VERBAL CATEGORY AND NOMINAL FUNCTION:

EVIDENCE FROM HUNGARIAN SUBJECT CLAUSES

György Rákosi and Tibor Laczkó

University of Debrecen

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to investigate the categorial and the functional status of the clausal arguments of modal and evaluative predicates in Hungarian. Such an argument can be realized either as a finite *that*-clause or as an optionally agreement-marked infinitival clause, and in both cases it is claimed to map onto SUBJ. Agreement-marked infinitives are shown to have no nominal properties, contra É. Kiss (1987, 2002) and in contrast with Portuguese agreement-marked infinitives. Clausal subjects are always verbal categorially in Hungarian, despite being mapped onto a canonically nominal function. *That*-clauses can have a pronominal associate, in which case this pronoun is the subject of the matrix predicate and the *that*-clause itself is an adjunct to it. Infinitival clauses cannot have pronominal associates because infinitives cannot be adjuncts of nominal categories in Hungarian.

1.   Introduction

Modal and evaluative predicates in Hungarian allow for nominal (1a) as well as for sentential (1b-c) arguments in the same argument position:

(1)   a. *Nem sikerül-t   **a   start**.*
        not   succeed-PAST.3SG   the   start.NOM
        'The start was not successful.'

    b. *Nem sikerül-t   **el-startol-n-unk**   / **el-startol-ni**.*
        not   succeed-PAST.3SG   away-start-INF-1PL   / away-start-INF
        '(For us) to start was not successful.'

    c. *Nem sikerül-t,   **hogy el-startol-j-unk**.*
        not   succeed-PAST.3SG   that away-start-SUJU-1PL[1]
        'It was not successful for us that we should start.'

On the basis of the apparent parallelism (but without any further empirical motivation), traditional descriptive grammars of Hungarian treat the arguments in bold as functionally identical: they take each of these constituents to be the subject of the modal/evaluative predicate. The parallelism is generally considered to be manifest at the categorial level, too – hence the frequent assumption that the subordinate clauses (especially the infinitival ones) have nominal properties.

Generative research has shown an increased interest in various aspects of the syntax of these constructions in the last two decades.[2] However, the functional and the categorial status of modal/evaluative predicates and their argument structure have received relatively little attention, and even the works which do discuss these issues fail to comment on how the three constructions in (1) relate to each other.

This paper investigates the clausal arguments of modal and evaluative predicates in Hungarian and presents an LFG-theoretic analysis of their functional and categorial properties. We claim that the three structures in (1) are functionally similar in the relevant respects, i.e., the clausal arguments (1b-c) are syntactic subjects, just like the nominal

---

[1]   SUJU = subjunctive suffix.
[2]   The most important works written in English are Dalmi (2002), Kenesei (2001), É. Kiss (1987, 2002), Komlósy (1994), and Tóth (2000, 2001, 2002).

argument in (1a). We also show that despite the functional similarity, the clausal arguments have no nominal properties, contrary to the position advocated not only in the descriptive literature, but also in the generative proposal of É. Kiss (1987, 2002).

We will also seek to provide an answer to why pronominal associates are compatible with *that*-clauses (2a), but not with infinitival clauses (2b) in Hungarian:

(2) a. (*Az*)   *Nem sikerül-t*   (*az*),   *hogy el-startol-j-unk.*
       that.NOM   not   succeed-PAST.3SG   that.NOM   that   away-start-SUJU-1PL
       'It was not successful for us that we should start.'

     b. (**Az*)   *Nem   sikerül-t*   (**az*)   *el-startol-n-unk.*
        that.NOM   not   succeed-PAST.3SG   that.NOM   away-start-INF-1PL
        'For us to start was not successful.'

Our account is based on the claim that if the pronoun is present, then it acts as the argument of the matrix modal/evaluative predicate, the clause itself being an adjunct to it. We will show that Hungarian (pro)nominal expressions do not license infinitival adjunct modifiers, and that is why (2b) with the pronoun is ungrammatical.

The structure of the paper is as follows. First, we offer a brief descriptive overview of the syntax of Hungarian modal and evaluative predicates in Section 2. In Section 3, we present our analysis of the functional and categorial status of the infinitival construction type illustrated in (1b), drawing on the results of Rákosi (2004) and Rákosi & Laczkó (to appear). Next, we perform a similar investigation concerning the *that*-clause construction (1c) in Section 4. Special attention is given to the nature of the relation between the pronominal associate and the *that*-clause (2a). In Section 5, we address the problem of the incompatibility of this pronoun with infinitival clauses in Hungarian (2b). We close the paper with some concluding remarks in Section 6.

2.   Modal and evaluative predicates in Hungarian: an overview

By *modal predicates* we mean predicates that express (different types of) necessity or possibility, and by *evaluatives* we mean predicates that express some kind of evaluation of an entity of a given semantic type. The two classes are not categorially uniform: we find verbal (3a), adjectival (3b), and nominal predicates (3c) in both.[3]

(3) a. *kell*ᵥ   *tetszik*ᵥ
        'must, have to, need (to)' 'appeal to, please'

     b. *lehetséges*adj   *jó*adj
        'possible'   'good'

     c. *lehetetlenség*n   *ostobaság*n
        'impossibility'   'silliness'

---

[3]   The citation form of Hungarian verbs is their third person singular, present tense, indicative form. This slot in the paradigm is unmarked morphologically. Adjectival and nominal predicates form a complex with the copula *van* 'be', which also has a zero form in present tense indicative if the subject is third person.

The individual anchor of the model in which the modal or the evaluative predicate is interpreted is the speaker by default. If it is not the speaker, then it is syntactically encoded as a dative-marked argument. This argument may appear in all the three constructions we have seen in (1). Consider the following examples with the modal predicate *kell* 'must, need':

(4) a. *Egy új otthon kell-ett János-nak.*
      a   new home.NOM   must-PAST.3SG   John-DAT
      'John needed a new home.'

    b. *János-nak otthon kell-ett len-ni-e / len-ni.*
      John-DAT home   must-PAST.3SG   be-INF-3SG / be-INF
      (i)   'John must have been at home.'
      (ii)   'John had to be at home.'

    c. *János-nak az kell-ett, hogy otthon legy-en.*
      John-DAT   that.NOM must-PAST.3SG   that home   be.SUJU-3SG
      'What John needed was to be at home.'

In (4a) and (4c), the dative argument *Jánosnak* 'for John' is an argument of the modal predicate. (4b), however, is ambiguous between a monadic (epistemic) and a dyadic (deontic or circumstantial) reading. On the monadic reading (i), the dative expression is not a semantic argument of the modal. On the dyadic reading (ii), the dative is the semantic as well as the syntactic argument of the modal and it controls the subject slot of the infinitive. This paper focuses on the functional and the categorial properties of the non-dative argument, and the interested reader is referred to the literature listed in Footnote 1 for details concerning the behaviour of the dative argument.

The infinitive in these constructions can be marked for agreement, but this is optional. In actual fact, most modal and evaluative predicates are only seldom used with agreement-marked infinitives in current Hungarian, and the plain infinitive is generally preferred. If the infinitive is agreement-marked, then it shows the full agreement paradigm and it agrees with the dative argument. This agreement phenomemon is discussed in detail in É. Kiss (1987, 2002) and in Tóth (2000, 2001, 2002).

3. Infinitival arguments of modals and evaluatives
3.1. Categorial status

É. Kiss (1987, 2002) develops an account of agreement-marked infinitives in Hungarian which considers the surface similarity between possessive constructions and agreement-marked infinitives essential and treats them on a par. (5a) is a possessive and (5b) is an infinitival construction:

(5) a. *János-nak sikerül-t a start-ja.*
      John-DAT succeed-PAST.3SG   the   start-POSS.3SG.NOM
      'John's start was successful.'

b. *János-nak sikerül-t   el-startol-ni-a.*
   John-DAT   succeed-PAST.3SG   away-start-INF-3SG
   'John managed to start.'

É. Kiss assumes that the infinitival marker –*n*(*i*) is a nominalising suffix and she predicts that the attachment of this morpheme creates a nominal shell around the verbal core. Therefore, the syntax of agreement-marked infinitives should be identical in relevant respects to that of nouns.

One immediate problem with her approach is that the same infinitival marker appears on both agreement-marked and plain infinitives. If this marker is a nominalising suffix, then every infinitive is predicted to have nominal properties in Hungarian – but she explicitly restricts the nominal analysis to the agreement-marked domain. We present a number of arguments against the parallel analysis of possessive and agreement-marked infinitive constructions in Rákosi & Laczkó (to appear) and show that the latter differ both in their syntax and morphophonology from the former. Thus, even the allegedly nominal agreement-marked infinitives fail to pattern up with possessive noun phrases.

The evidence we provide here against the claim that agreement-marked infinitives are nominal concerns not the specific details of the parallel analysis but the general distributional asymmetries between nouns and infinitives. We nevertheless contrast agreement-marked infinitives with possessive constructions for expository purposes, but the latter are intended as representatives of noun phrases in general. Besides, agreement-marked infinitives do not differ in their distribution from plain infinitives in their licensing domain: as indicated above (1b & 4b), they are mostly interchangeable. Since É. Kiss restricts her nominal analysis to agreement-marked items, we focus on these, but it should be noted that plain infinitives show the same test results.

European Portuguese offers an interesting comparison as it licenses agreement marking on infinitives. Raposo (1987: 92-95) argues that the agreement marker on infinitives is "an overt pronominal realisation of the category N at the zero-bar level", and as a consequense, the maximal projection of the infinitive, IP, is also "nondistinct" from NP.[4]

In Portuguese, however, there are good reasons to assume that the external syntax of agreement-marked infinitives is indeed nominal. First, they may take the definite article (Raposo 1987: 96):

(6) *Nós   lamentamos (o) eles   terem   recebido pouco   dinheiro.*
     we.NOM regret   the they.NOM have.INF.3PL received little   money
     'We regret that they have received little money.'

In Hungarian, possessive phrases can co-occur with the definite article as expected, whereas infinitives never can:

---

[4]   This claim holds for at least Portuguese agreement-marked infinitival clauses of the following types: subject clauses, complements of factive predicates, and adjunct clauses introduced by a preposition.

(7) a. *(*A*) *start-om*   *nehéz*   *volt.*
         the   start-1SG.NOM difficult was
         'My start was difficult.'

     b. (**A*) *startol-n-om*   *nehéz*   *volt.*
         the   start-INF-1SG difficult was
         'It was difficult for me to start.'

Second, Portuguese agreement-marked infinitives can appear as complements of prepositions (Raposo 1987: 88):

(8) *Eu*   *entrei* *em*   *casa*   [*sem*   [*os*   *meninos*   *verem*]].
     I   entered   the   house   without the   children   see.INFL.3PL
     'I entered the house without being noticed by the children.'

Hungarian has postpositions, which take nominal complements, but not infinitives:

(9) a. *A*   *start-om*   *mellett* *a*   *finis-em*   *is*   *nehéz*   *volt.*
         the   start-1SG.NOM besides   the   finish-1SG.NOM too   difficult was
         'Besides my start, my finish was also difficult.'

     b. **Startol-n-om* *mellett* *be-fut-n-om*   *is*   *nehéz*   *volt.*
         start-INF-1SG besides in-run-INF-1SG   too   difficult was
         intended reading: 'Besides starting, it was also difficult for me to finish the race.'

Two coordinated non-plural noun phrases functioning as subjects optionally trigger plural agreement in the preverbal domain in Hungarian:

(10) *A*   *start-om*   *és*   *a*   *finis-em*   *jól*   *sikerül-t*(*-ek*).
      the   start-1SG.NOM and   the   finish-1SG.NOM well   succeed-PAST.3SG(-3PL)
      'My start and my finish were very successful.'

An agreement-marked infinitive cannot be coordinated with a true noun phrase (11a), and two coordinated subject infinitives cannot trigger plural agreement (11b):

(11) a. **Startol-n-om* *és*   *a*   *finis-em*   *jól*   *sikerül-t*(*-ek*).
          start-INF-1SG and   the   finish-1SG.NOM well   succeed-PAST.3SG(-3PL)
          '*For me to start and my finish was/were very successful.'

      b. *Startol-n-om* *és*   *be-fut-n-om*   *jól*   *sikerül-t*(**-ek*).
          start-INF-1SG and   in-run-INF-1SG well   succeed-PAST.3SG(-3PL)
          'For me to start and (for me) to run in was/were very successful.'

Thus, in contrast with the Portuguese construction, the Hungarian agreement-marked infinitive does not show any nominal properties. Therefore, it should be treated as a verbal category.

What needs to be decided next for the purposes of this paper is whether Hungarian infinitival clauses are CPs or Ss.[5] The former option is evidently available for the English infinitive:

(12) a. *I didn't know* [*what to do*].

   b. *I didn't know* [*whether to go*].

Hungarian finite *that*-clauses, as expected, can take the complementizer *hogy* 'that' (see also Subsection 4.1). A WH-expression (generally in focus position) can immediately follow the complementizer (13a), unlike in English (13b).

(13) a. *Nem   tud-t-am*   [CP *hogy hova   men-t-él*].
         not   know-PAST-1SG   that where   go-PAST-2SG
         'I didn't know where you had gone.'

   b. *I didn't know* (**that/*whether*) *where you had gone.*

WH-expressions, which are thus within the S projection and not in [Spec, CP] in Hungarian, are licensed in the initial position of infinitival clauses. But infinitival clauses never take a complementizer:

(14) a. *Nem   tud-t-am*   (**hogy*)   [S *hova men-ni*].
         not   be.able-PAST-1SG   that   where go-INF
         lit. 'I couldn't go anywhere.'

We conclude on the basis of this evidence that Hungarian infinitival clauses are uniformly Ss, and not CPs.[6]

3.2. Functional status

There is no consensus in the literature on the functional properties of the infinitival clauses in question. (4b) is repeated as an illustrative example:

(4) b. *János-nak otthon kell-ett   len-ni-e   / len-ni.*
        John-DAT home   must-PAST   be-INF-3SG / be-INF
        (i)   'John must have been at home.'
        (ii)   'John had to be at home.'

It has been suggested that the matrix predicate is subjectless, and the infinitival clause acts as its complement, cf. Komlósy (1994) and Kenesei (2001).[7] Another possible analysis is

---

[5] There is no evidence for the relevance of an IP projection in the c-structure of the Hungarian clause.
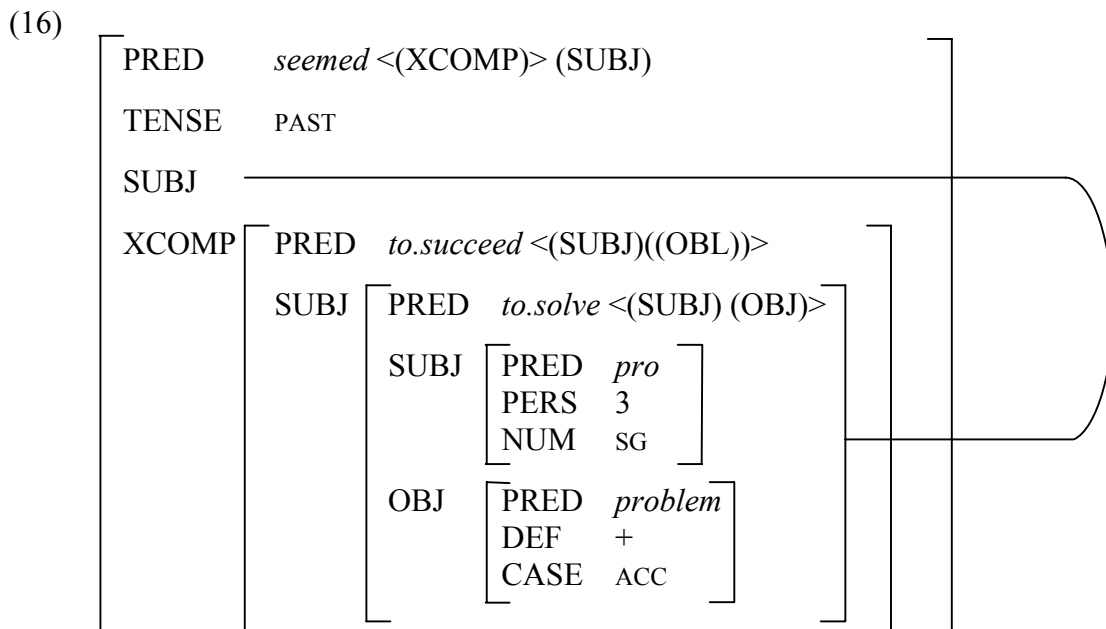[6] In future research, we plan to develop a detailed LFG analysis of the structure of finite and non-finite clauses in Hungarian.
[7] Tóth (2000: 178) also comes to the conclusion that these infinitival clauses are arguments of the matrix modal/evaluative predicate. She refers to them as subject clauses in a footnote, nevertheless she generates them in a complement position.

to take the dative expression to be the matrix subject (Dalmi 2002), on analogy of Icelandic quirky subject constructions, cf., among other works, (Sigurðsson 2002). The infinitival clause is presumably an object then.

Rákosi (2004) argues against both these approaches and claims that it is the infinitival clause itself that is the syntactic subject of the matrix modal/evaluative predicate. The full argumentation can be found there, here we only present an example of a subject raising construction in which the infinitival clause *as a "raised" subject* functionally controls the subject slot of the evaluative predicate *sikerülni* 'to succeed'. The raising predicate *látszik* 'seems' is stress-avoiding, which means it follows its complement to allow it to carry the main stress. The simplified f-structure representation of (15) is in (16).

(15) *Sikerül-ni   látsz-ott   [megolda-ni-a   a   problémá-t].*
      succeed-INF   seem-PAST.3SG   solve-INF-3SG   the   problem-ACC
      'He seemed to succeed in solving the problem.'
      [lit. 'For him to solve the problem seemed to succeed.']

(16)

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & seemed \text{ <(XCOMP)> (SUBJ)} \\
\text{TENSE} & \text{PAST} \\
\text{SUBJ} & \\
\text{XCOMP} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & to.succeed \text{ <(SUBJ)((OBL))>} \\
\text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & to.solve \text{ <(SUBJ) (OBJ)>} \\
\text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & pro \\ \text{PERS} & 3 \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{OBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & problem \\ \text{DEF} & + \\ \text{CASE} & \text{ACC} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Rákosi (2004) shows that these infinitival arguments are targeted as subjects in a number of Hungarian raising constructions. Thus, in this respect they behave exactly like nominal subjects, cf. (15) and (17).

(17) *Sikerül-ni   látsz-ott   a   start.*
      succeed-INF   seem-PAST.3SG   the   start.NOM
      'The start seemed to succeed.'

Notice that clausal subjects are not restricted to discourse functions in Hungarian, as opposed to, for instance, English (Koster 1978). Clausal and nominal subjects can occur in a preverbal topic position (18a), or they can both follow the verb, in which case they bear no discourse function (18b).

(18) a. *Startol-n-om* / *A   start-om   tényleg nehéz   volt.*
　　　start-INF-1SG the   start-1SG.NOM   indeed   difficult was
　　　'As for starting/the start, it was indeed difficult for me.'

　　 b. *Tényleg nehéz   volt startol-n-om   /   a   start-om.*
　　　indeed difficult   was start-INF-1SG   the   start-1SG.NOM
　　　'For me to start/the start was indeed difficult for me.'

4.　Modals/evaluatives and *that*-clauses
4.1.　Categorial status

Though descriptive grammars of Hungarian generally argue that infinitival clauses have nominal properties *because* they can bear nominal functions (SUBJ or OBJ), they do not carry the same reasoning over to the finite *that*-clause arguments of the same predicates, which are thus not considered to be nominal.[8] We treat these clausal arguments as either CPs or Ss, depending on whether the complementizer *hogy* 'that' is present or not.

Whether or not the complementizer can be omitted depends first and foremost on the matrix predicate itself: some predicates license this omission, others disallow it.

(19) a. *Lehet   (hogy) János   már   megérkez-ett.*
　　　may.be   that   John.NOM already arrive-PAST.3SG
　　　'John may have already arrived.'

　　 b. *Tetsz-ik   nek-em, *(hogy) János   már   megérkez-ett.*
　　　Please-3SG DAT-1SG   that John.NOM already arrive-PAST.3SG
　　　'I like it that John has already arrived.'
　　　[lit. 'That John has already arrived pleases me.']

Besides inter-predicate variation of this kind, the omission of the complementizer is constrained by various other factors (see Kenesei (1994) for an overview). *Hogy* 'that' is obligatorily present if the matrix predicate is not verbal (20a), if it is in an adjunct clause (20b), if it is in a subordinate clause whose verbal head is in subjunctive mood (20c), or if its host clause is left-dislocated (20d):

(20) a. *Lehetséges,   *(hogy) János   már   megérkez-ett.*
　　　possible   that John.NOM already arrive-PAST.3SG
　　　'It is possible that John has already arrived.'

　　 b. *János   el-men-t,   *(hogy) hoz-z-on   valami-t.*
　　　John.NOM away-go-PAST.3SG   that   bring-SUJU-3SG something-ACC
　　　'John left to bring something.'

---

[8]　The Minimalist analysis of Lipták (1998) relies, among other things, on the assumption that the C head of an argument clause carries a +D/N categorial feature. This feature is utilized in her account of long focus raising. We present a different account of this phenomenon in Subsection 4.2. Besides, the general LFG principles do not demand the nominal treatment of a clausal category even if it bears a SUBJ function.

c. (*Nek-ünk*)   *sikerül-t*,   **(hogy) jól   el-startol-j-unk.*
   DAT-1PL   succeed-PAST.3SG   that   well   away-START-SUJU-1PL
   'It was successful for us that we should start well.'

d. **(Hogy)   János   már   megérkez-ett,   az   nem   lehet*.
   that   John.NOM   already   arrive-PAST.3SG   that.NOM   not   may.be
   'That John has arrived is not possible.'

We assume that in the presence of the complementizer, finite clauses are CPs in Hungarian, and they are Ss in the lack of it. As is evident, the choice between the two categorial types is subject to lexical as well as configurational factors.[9]

4.2.   That-clauses and pronominal associates at f-structure

As already pointed out in the introduction (see example (2b)), *that*-clauses can have pronominal associates in Hungarian. Here is another example:

(21)   *Tényleg szükséges* (*az*),   *hogy János   itt   legy-en.*
       indeed   necessary   that.NOM   that   John.NOM   here   be.SUJU-3SG
       'It is indeed necessary that John be here.'

There are two approaches available to the categorial status of *az* 'that' in the literature. On the one hand, it can be regarded as an expletive (Kenesei (1994); Lipták (1998)). On the other hand, one can take it to be a bona fide pronoun (É. Kiss (1987, 2002); Tóth (2000)). We follow this latter approach and take *az* 'that' to be not an expletive in these constructions, but a fully-fledged pronoun with a PRED feature of its own.[10] This claim is based on the following considerations.

First, *az* can indeed occur on its own as an ordinary demonstrative pronoun:

(22)   *Csak   AZ   szükséges.*
       only   that.NOM   necessary.
       'Only THAT is necessary.'

Second, as a *that*-clause associate, it typically occurs in discourse functions. For instance, it is the FOCUS of the matrix clause in (23a) and as such, it carries sentential stress. The *that*-clause itself cannot be focussed for prosodic reasons (23b):

(23) a. *Csak AZ   szükséges, hogy János   itt   legy-en.*
        only that.NOM   necessary   that   John.NOM   here   be.SUJU-3SG
        'What is only necessary is that John be here.'

   b. **Csak* [*hogy   János   itt   legy-en*]   *szükséges.*
        only   that   John.NOM   here   be.SUJU-3SG   necessary
        intended reading: 'What is only necessary is that John be here.'

---

[9]   We continue to use the term *that*-clause to refer to the clause type in question, irrespective of the presence or absence of the complementizer.
[10]   Similar claims can be found with respect to other languages in, among other works, Hoekstra (1983) and Bennis (1986) for the Dutch *het*, and in Berman (2001) for the German *es*.
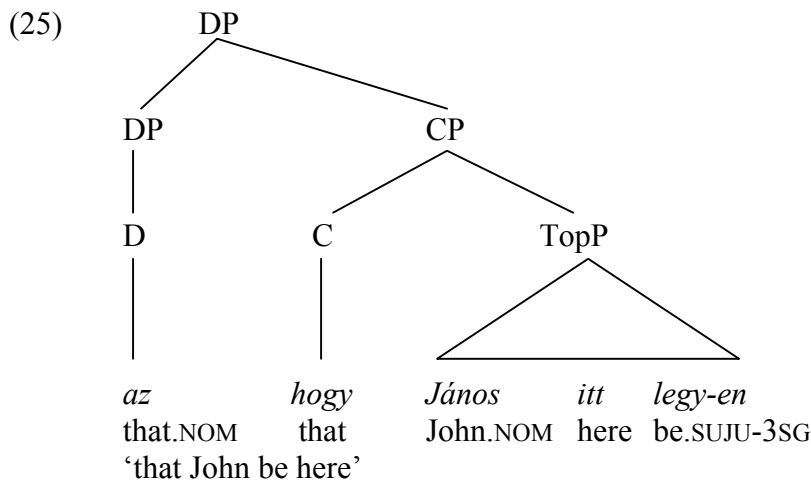
As Tóth (2000) also points it out, true expletives cannot be stressed, whereas pronouns obviously can.

Third, in appropriate discourse settings, *az* can be replaced by its proximal counterpart, *ez* 'this':

(24) *Tényleg EZ   szükséges, hogy János   itt   legy-en?*
      really   this.NOM   necessary that John.NOM   here   be.SUJU-3SG
      lit.: 'Is this really necessary that John be here?'

These data all point towards the conclusion that *az* is a pronoun and not an expletive in these constructions.

It is reasonable to think that this pronoun is the subject argument and the *that*-clause is an adjunct to it. This claim is made by Tóth (2000), who assumes that if no overt pronoun is present, then the subject of the modal/evaluative predicate is a *pro*. Thus the *that*-clause is always an adjunct, whether there is an overt pronominal *az* subject or not. In É. Kiss's (1987, 2002) analysis, the pronoun and its associate *that*-clause form a complex noun phrase, the latter being an argument clause that bears an appositive relation to the former. The structure she would assign to the complex in (21) conceived of in this way is as follows (based on the structure she provides in É. Kiss (2002: 235)):

(25)

```
                  DP
          _____|_____
        DP                 CP
        |             _____|_____
        D            C            TopP
        |            |           __|__
        |            |          /     \
        |            |         /_____\
       az          hogy     János    itt    legy-en
     that.NOM      that     John.NOM here   be.SUJU-3SG
     'that John be here'
```

She assumes that the clause can be extraposed from this complex noun phrase – an operation that proves to be the norm rather than an exception. The DP-layer is also projected if *az* is not present, in which case a phonologically unrealized pronoun occupies the D head (as in (19), for instance). Consequently, the *that*-clause is always in apposition inside a DP-shell.

Contra both these approaches, but in line with Berman's (2001) analysis of related German constructions, we propose that in the presence of the pronoun, the *that*-clause is indeed an adjunct, but in the absence of it, the *that*-clause is the SUBJ of the matrix

predicate. This gives a straightforward explanation for long focus raising facts in Hungarian, which are briefly summarized below.[11]

Long focus raising is the descriptive term denoting the operation in which material from an embedded clause is focussed in the matrix clause. It is possible from the finite *that*-clause arguments of bridge-verbs in Hungarian, but it is always incompatible with the presence of *az*:[12]

(26) *Csak JÁNOS-t   sikerül-t   (*az),   (*#) hogy lerajzol-j-am.*
      only John-ACC   succeed-PAST.3SG   that.NOM   that draw-SUJU-1SG
      'It is only John who I succeeded in taking a picture of.'

In É. Kiss's (1987, 2002) analysis, the presence of the pronoun blocks extraction (ie., long focus raising), since it violates the complex noun phrase constraint, cf. (25). She needs to stipulate, however, that focus raising is grammatical in the absence of the pronoun as "a projection containing no phonologically realized material is transparent for subjacency" (É. Kiss: 2002, 253).

For a different perspective, consider the following. As indicated in (26), there cannot be an intonational break between the two clauses if focus raising takes place (Gervain 2002: 48-49). Such a prosodic boundary is grammatical, however if the pronoun associate is present (27), and the same is true of adjunct clauses (28):

(27) *Csak AZ   sikerül-t,   (#) hogy lerajzol-j-am   János-t.*
      only that.NOM   succeed-PAST.3SG   that draw-SUJU-1SG   John-ACC
      'What suceeded only was for me to draw a picture of John.'

(28) *Jö-tt-em,   (#) hogy lerajzol-j-am   János-t.*
      come-PAST-1SG   that draw-SUJU-1SG   John-ACC
      'I have come to take a picture of John.'

Furthermore, as is well-known, adjunct clauses do not license long focus raising:

(29) **Csak   JÁNOS-t   jö-tt-em,   hogy lerajzol-j-am.*
      only   John-ACC   come-PAST-1SG   that draw-SUJU-1SG
      intended reading: 'I have come to take a picture only of John.'

On our account, the pronoun associate is predicted to be ungrammatical in a focus raising construction (26) because in its presence the *that*-clause is an adjunct and not an argument of the matrix predicate. If the pronoun is absent, the clause is the subject argument of the matrix predicate, and the possibility of focus raising follows. The prosodic similarity between (27) and (28) also derives from the fact that both *that*-clauses are adjuncts.

---

[11] Some of the works that contain more detailed descriptions of long focus raising phenomena in Hungarian are É. Kiss (1987, 2002), Gervain (2002), Kenesei (1994) and Lipták (1998).
[12] Unlike in German, where at least psych-verbs require the presence of *es* in long focus raising constructions, cf. Berman (2001).

It has to be added though that long focus raising from subject clauses is much less acceptable if the clause is in indicative mood than if it is in subjunctive mood, cf. (26) and (30):

(30) $^{??}$*Csak   JÁNOS-t   tetsz-ik,   hogy lerajzol-od.*
        only   John-ACC   please-3SG   that   draw-2SG
        'It is only your drawing a picture of John that pleases me.'

(30) also contrasts with indicative object clauses that license focus raising:

(31)   *Csak   JÁNOS-t   mond-t-am,   hogy lerajzol-om.*
        only   John-ACC   say-PAST-1SG   that   draw-2SG
        'It is only John that I said I would draw a picture of.'

Nevertheless, subject clauses can license focus raising in Hungarian. This can be explained if we assume with Davis & Dubinsky (2001) that subjects are not islands in languages in which they are not required to have nominal properties. As we have demonstrated that Hungarian clausal subjects are not required to have nominal properties (Subsection 3.1.), it follows that they are not necessarily islands. Still, the degraded acceptability of focus raising from indicative subject clauses needs to be explained. It seems to be a feasible generalization that indicative mood, as opposed to subjunctive mood, is not a sufficient trigger for clause union effects if the subordinate clause is a SUBJ. An appropriate account of this variation, however, lies beyond the confines of the present paper. What is important to notice is that the grammar of Hungarian allows for long focus raising from subject clauses.[13]

Finally, let us notice that the behaviour of *az* and its associate *that*-clause parallels the behaviour of pronouns and their postmodifying adjunct relative clauses in Hungarian:
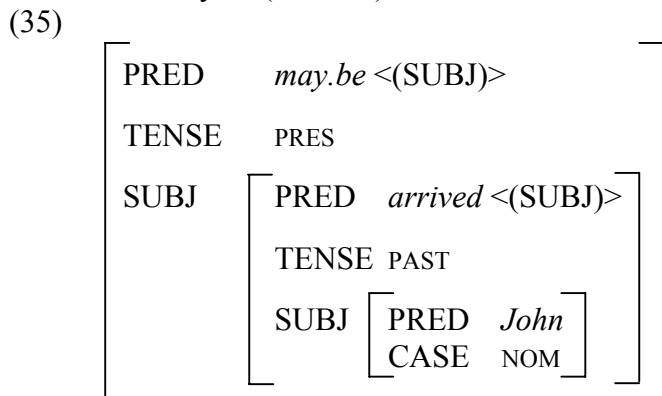
(32) a. *Az,   ami-t   én   csinál-t-am,   nem sikerül-t.*
        that.NOM   which-ACC I.NOM   do-PAST-1SG   not   succeed-PAST.3SG
        'What I did was not successful.'

     b. *Az,   hogy   jól   startol-j-unk, nem sikerül-t.*
        that.NOM   that   well   start-SUJU-1PL not   succeed-PAST.3SG
        'It was not successful that we should start well.'

(33) a. *Csak AZ   nem sikerül-t,   ami-t   én   csinál-t-am.*
        only that.NOM   not   succeed-PAST.3SG   which-ACC I.NOM   do-PAST-1SG
        'What wasn't successful was only what I did.'

     b. *Csak AZ   nem sikerül-t,   hogy jól   startol-j-unk.*
        only that.NOM   not   succeed-PAST.3SG   that well   start-SUJU-1PL
        'What wasn't successful was only that we should start well.'

---

[13] Lipták (1998:96) also observes that native speakers do not uniformly accept long focus raising from subject clauses. She notes that it is possible that the matrix predicates in these constructions are on the way to becoming bridge-predicates. We think it is more probable that it is the subjecthood of these clauses that makes focus raising somewhat more marked than in the case of object clauses. This problem, however, needs further investigation.

Both clause types can occur string adjacent to their associate pronouns (32), or they can be separated at c-structure (33). This, we believe, provides further support for our analysis, which treats the *that*-clause uniformly as an adjunct in the presence of an associate pronoun.
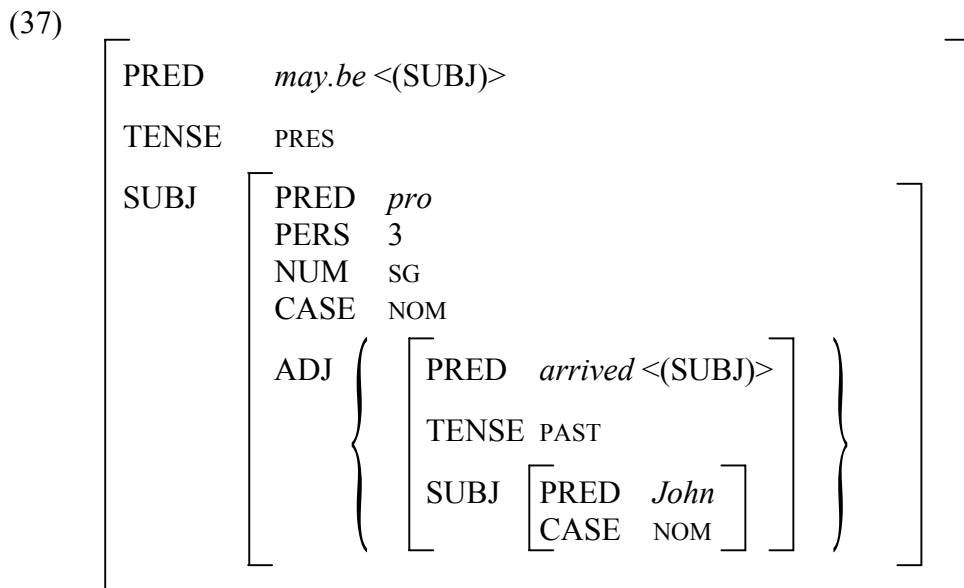
For the sake of an interim summary and the demonstration of the analysis so far, let us consider the following two modal constructions. In (34), the subordinate clause is the subject of the matrix modal predicate *lehet* 'may be'. The simplified functional structure of this sentence is in (35).

(34) *Lehet, hogy János megérkez-ett.*
      may.be that   John.NOM arrive-PAST.3SG
      'It may be (the case) that John has arrived.'

(35)

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \textit{may.be} <\text{(SUBJ)}> \\
\text{TENSE} & \text{PRES} \\
\text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \textit{arrived} <\text{(SUBJ)}> \\
\text{TENSE} & \text{PAST} \\
\text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \textit{John} \\ \text{CASE} & \text{NOM} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

In (36), the pronoun *az* 'that' is the subject argument of the matrix predicate, and the *that*-clause functions as an adjunct to it. (37) is the f-structure we assign to this construction.

(36) *Az   lehet, hogy János   megérkez-ett.*
      that.NOM   may.be that   John.NOM arrive-PAST.3SG
      'It may be (the case) that John has arrived.'

(37)

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \textit{may.be} <\text{(SUBJ)}> \\
\text{TENSE} & \text{PRES} \\
\text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \textit{pro} \\
\text{PERS} & 3 \\
\text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\
\text{CASE} & \text{NOM} \\
\text{ADJ} & \left\{ \begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & \textit{arrived} <\text{(SUBJ)}> \\
\text{TENSE} & \text{PAST} \\
\text{SUBJ} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & \textit{John} \\ \text{CASE} & \text{NOM} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix} \right\}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

We can draw a parallel between (37) and É. Kiss's structure in (25). There are, however, two important differences between our approach and hers. First, for us, the absence of the pronoun *az* does matter and the construction with the pronoun is assigned a completely different functional analysis than the one with it, cf. (35). Second, the fact that the pronoun and its associate *that*-clause form a functional unit does not require the two to form a constituent since the relation between f-structures and their corresponding c-structure is not a function. As we have seen, the pronoun and the *that*-clause do not usually occur string-adjacent at c-structure, which É. Kiss can only account for by assuming that the latter regularly undergoes extraction from the complex noun phrase in which it is claimed to be generated.

5.   Modals/evaluatives and *that*-clauses

It has been noted in the introduction that infinitives cannot have pronominal associates in Hungarian. (2) is repeated here to illustrate this point.

(2)   a. (*Az*)   *Nem sikerül-t*   (*az*),   *hogy el-startol-j-unk.*
           that.NOM   not   succeed-PAST.3SG   that.NOM   that   away-start-SUJU-1PL
           'It was not successful for us that we should start.'

       b. (**Az*)   *Nem   sikerül-t*   (**az*)   *el-startol-n-unk.*
           that.NOM   not   succeed-PAST.3SG   that.NOM   away-start-INF-1PL
           'For us to start was not successful.'

Now we are in the position to reconsider this problem from the perspective of the analysis presented in the previous section and formulate it as the question of why it is not possible in Hungarian for infinitival clauses to be adjuncts (or adpositions) to pronouns**.**

In English, infinitival clauses can have an associate pronominal-type expletive (38). Notice that it is also grammatical for nouns (39) and even for pronouns (40) to be modified by an infinitival adjunct:

(38)   *It is good to read books*.

(39)   a. **The book to read by tomorrow** *is on the table*.

       b. *They obeyed* **the command to evacuate**.

(40)   a. **The ones to watch** *are the ones you never hear about*.

       b. *The workers are* **the first ones to suffer**.

The Hungarian equivalents of these constructions are all ungrammatical. (41) contrasts with (38) in the way already explicated, and (42)-(43) contrast with (39). The two sentences in

(39) do not have a structurally equivalent Hungarian counterpart, whether the infinitive is placed behind (*a*-examples) or in front of (*b*-examples) the noun head.[14]

(41)   *Az   jó   könyv-ek-et   olvas-ni.
        it.NOM   good   book-PL-ACC   read-INF
        intended reading: 'It is good to read books.'

(42) a. *Teljesít-ett-ék   a   parancs-ot   evakuál-ni.
        obey-PAST-3PL   the   order-ACC   evacuate-INF

    b. *Teljesít-ett-ék   az   evakuál-ni   parancs-ot.
        obey-PAST-3PL   the   evacuate-INF   order-ACC
        intended reading of both: 'They obeyed the command to evacuate.'

(43) a. *A   könyv   holnap-ra   el-olvas-ni   az   asztal-on   van.
        the   book.NOM   tomorrow-SUBL   PV-read-INF   the   table-SUP   is

    b. *A   holnap-ra   el-olvas-ni   könyv   az   asztal-on   van.
        the   tomorrow-SUBL   PV-read-INF   book.NOM   the   table-SUP   is
        intended reading of both: 'The book to read by tomorrow is on the table.'

On the other hand, participial clauses are allowed to premodify noun phrases (44), and *that*-clauses, as expected, can also form a constituent with a preceding nominal head (45):

(44) a. *a*   könyv-et   olvas-ó   fiú
        the   book-ACC   read-ÓPART   boy
        'the boy reading a book'

    b. *a*   János   által   olvas-ott   könyv
        the   John   by   read-TPART   book
        'the book read by John'

(45)   Teljesít-ett-ék   a   parancs-ot,   hogy   evakuál-j-anak.
        obey-PAST-3PL   the   order-ACC   that   evacuate-SUJU-3PL
        lit. 'They obeyed the order that they should evacuate.'

The appropriate descriptive generalisation is that nominal categories can have clause-level adjuncts in Hungarian (in a pre- or post-head position, depending on the categorial properties of the head of the clause) as long as this clause is not headed by an infinitive. This incompatibility is best encoded in the lexical form of infinitives as a categorial constraint on the f-structure which includes that of the infinitival clause. This constraint can be expressed with the CAT predicate of Kaplan and Maxwell (1996):

---

[14]   The English pronoun *one(s)* has no Hungarian equivalent. In Hungarian a special elliptical construction is used instead. The closest Hungarian counterpart of (40b), for instance, is (i), but even that is ungrammatical.

   (i) *A   munkás-ok   az   első-k   szenved-ni.
        The   worker-PL   the   first-PL   suffer-INF
        'The workers are the first ones to suffer.'

(46) V_{INF}:　　{D, N} ∉ CAT((GF↑))

(46) constrains infinitives not to have a pronominal associate in Hungarian, as infinitival clauses cannot be adjuncts to nominal categories. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (2b) and (41) can be reduced to more general regularities in the grammar of Hungarian.

6.　　Conclusions

We have argued in this paper that modal and evaluative predicates in Hungarian subcategorize for a subject argument which can be realized categorially as a noun phrase, as a finite *that*-clause, or as an infinitival clause. That there are no special categorial restrictions on the realisation of an argument is expected in LFG, as predicates subcategorise for arguments of a particular functional, and not of a particular categorial type. This functional uniformity behind the categorial diversity is generally not acknowledged by most generative approaches to this Hungarian construction.

In fact, it has been suggested that these subject clauses have a nominal shell and, therefore, show the external syntax of noun phrases (É. Kiss 1987, 2002). It has been shown here that the nominal analysis of either agreement-marked or plain infinitives in Hungarian fails to give the right predictions. Whereas the nominal analysis of infinitives has strong empirical support in, for instance, Portuguese, the Hungarian infinitive has to be regarded as a construction of solely verbal properties. Subject *that*-clauses may have a pronoun associate, in which case the clause is an adjunct and forms a functional unit with the pronoun. In the absence of the pronoun, the clause itself is the subject argument and it is not considered to have any nominal properties. This analysis gives the right predictions for focus raising phenomena, and, together with the observation that infinitival clauses cannot be adjuncts to noun phrases in Hungarian, it helps to explain why a pronominal associate is not licensed with argument infinitival clauses in Hungarian.

We assume that Hungarian is a mixed language in the sense of Dalrymple & Lødrup (2000), ie., both CPs and [±fin] Ss can have either nominal (SUBJ, OBJ), or propositional (COMP, XCOMP, ADJ, XADJ) functions. We believe in the usefulness of the COMP function and intend to demonstrate in future research that OBJ and COMP clauses need to be distinguished in Hungarian. We have not shown how propositional arguments can be treated in LMT for Hungarian, and, in particular, how clausal arguments map onto SUBJ, but work on the mapping proposal is in progress.

References

Bennis, Hans 1986. *Gaps and dummies*. Dordrecht: Foris.
Berman, Judith 2001. "On the Cooccurrence of Es with Finite Clause in German: an LFG Analysis". In Meurers, Walt Detmar & Kiss, Tibor eds. *Constraint-Based Approaches to Germanic Syntax*. Stanford: CSLI. 7-30.
Bresnan, Joan 2001. *Lexical-Functional Syntax*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Dalmi, Gréte 2002. *The Role of AgrP in Non-Finite Predication*. PhD dissertation, Budapest, ELTE.

Dalrymple, Mary & Lødrup, Helge 2000. "The Grammatical Functions of Complement Clauses". In Butt, Miriam & King, Tracy Halloway eds. *Proceedings of the LFG00 Conference, University of California, Berkeley*. Stanford: CSLI Publications. http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/LFG/5/lfg00dalrympl-lodrup.pdf

Davis, William D. & Stanley Dubinsky 2001. "Functional Architecture and the Distribution of Subject Properties". In Davis, William D. & Dubinsky, Stanley eds. *Objects and Other Subjects – Grammatical Functions, Functional Categories and Configurationality*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 247–279.

Hoekstra, Teun 1983. "The Distribution of Sentential Complements". In Bennis, Hans & Kloeke, W. U. S. van Lessen eds. *Linguistics in the Netherlands*. Dordrecht: Foris, 93-103.

Kaplan, Ronald M. & Maxwell, John T. 1996. *LFG Grammar Writer's Workbench*. Technical Report, Xerox Palo Alto Research Center. ftp://ftp.parc.xerox.com/pub/lfg/lfgmanual.ps

Kenesei, István 2001. "Criteria for Auxiliaries in Hungarian". In *Argument structure in Hungarian*. Kenesei, István eds. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 79-111.

É. Kiss, Katalin 1987. *Configurationality in Hungarian*. Dordrecht: Reidel.

É. Kiss, Katalin 2002. *The Syntax of Hungarian*. Cambridge: CUP.

Komlósy, András 1994. "Complements and Adjuncts". In Kiefer, Ferenc & É. Kiss, Katalin eds. *The Syntactic Structure of Hungarian (= Syntax and Semantics 27)*. San Diego: Academic Press. 91–178.

Koster, Jan. 1978. "Why Subject Sentences don't Exist". In Keyser, Jay S. ed. *Recent Transformational Studies in European Languages*. The MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts. 53-64.

Rákosi, György 2004. "Infinitival Clauses as Syntactic Subjects in Hungarian". In Blaho, Sylvia; Vicente, Luis & de Vos, Mark ed. *Proceedings of Console XII*. http://www.sole.leidenuniv.nl/content_docs/ConsoleXII2003pdfs/rakosi-2003.pdf

Rákosi, György & Laczkó, Tibor. To appear. "The Categorial Status of Agreement-Marked Infinitives in Hungarian". In Piñón, Christopher; Siptár, Péter & Szentgyörgyi, Szilárd eds. *Approaches to Hungarian 10*.

Raposo, Eduardo 1987. "Case Theory and Infl-to-Comp: The Inflected Infinitive in European Portuguese". *Linguistic Inquiry* 18(1). 85–109.

Sigurðsson, Haldór Ármann. 2002. "To Be an Oblique Subject: Russian vs. Icelandic". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 20. 691-724.

Tóth, Ildikó 2000. *Inflected Infinitives in Hungarian*. PhD dissertation, Tilburg University.

Tóth, Ildikó 2001. "Impersonal Constructions and Null Expletives". In Kenesei, István ed. *Argument structure in Hungarian*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 51-78.

Tóth, Ildikó 2002. "Can the Hungarian Infinitive Be Possessed?" In Kenesei, István & Siptár, Péter eds. *Approaches to Hungarian 8*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 133–160.