basic motivation and justification for the postulation of the IP node in a language with the relevant properties (e.g. English) is that the (configurational) encoding of the subject function can be carried out in the general (i.e. generative-theory-neutral) manner: [Spec,IP]. Given that LFG rejects syntactic movement operations, including V-to-I movement, one transparent solution, presented in (4b), is to insert the finite verb in the I head position. This is possible, because in LFG (i) it can be naturally assumed that finite verbs belong to the category I (ii) the principle of the economy of expression admits phrasal projections without a head position. Bresnan defines this principle as follows. "All syntactic phrase structure nodes are optional and are not used unless required by independent principles (completeness, coherence, semantic expressivity)" (Bresnan 2001: 91). The VP in (4b) is necessarily headless. According to Börjars et al. (1999), this is a head-movement-mimicking solution (without real movement but

³ Rákosi (2006) offers a detailed and illuminating discussion of a variety of approaches to various uses of Hungarian auxiliary-like elements, including his own view (see section 5.6 and chapter 6).

with the same effect). The other alternative, shown in (4a), is to assume a headless IP (again, the economy principle makes this a legitimate step in LFG).

(3) *Mary opened the door.*

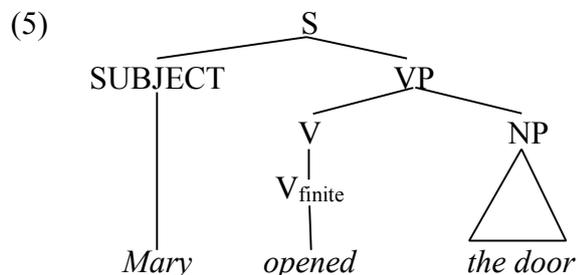


Börjars et al.'s (1999) main point is that although these possibilities are available in LFG, the postulation of IP in a language requires particular circumspection. They write:

Complementisers like *that* and determiners like *the* indeed seem to be sufficiently distinct from verbs and nouns respectively to justify separate functional category status. I is however used variously to represent auxiliary verbs (which look like a special subclass of verb) and clusters of grammatical features (tense, agreement) which are precisely not verbs, and are spelled out in certain linear positions (e.g. second position in the analysis of Warlbiri in Austin & Bresnan (1996)). Arguably these are not the same and should be handled distinctly.

Despite the potential restrictiveness of the LFG conception of functional categories, a liberal interpretation of Specialization has come to allow lexical categories which are morphologically marked for some functional feature (like tense or definiteness) to be considered as functional categories, and therefore as potential occupants of functional nodes (many such analyses can be found in the LFG literature, for examples, see Kroeger (1993), King (1995) and Sells (1998)). In conjunction with clause (b) of Structure-Function Association, this allows LFG analyses effectively to mimic P&P analyses which use movement from lexical to functional nodes, though of course, because of the principle of Economy of Expression, traces are disallowed per se. (1999: 1-2)

In the light of these considerations, it is noteworthy that Bresnan (2001) gives an exocentric analysis of a sentence like (3), see (5).⁴

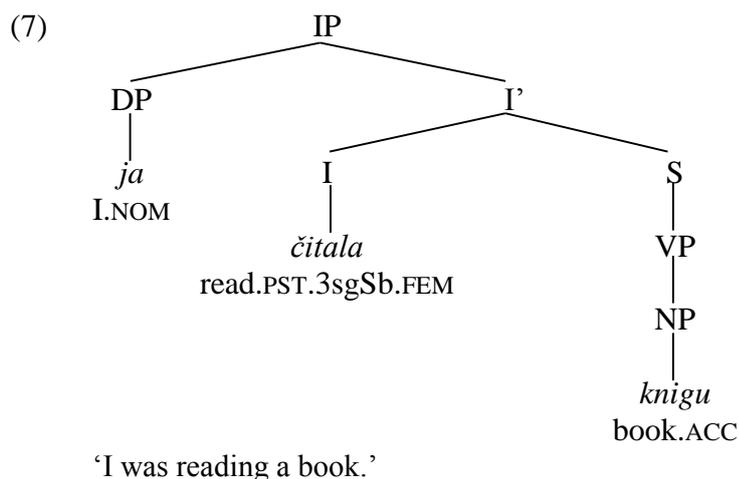
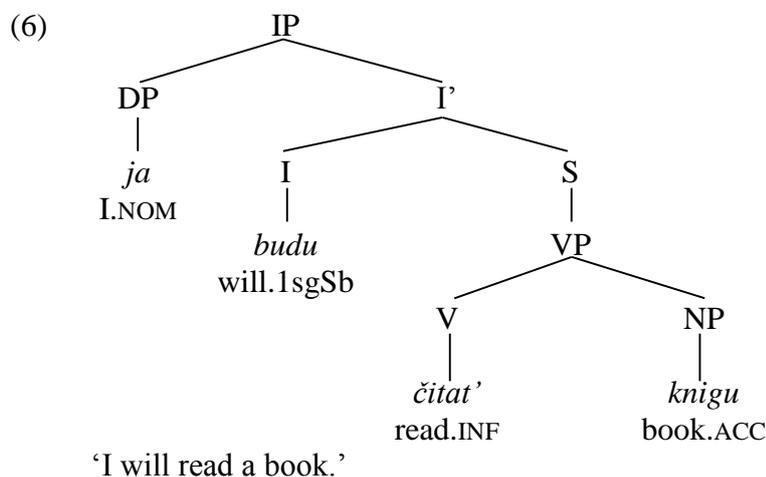


It is a fundamental difference between LFG and GB or MP that the former respects the Lexical Integrity Principle (LIP): in this framework any syntactic position can only be occupied by a syntactic atom: a word. No bound morphemes are allowed to live independent

⁴ Interestingly, Dalrymple (2001) analyzes this type as in (4a).

syntactic lives. Moreover, as partially follows from LIP, in LFG the postulation of the existence of any one of the three functional categories in a particular language is an empirical issue: there has to be at least one word in that language that can be plausibly taken to belong to the given functional category.⁵ For instance, in English all the three functional categories are justified: C (*that*), I (*may*) and D (*the*). In section 2 I pointed out that Bresnan (2001), for example, assumes the category labels of Kenesei (2008) (without, however, the movement part of the analysis), which is a natural consequence of these LFG principles.⁶

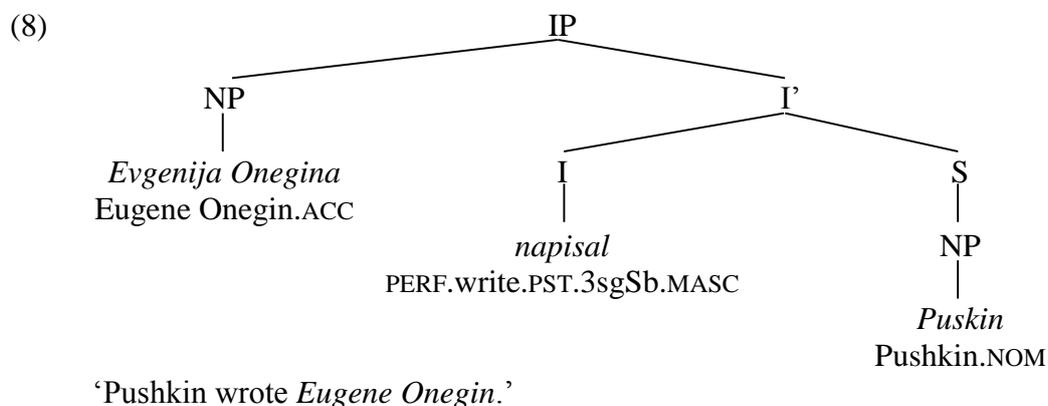
Bresnan (2001) offers the following discussion of King's (1995) LFG analysis of Russian, which is also highly relevant to our concerns in the present paper. Russian makes use of both configurational and case-marking principles of function specification. It is an internal subject language, which means that it has two subject positions: one in S and another in [Spec,IP]. S is the complement of I, which is the category of finite verbs and V is the category of infinitives. In King's (1995) analysis, the specifier of IP can have the TOP function, which (by default identification) is also a subject position (one of the two subject positions).



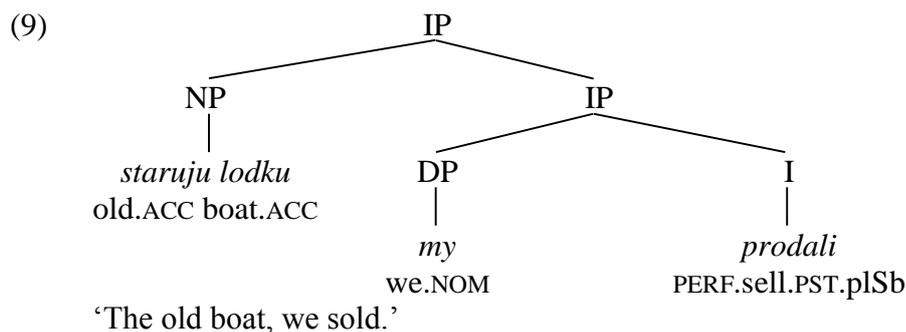
⁵ Also see the relevant discussion of Börjars et al. (1999) above.

⁶ The V treatment of *have* and the two *be*-s requires a marked solution in both frameworks, because the VP complements of these Vs are non-thematic, as opposed to the complements of ordinary lexical Vs. In Kenesei's framework, these elements do not have a theta-grid, that is, they do not assign theta roles. In Bresnan's system, they do not have a PRED feature, that is, they do not have real semantic content, let alone an argument structure. They are annotated in c-structure as functional coheads with their complement VP. They make their aspectual or voice contribution, while the true verbal semantic content is contributed by the V functional head of the VP functional cohead.

In addition, the Spec,IP position can be filled by a nonsubject. Russian solves this problem by employing the case (dependent-marking) strategy of function specification, in addition to the configurational strategy.



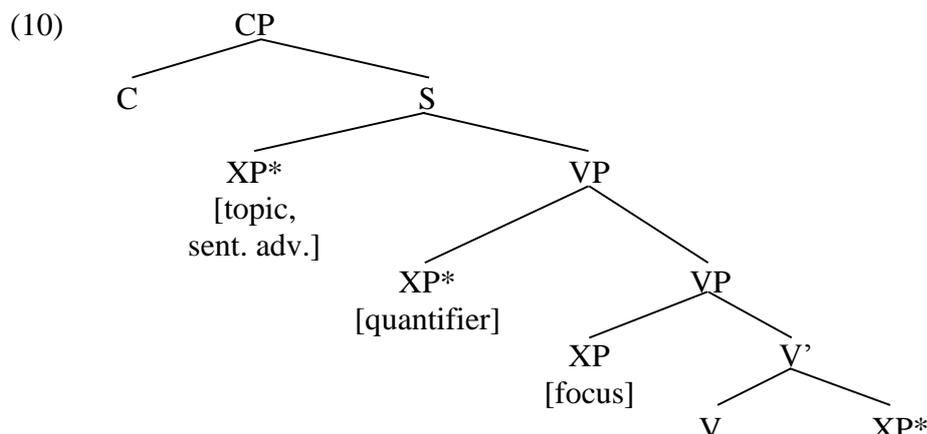
Whereas Spec,IP can be either TOP or FOC, a constituent adjoined to IP can only be TOP in Russian:



4 On some GB/MP and LFG approaches to Hungarian sentence structure

As Kenesei (2000) observes, É. Kiss’s (1992) GB approach has no category for auxiliaries in Hungarian, see section 2. Actually, she does not postulate the I(P) functional category at all, but she employs C(P), and (in a somewhat unorthodox manner in this theory): S. (She also adopts Szabolcsi’s (1992) DP for noun phrases.) Her (simplified)⁷ sentence structure can be schematically represented as in (10). From the perspective of the present paper, the most important additional aspect of her analysis is that she collapses, in a single [Spec,VP] position, verbal modifiers (VMs) in neutral sentences and focussed constituents in non-neutral sentences. The problem with this approach in this framework is that not only constituents to be focussed but even ordinary (clearly unfocussed) VMs have to be assumed to be moved from their base-generated post-verbal positions within V’ to [Spec,VP] to receive the focus feature [+F]. Compare the examples in (11).

⁷ She also postulates a position between CP and S for left-dislocated contrastive topics dominated by E (= expression). The abbreviation sent. adv. stands for “sentential adverb”.

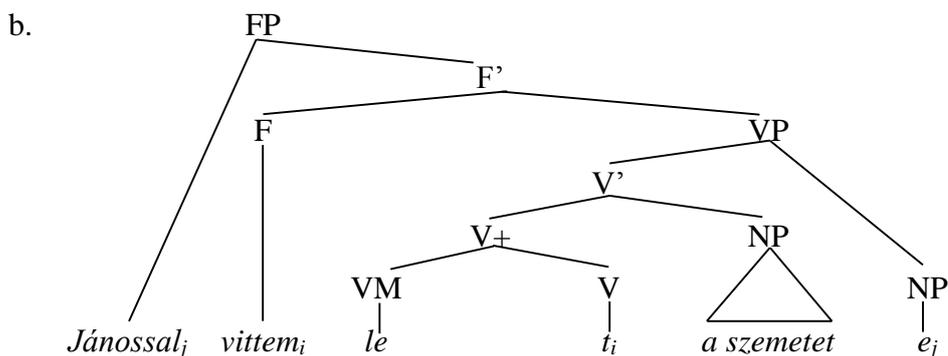


- (11) a. *János könyv-et olvas-ott a busz-on.*
 John.NOM book-ACC read-PAST.3SG the bus-on
 ‘John was reading a book (= book-reading) on the bus.’
- b. *János a BUSZ-ON olvas-ott könyv-et (és nem OTTHON).*
 John.NOM the bus-on read-PAST.3SG book-ACC and not at.home
 ‘John was reading a book (= book-reading) on the BUS (and not at HOME).’
- c. *János KÖNYV-ET olvas-ott a busz-on (és nem LEVEL-ET).*
 John.NOM book-ACC read-PAST.3SG the bus-on and not letter-ACC
 ‘John was reading a BOOK (= BOOK-reading) on the bus (and not a LETTER).’

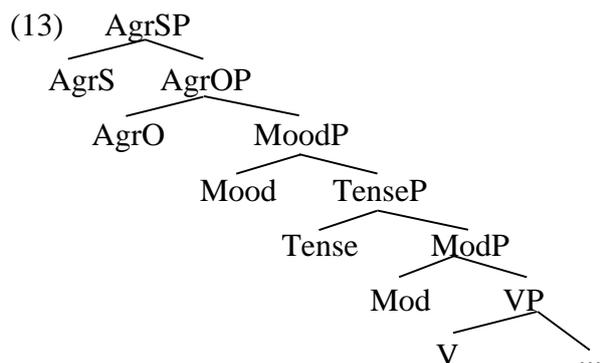
In Hungarian, a bare noun object complement can function as a VM in neutral sentences, as is exemplified in (11a), in which case it must immediately precede the verb. Here no contrast (and, consequently, no focussing) is involved. The sentence simply means that John was engaged in a book-reading activity. When, however, there is a heavily stressed focussed constituent in the sentence (represented by SMALLCAPS in the examples), this constituent has to precede the verb, and the VM has to follow the verb, see (11b). As (11c) shows, a VM itself can also be focussed.

A possible solution to this problem is to assume two different positions in two distinct projections. A classic example of this alternative approach has been developed by Bródy (1990). The essence of the solution is that in a non-neutral sentence, a functional projection (FP) is generated above the VP, the projection dominating the VM + V sequence. The VM occupies a preverbal position within the VP, then the V head is moved into the F head position and the focussed constituent lands in Spec,FP. Thus, the preverbal complementarity effect is captured by postulating two designated positions and V-to-F head movement, which also takes care of the postverbal occurrence of the VM in the presence of a focussed constituent. Consider (12b), Bródy’s (1990) analysis of the sentence in (12a).

- (12) a. *JÁNOS-SAL vi-ttem le a szemet-et.*
 John-with took-PAST.1SG down the rubbish-ACC
 ‘I took down the rubbish with JOHN.’



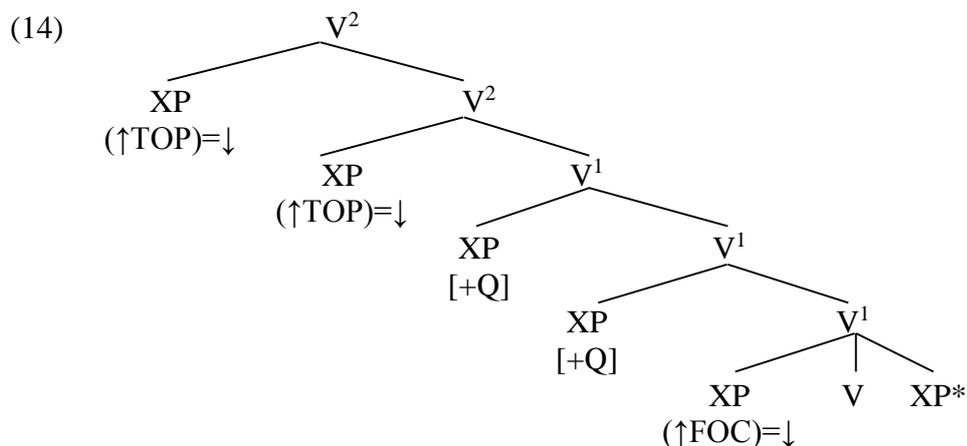
Bartos (2000), concentrating on the morpho-syntactically relevant inflectional properties of Hungarian, proposes the hierarchy of functional categories/projections shown in (13),⁸ which satisfies the famous Mirror Principle of the GB/MP tradition: the ordering (i. e. hierarchy) of the functional projections in syntax must mirror the ordering of the verbal inflectional morphemes encoding the relevant morpho-syntactic features. This analysis is also adopted, for example, by É. Kiss (2002).



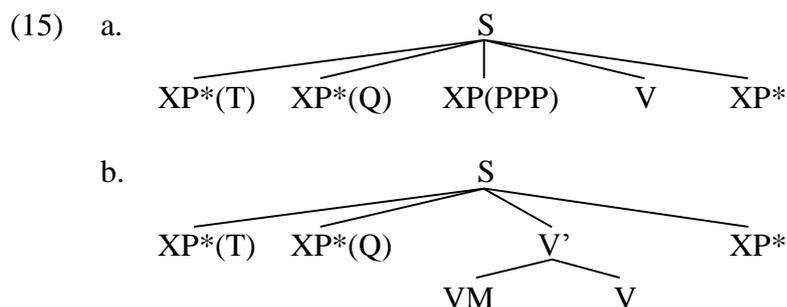
Given the fact that the relevant morpho-syntactic features are encoded by inflectional elements to begin with, no LFG analysis has been proposed along similar lines. It is even more noteworthy that, as far as I am aware, no LFG account of Hungarian sentence structure has been proposed which would posit a separate functional projection for hosting the focussed constituent as opposed to ordinary, non-focussed, preverbal VMs. Börjars et al. (1999) assume neither IP nor S. They propose that Hungarian sentences are VP projections, as in (14), and they suggest that the immediately preverbal occurrence of the focussed constituent should be captured by dint of Optimality Theoretic constraints.⁹ They do not at all discuss VMs and their complementarity with focussed phrases.

⁸ AgrS = subject agreement head, AgrO = object agreement head, Mood = mood head, Tense = tense head, Mod = modality head.

⁹ The superscripts in V¹ and V² encode X-bar syntactic levels.



Mycock (2006, 2008), Laczkó and Rákosi (2008-2013), Laczkó and Rákosi (2011), Rákosi and Laczkó (2011) and Laczkó (2013) basically adapt É. Kiss's (1992) unorthodox GB analysis in their respective LFG frameworks. Gazdik and Komlósy (2011) and Gazdik (2012) do not even assume a VP below S: they only admit a V' constituent. Gazdik (2012) postulates the following two alternative sentence structures.¹⁰ For a critical discussion, see Laczkó (2013).



5 On the treatment of auxiliaries in an LFG syntax of Hungarian

In this section, capitalizing on the discussions in sections 1 and 2, I present the most important conclusions we can make about developing an LFG syntax of Hungarian finite simple sentences in general and the treatment of Hungarian auxiliaries in this system in particular. My main claim is that although clearly there are auxiliaries in Hungarian, which could, in principle, justify the postulation of an IP category in Hungarian, there are very strong arguments against employing IP and assuming that auxiliaries are Is.

Kenesei (2000, 2008) convincingly shows that there are at least five verbal elements in Hungarian that must be considered to be auxiliaries, at least in one of their uses, on the basis of all major and generally acknowledged and widely used criteria. This fact would justify assuming them to represent the category I in this language. Given that the postulation of CP is unquestionable (there are complementizers like *hogy* 'that' in this language and the relevant word order facts are also appropriate) the sentence could be taken to have the CP-IP phrasal-categorical articulation. It is noteworthy already at this point that Kenesei himself suggests that these five auxiliaries are best treated as Vs making up a subgroup of Vs with special properties which have to be encoded in their lexical representations.

¹⁰ PPP stands for her "prominent preverbal position", which can be filled by either an ordinary focussed constituent or Kálmán's (2001) "hocus" constituent.

As has been discussed in section 3, in LFG, provided that there is at least one word that can be demonstrated to exhibit the properties of a finite auxiliary, also see the previous paragraph, the postulation of IP is motivated if its specifier position is associated with a distinct function. For instance, in English it is the subject (grammatical) function, and in Russian it is a discourse function. Now, it is widely assumed that there is no empirical evidence for a designated subject position in Hungarian. By contrast, the Russian discourse functional pattern could be taken to lend rather strong support to employing an IP as the LFG counterpart of Bródy's (1990) FP (Functional Projection) and more recent accounts' F(oc)P (Focus Phrase), see, for instance, É. Kiss (2002). However, below I argue that even this use of the IP has no empirical support, and, therefore, it has to be abandoned.

The IP approach to Hungarian sentence structure, following the Russian pattern, would have the following aspects to it. We could assume that its specifier position hosts focussed constituents, and only focussed constituents, excluding ordinary (non-focussed) VMs. In addition, it would have to be assumed that (finite) auxiliaries and finite verbs can occupy the I head position, just like in Russian. There would be, however, at least three serious problems with this scenario.

(A) It can be shown that a whole range of clearly unfocussed VMs can also immediately precede an auxiliary (on this account: they can also occupy the [Spec,IP] position). Obviously, these elements are the VMs of the infinitival complements of the auxiliary. Consider the following examples, illustrating three salient VM types.¹¹

- (16) a. *János be rúg-ott.*
 John.NOM in kick-PAST.3SG
 'John got drunk.'
- b. *János be fog rúg-ni.*
 John.NOM in will.3SG kick-INF
 'John will get drunk.'
- (17) a. *János pali-ra ve-tte Péter-t.*
 John.NOM guy-onto take-PAST.3SG Peter-ACC
 'John made a dupe of Peter.'
- b. *János pali-ra fog-ja ve-nni Péter-t.*
 John.NOM guy-onto will-3SG.DEF take-INF Peter-ACC
 'John will make a dupe of Peter.'
- (18) a. *János könyv-et olvas-ott a villamos-on.*
 John.NOM book-ACC read-PAST.3SG the tram-on
 'John was reading a book (= was book-reading) on the tram.'
- b. *János könyv-et fog olvas-ni a villamos-on.*
 John.NOM book-ACC will.3SG read-INF the tram-on
 'John will be reading a book (= will be book-reading) on the tram.'

¹¹ Contrary to the standard Hungarian spelling convention, following É. Kiss (2002) and Laczkó & Rákosi (2011), among others, I spell the particle and the verb as two separate words even when the former immediately precedes the latter. This is because we assume that the two elements occupy distinct syntactic positions.

In (16a) the particle (preverb) *be* ‘in(to)’ is used in an absolutely non-compositional complex predicate (particle verb construction, PVC). It does not receive heavy (= focus) stress (eradicating stress, see Kálmán (2001), and the whole intonation pattern is typical of neutral sentences. In (16b), the combination of the particle, the auxiliary and the infinitive exhibits exactly the same properties. This is the unmarked use and interpretation of both sentences in (16). It is to be noted that occasionally the particle can receive focus stress as well in (16a,b). In such a case the interpretation of the construction is that of verum focus (‘John DID get drunk.’) However, the main point from our perspective is that the alleged [Spec,IP] position can also be filled by a non-focussed VM. In (17), the VM is an idiom chunk (*palira* ‘guy.onto’). Needless to say, it cannot receive focus stress and focus interpretation in its own right. Still it can occupy the alleged [Spec,IP] position.¹² The examples in (18) illustrate exactly the same scenario, but this time the VM is a bare noun object.

(B) As is demonstrated in a detailed and comprehensive fashion by Kálmán et al. (1989), and as is particularly emphasized by Kenesei (2000, 2008), there are several finite lexical verbs, taking infinitival complements, that share the above behaviour with auxiliaries, i.e. in neutral sentences they must be preceded by the VM of their infinitival complement. However, a great number of other finite verbs, also taking infinitival complements, reject this pattern, and they require their infinitival complements to be preceded by their own VMs. Compare the following examples.

(19) *János be akar-t rúg-ni.*
 John.NOM in want-PAST.3SG kick-INF
 ‘John wanted to get drunk.’

(20) *János pali-ra szeret-né ve-nni Péter-t.*
 John.NOM guy-onto like-COND.3SG.DEF take-INF Peter-ACC
 ‘John would like to make a dupe of Peter.’

(21) a. **János be utál rúg-ni.*
 John.NOM in hate-PRES.3SG kick-INF
 ‘John hates to get drunk.’

b. *János utál be rúg-ni.*
 John.NOM hate-PRES.3SG in kick-INF
 ‘John hates to get drunk.’

(22) a. **János pali-ra imád-ja ve-nni Péter-t.*
 John.NOM guy-onto love-PRES.3SG.DEF take-INF Peter-ACC
 ‘John loves to make a dupe of Peter.’

b. *János imád-ja pali-ra ve-nni Péter-t.*
 John.NOM love-PRES.3SG.DEF guy-onto take-INF Peter-ACC
 ‘John loves to make a dupe of Peter.’

¹² In this case, too, occasionally the idiom chunk in both (17a) and (17b) can receive heavy focus stress; however, in this case, too, this can only encode verum focus: ‘John DID make a dupe of Peter.’

The problem then is that there is a split between two groups of finite verbs. One group patterns with the auxiliaries and the other does not. This is rather suspicious, because we do not find such a split either in English or in Russian: all auxiliaries and all finite verb forms share the same general properties as heads of IPs.

(C) Infinitival constructions also exhibit the same duality of preverbal constituents. These constituents can be either focussed phrases or VMs. Compare the following examples.

- (23) a. *János szeret-ne újság-ot olvas-ni.*
 John.NOM like-COND.3SG newspaper-ACC read-INF
 ‘John would like to read a newspaper (= to newspaper-read).
- b. *János szeret-ne ÚJSÁG-OT olvas-ni (és nem KÖNYV-ET).*
 John.NOM like-COND.3SG newspaper-ACC read-INF and not book-acc
 ‘John would like to NEWSPAPER-read (and not BOOK-read).
- c. *János ÚJSÁG-OT szeret-ne olvas-ni (és nem KÖNYV-ET).*
 John.NOM newspaper-ACC like-COND.3SG read-INF and not book-acc
 ‘John would like to NEWSPAPER-read (and not BOOK-read).

In (23a) the infinitival construction contains a bare noun VM preceding the infinitive. In (23b) the same bare noun receives focus stress and interpretation. (As (23c) shows, the focussed element can also precede the finite verb.) In the [Spec,IP]=focus approach, the type exemplified by (23b) would inevitably lead to assuming that infinitival constructions are also IPs. Then, however, the fundamental “I = (finite) auxiliary or finite verb” aspect of the analysis would collapse. It is important to point out that following from the different principles and assumptions of LFG and GB/MP, the facts discussed above, which would defy an LFG-style IP analysis of focus constructions, would also be problematic for a GB/MP-style approach, although for a different reason. In the classical version of GB both finite and non-finite clauses are treated as IPs, which would be an advantage, see the discussion above; however, in that framework the [Spec,IP] position is reserved for subjects and not for foci by default. I think this explains primarily why alternative solutions have been developed in this theory. É. Kiss (1992) assumes that the [Spec,VP] position is the focus position, which, as I remarked above, is problematic, because she is forced to collapse foci and VMs in an unprincipled manner. Since the introduction of functional categories in addition to IP and CP at the clausal level, the standard treatment is the postulation of functional projection that host a focussed constituent in its specifier position: [Spec,F(oc)P], for an overview of various alternatives along this general line, see É. Kiss (1992). Given that the IP approach in LFG is implausible, see the discussion above, and no additional functional categories are admitted in the theory, an LFG account needs to employ a basic S/VP configuration. For a brief overview of a variety of analyses, see section 4.

In Laczkó (2014) I will develop a detailed LFG analysis of focus and VM constructions. I will argue that É. Kiss’s (1992) unorthodox GB approach can be adapted and accommodated in LFG in a theory-internally principled manner, thanks to the architecture and assumptions of this model. It is a representational (i.e. non-derivational) theory with several parallel structural components (e.g. annotated constituent structure, corresponding functional structure, information structure and prosodic structure). One and the same c-structure position (node) can be associated with alternative annotations providing the mapping (linking) to other relevant levels of representation. I will claim that the [Spec,VP] position can be assigned the

following two functional annotations (among others which are not relevant for purposes of this paper).¹³

$$(24) \{ (\uparrow \text{FOCUS}) = \downarrow \\ | \downarrow \text{CHECK_VM} =_c + \}$$

This disjunction encodes that the position (node) is either a focus or a VM (and in a fuller analysis the two disjuncts are also combined with additional annotations providing the appropriate linkage to the corresponding elements in prosodic structure). Lexical items, in turn, can also be provided with appropriate annotations encoding their properties. For instance, *érkezik* ‘arrive’ and the *vesz* ‘take’ predicate of the idiom *palira vesz valakit* ‘make a dupe of somebody’ are verbs which require a designated VM element in [Spec,VP] in neutral sentences: *érkezik* requires its oblique argument (as its VM) to fill this position, while the designated VM of *vesz* is the idiom chunk. In a non-neutral clause the same position is occupied by a focussed constituent, as usual. The simplified lexical forms of these two predicates are given in (25) and (26).¹⁴

$$(25) \textit{érkezik}, V (\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \textit{‘arrive } <(\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) (\uparrow \text{OBL})>’ \\ \{ (\uparrow \text{FOCUS}) | (\uparrow \text{OBL CHECK_VM}) = + \}$$

$$(26) \textit{vesz}, V (\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \textit{‘make-a-dupe-of } <(\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) (\uparrow \text{OBJ})>’ (\uparrow \text{OBL}) \\ (\uparrow \text{OBL FORM}) = \textit{PALIRA} \{ (\uparrow \text{FOCUS}) | (\uparrow \text{OBL CHECK_VM}) = + \}$$

In the spirit of Kenesei’s (2008) claim that Hungarian auxiliaries should be taken to be Vs (making up a special subgroup), and in the vein of Bresnan’s (2001) treatment of the non-modal auxiliaries *have* and *be*, we can assume that *fog* ‘will’, for instance, is a verb with the following lexical entry.

$$(27) \textit{fog}, V (\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \textit{future} \\ (\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) = \textit{SG} \\ (\uparrow \text{SUBJ PERS}) = \textit{3} \\ \{ (\uparrow \text{FOCUS}) | (\uparrow \text{CHECK_VM}) = + \}$$

It has no PRED feature (i.e. no semantic content). It contributes the future value for the TENSE feature of the VP¹⁵ (and, consequently, of the entire sentence) as well as the values for the number and person features of the subject. In addition, it requires a focussed constituent or a VM in [Spec,VP]. The “subclass” property of auxiliaries like *fog* in Kenesei’s sense is reflected by the fact that they have no PRED feature.¹⁶

¹³ In addition, in Laczkó (2014) I will show that the general property of Hungarian verbs that they themselves can be focussed is also shared by verbal elements in their truly auxiliary use, and, furthermore, they also exhibit uniform behaviour with respect to negation facts.

¹⁴ The representation in (26) encodes that the verb has two semantic arguments, the subject and the object, and the oblique constituent is only a formal complement having no semantic content: only a form feature.

¹⁵ It can be assumed that, in addition to the past and present (or, rather, non-past) values of the TENSE feature, which have morphosyntactic encoding, *fog* is a syntactic encoder of the future value.

¹⁶ Actually, they can be seen as a subclass: they belong to the large subclass of Vs that require the [Spec,VP] position to be occupied by either focus or VM, and within this subclass, there are two subclasses: that of lexical verbs like *érkezik* ‘arrive’ and idiomatic *vesz* ‘take’ and that of auxiliaries like *fog* ‘will’ and *szokott* ‘habitual present’.

Finally, let me also point out that it would also be possible to develop an LFG analysis of neutral VM and non-neutral focus clauses in such a way as to mimic the generally advocated GB/MP approach. We could assume two distinct positions for foci and VMs. The most natural way of implementing this would be to posit that the VM is in [Spec,VP] and focus is the first XP left-adjoined to VP. It would be possible to capture their complementarity by dint of appropriate annotations and constraints. However, intuitively, the complementarity is most naturally handled by postulating a single designated position, and LFG's principles and architecture make it possible to encode the contrasting functional, word order and prosodic properties of the two constituent types by employing appropriate sets of disjunctive annotations associated with the same node.

6 Concluding remarks

In this paper I have considered some crucial aspects of a possible LFG analysis of finite clauses in Hungarian in the light of the behaviour of auxiliaries. Capitalizing on Kenesei (2000, 2008), I pointed out that there are at least five verbal elements that can be unquestionably regarded as auxiliaries, and this, in theory, would make it possible to employ the IP category in general, and to treat non-neutral, focus constructions in this setting in particular. However, on the basis of empirical and theory-internal considerations, I argued that the IP approach would be implausible and highly problematic. Instead, I (repeatedly) subscribed to the exocentric S/VP framework, endorsing an analysis which postulates that foci and VMs are in complementary distribution in [Spec,VP]. Although it would be possible, even in this LFG approach, to assume two distinct positions for VMs and foci: [Spec,VP] and left-adjunction to VP, respectively, it is more intuitive and more in the spirit of LFG to employ a single designated position associated with alternative sets of annotations. In this approach, in accordance with Kenesei's (2008) generalization, I assume that Hungarian auxiliaries are Vs, and their special properties, just like the similar special properties of a large group of lexical verbs, have to be encoded in their lexical forms.

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