COMPLEMENT CLAUSES WITHOUT THE COMP FUNCTIONS: THE CASE OF HUNGARIAN

1. Introduction

The two complement functions in standard LFG are the closed complement COMP and the open complement XCOMP. The former is used as the grammatical function of finite complement clauses (1) and anaphorically controlled infinitives ("equi"-sentences) as in (2), while the latter is involved in functionally controlled raising constructions, see (3).

(1) *I believe [that John will leave at six].*
(2) *John agreed [to leave at six].*
(3) *John seemed [to leave at six].*

However, there have been debates in LFG about whether such a picture is theoretically and empirically satisfactory. On the one hand, several researchers have argued that the finite complement clauses should have the OBJ or OBL_θ (or perhaps OBJ_θ) function instead of/in addition to COMP (for a recent overview, see Patejuk & Przepiorkowski (2016)). On the other hand, Falk (2005) argued that to properly account for grammatical function (GF)-categorial status correlations, in addition to XCOMP, other open grammatical functions, namely $XOBL_\theta$ and $XOBJ_\theta$ should also be added to the inventory of LFG. The resulting taxonomy of GFs displayed in Table 1.

		-r	+r	
		+s		-s
-c	-o	SUBJ	OBL_θ	$XOBL_\theta$
	+o	OBJ	OBJ_θ	$XOBJ_\theta$
+c	+/-o		COMP	XCOMP

Table 1.
GFs in Falk (2005) (r: restricted, o: objective, c: complement, s: saturated).

As a matter of parametric variation, Falk (2005: 151) raises the possibility of languages without +/-c (complement) feature. I argue that Hungarian is one such language. That is, XCOMP and COMP are not needed, as potential occurrences of these functions are reducible to SUBJ, OBJ, OBL_θ, $XOBJ_\theta$ and $(X)OBL_\theta$.

2. Basic data: Hungarian complement clauses

Verbs that appear with clausal complements generally also take nominal dependents, be it a pronoun or a lexical noun. (4)-(6) illustrates this with SUBJ, OBJ and OBL_θ clauses. The subjects of the infinitives are all obligatorily controlled: the "admitter", the "eater" and the "fearer" in (4c), (5c) and (6c) respectively is *Kate*.

(4) a. *Az kellemetlen volt Katinak, hogy bevallotta az igazságot.*[1]
that unpleasant was Kate.DAT that admitted.3SG the truth.ACC
'*It was unpleasant for Kate that she admitted truth.*'

b. *Az igazság kellemetlen volt Katinak.*
the truth unpleasant was Kate.DAT
'*The truth was unpleasant for Kate.*'

c. *Kellemetlen volt Katinak bevalla-ni az igazságot.*
unpleasant was Kate.DAT admit-INF the truth.ACC
'To admit the truth was unpleasant for Kate.'

(5) a. *Kati azt akarja, hogy együnk.*
Kate that.ACC want.3SG that eat.SUBJUNCTIVE.1PL
'John wants to eat.' (Lit.: 'John wants that we eat.')

b. *Kati ételt akar.*
John food.ACC want.3SG
'Kate wants food.'

c. *Kati en-ni akar.*
Kate eat-INF want.3SG
'Kate wants to eat.'

(6) a. *Kati attól fél, hogy kiderül az igazság.*
Kate that.from afraid.3SG that come.out.3SG the truth
'Kate is afraid that the truth may come out.'

b. *Kati fél az igazságtól.*
Kate afraid.3SG the truth.from
'Kate is afraid of the truth.

c. *Kati fél elmonda-ni az igazat.*
Kate afraid.3SG tell-INF the truth.ACC
'Kate is afraid to tell the truth.'

3. Discussion

The pattern in (4)-(6) is most straightforwardly explained if a single GF is posited for the nominal and clausal dependents of the predicates in question: SUBJ, OBJ, OBL_θ, respectively, and COMP is not needed.

Also, the proposal that the infinitival is mapped to the SUBJ, OBJ and OBL_θ functions in (4c), (5c) and (6c) and anaphoric control is instantiated explains a number of facts and some contrasts with English.

That infinitival subject clauses are obligatorily controlled in Hungarian explains the difference between (7) and (8), as in Hungarian, the subject of the infinitival itself cannot have disjoint reference from the matrix dative dependent, unlike English (data from Rákosi 2006: 212). The f-structure of (7) is shown in Figure 1.

(7) *It was unpleasant for Kate for Peter to admit the truth.*
(8) **Kellemetlen volt Katinak [Péternek az igazságot bevallani].*
unpleasant was Kate.DAT Peter.DAT the truth.ACC admit.INF

[1] If the pronouns are present, the *that*-clauses in (4a), (5a) and (6a) are to be analyzed as adjuncts to them, see Rákosi & Laczkó (2005). Also note that in Hungarian, the definite article *az* (e.g. in 4b) is homophonous with the nominative demonstrative pronoun.

The ungrammaticality of (8) is not simply because of the presence of an overt subject in the infinitival. Since Szabolcsi (2009) it is widely recognized that such subjects are licensed in Hungarian, as long as they are pronominal and are affected by quantificational or discourse operators, as illustrated in (9). That the subject is overt indicates that the relation is anaphoric, as functional control would lead to an inconsistent f-structure (there would be a clash between the PRED of the matrix and the embedded subject). The f-structure of (9) is shown in Figure 1.

(9) *Kellemetlen volt Katinak [[csak neki/ *csak Péternek] bevallani az igazságot].*
unpleasant was Kate.DAT only (s)he.DAT only Peter.DAT admit.INF the truth.ACC
'It was unpleasant for Kate only for her to admit the truth.'

As regards nonsubject clauses, analyzing the infinitival clause in (5c) as OBJ but an OBL_{θ} in (6c) reveals a potential explanation for the so-called "long-distance object agreement" of Hungarian. In such constructions, the main verb shows definiteness agreement with the object of its infinitival complement, as in (10). While on the surface this indeed looks like long-distance agreement, Szécsényi & Szécsényi (2017) shows that what actually happens is that the definiteness-feature of the object is transmitted to the infinitival clause itself. Under default assumptions, this should be possible if the infinitive itself is an OBJ, but not if it is an OBL_{θ}. This is behind the impossibility of definite agreement in (11).

(10) a. *Kati akar olvasni egy könyv-et.*
Kate wants.INDEF read.INF one book-ACC
'Kate wants to read a book.'

b. *Kati akar-ja olvasni a könyv-et.*
Kate wants-DEF read.INF the book-ACC
'Kate wants to read the book.'

(11) *Kati fél(*-i) olvasni [egy/ a] könyv-et.*
Kate is.afraid.INDEF(*-DEF).3SG read.INF one the book-ACC
'Kate is afraid to read a/the book.'

The analysis may be extended to raising constructions as well. According to Falk (2005: 138), the primary open function in English is XCOMP, which may be realized by verbal/clausal categories (IP, VP, CP see (12)). By contrast, Hungarian raising predicates are primarily realized as dative APs or NPs with oblique cases (as in (13)-(15)). Sometimes infinitives are also possible but this is generally more restricted and they are never the only option. An example for this latter case is in (16). The dative APs are consistent with Falk's (2005) $XOBJ_{\theta}$ function (the f-structure for (13b) is shown in Figure 2), while the translative NP in (15) may be seen as instance of $XOBL_{\theta}$. As for the infinitives, I propose that in Hungarian they may be mapped to the $XOBL_{\theta}$ function too. Given the relative infrequency of such examples and the fact that the strict correlation of GFs and the infinitival categorial status seems untenable anyway (note the functions of the infinitival clauses in (4)-(6)), I consider this justifiable.

(12) a. *Kate seems to be nice.*
b. *I believe Kate to be nice.*

(13) a. **Kati szép lenni tűnik.*
Kate nice be.INF seem.3SG
b. *Kati szépnek tűnik.*
Kate nice.DAT seem.3SG
'Kate seems to be nice."

(14) a. **Katit szép lenni hiszem.*
Kate.ACC nice be.INF believe.1SG
b. *Katit szépnek hiszem.*
Kate.ACC nice.DAT believe.1SG
'I believe Kate to be nice.'

(15) *Katit elnökké / elnöknek nyilvánították.*
Kate.ACC president.TR president.DAT pronounced.3SG
'They pronounced Kate president.'

(16) *Az árfolyam emelkedni / emelkedőnek látszik.*
the exchange.rate rise.INF rising.DAT seem.3SG
'The exchange rate seems (to be) rising.'

PP realizations of open complements are generally limited but Hungarian seems to be more radical than English in this respect, as even cases that are possible in English (e.g. (17)) are ungrammatical in Hungarian, see (18).

(17) a. *?John seems out of his mind.*
b. *?The doctor declared John out of his mind.*

(18) a **János magán kívül látszik.*
John himself outside seem.3SG
Intended: 'John seems mad.'
(Literal: 'John seems outside of himself.')
b. *Az orvos magán kívül nyilvánította Jánost.*
the doctor himself outside declared.3SG John.ACC
Intended: 'The doctor declared John mad.'
(Literal: 'The doctor declared John outside of himself.')

It is yet to be seen whether further reduction of GFs, in the spirit of Alsina et al. (2005) or Patejuk & Przepiorkowski (2016) is feasible. That could possibly take the form of eliminating the +/-s feature of Falk (2005), leaving only the standard grammatical functions. This would in turn necessitate the rethinking of LMT and functional control in the overall LFG architecture.

References

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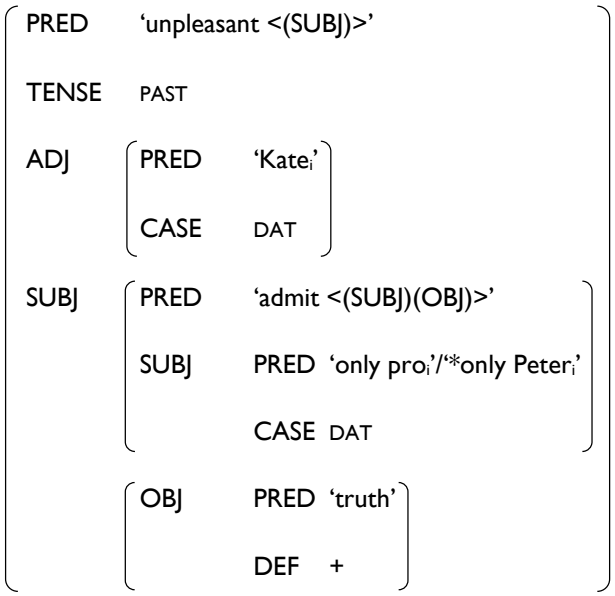

Figure 1: f-structure for (9).

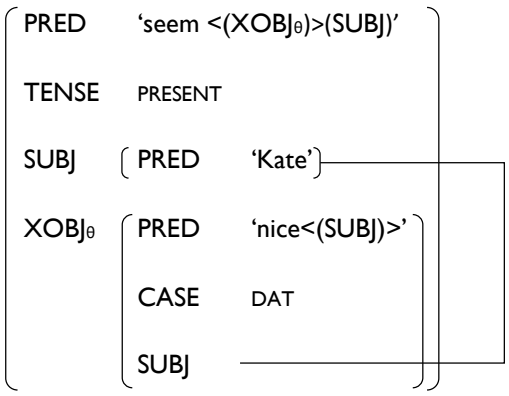

Figure 2: f-structure for (13b)