

## HUNGARIAN VERBAL CLUSTERS – RESULTS OF A QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY\*

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### 1 Introduction

Following similar work on verbal clusters in German (Wurmbrand this volume), we designed a questionnaire on the verbal cluster in Hungarian. The aim of the questionnaire was twofold. First, to find out whether the judgements established in the literature are supported by a countrywide survey. Second, to find out whether there is dialectal variation in the possible orders within the verbal cluster. On the whole, the results of the survey support the judgements available in the literature, and they do not seem to show any significant dialectal variation.

Bródy (1997) argued that there are essentially two distinct constructions in Hungarian that involve verbal clusters. In non-neutral sentences, containing a contrastive focus or sentential negation, the verbal cluster optionally appears in a roll-up construction. In neutral sentences, the verbal cluster exhibits particle climbing. Although positions differ considerably in the analysis given to these constructions, there is a general consensus in the literature with regards to the segmentation of the data along this line (see also Bródy this volume; É.Kiss 1998, 1999, this volume; Koopman & Szabolcsi 1998, 2000). Accordingly, we concentrated on these two constructions.

We would like to report the results that concern three aspect of the ordering of verbal clusters. First, in section 2, we analyse the results of Question 4 of the questionnaire. We claim that the results support the dominant view of the literature that roll-up structures are subject to certain restrictions. In particular, roll-up formation must start at the bottommost verb of the cluster; no English order sequence may undergo roll-up formation; and no long roll-up is possible i.e. a verb must invert with the closest c-commanding verb.

Second, in section 3, we show that the results of Question 2 do not indicate any dialectal variation with respect to the possibility of climbing in a non-neutral construction. Rather, all instances of ‘partial climbing’ (i.e. particle climbing in a non-neutral sentence to a position lower than the finite verb) are fully ungrammatical, at least if the cluster involves four verbs.

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\* Thanks are due to Henk van Riemsdijk for suggesting the idea of conducting a questionnaire survey about the possible orders of the verbal cluster in Hungarian and for Susi Wurmbrand for providing the questionnaire that she used to conduct a survey in the Germanic dialects. Thanks are also due for helpful comments and questions to the audience of the Workshop on Verbal Clusters held on 14-18 June 2001, in Pécs, Hungary.



- c. FOC V<sub>1</sub> V<sub>4</sub> V<sub>3</sub> V<sub>2</sub>  
 Péter hétfőn nem ér rá. KEDDEN fog edzeni járni tudni.  
*Tuesday-on will train-to go-to can-to*  
 'Peter is busy on Mondays. He will be able to go training on TUESDAYS.'

Certain generalisations have been formulated in the literature with regard to the roll-up order. First, roll-up is always from the bottom, it cannot start at an intermediate verb. Thus, the \*FOC-V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>3</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>-V<sub>4</sub> order is ungrammatical, as this order involves rolling-up V<sub>3</sub>, while V<sub>4</sub> is in situ. Second, it has been noted that only rolled-up sequences may undergo further roll-up, no English-order sequence may undergo roll-up. Thus, \*FOC-V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>3</sub>-V<sub>4</sub>-V<sub>2</sub> is ungrammatical, as this order involves the roll-up of the sequence V<sub>3</sub>-V<sub>4</sub>. Third, it has been noted that there is no such thing as long roll-up, i.e. a roll-up always effects immediately adjacent verbs. Thus V<sub>4</sub> may not invert with V<sub>2</sub> across V<sub>3</sub>. Hence the ungrammaticality of the \*FOC-V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>4</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>-V<sub>3</sub> sequence.

Altogether, the literature claims the availability of three possible orders (as in 1), and the ungrammaticality of another three orders. These six orders are summarised in (2). According to Bródy's (1990, 1995) analysis of the Hungarian focus construction, the finite verb, V<sub>1</sub>, moves to a functional head, F, accompanying the movement of the focused constituent to [Spec, FP]. This residual V2 effect explains why V<sub>1</sub> always appears at the left-edge of the verbal cluster. If one accepts Bródy's analysis of focus, then the six orders in (2) are in fact the only logically possible orders of a four-verb cluster in a non-neutral sentence.

(2) a.	FOC-V <sub>1</sub> -V <sub>2</sub> -V <sub>3</sub> -V <sub>4</sub>	ENGLISH ORDER	Group A
b.	FOC-V <sub>1</sub> -V <sub>2</sub> -V <sub>4</sub> -V <sub>3</sub>	PARTIAL ROLL-UP	Group B
c.	FOC-V <sub>1</sub> -V <sub>4</sub> -V <sub>3</sub> -V <sub>2</sub>	FULL ROLL-UP	Group C
d.	*FOC-V <sub>1</sub> -V <sub>3</sub> -V <sub>2</sub> -V <sub>4</sub>	ROLL-UP FROM THE MIDDLE	Group D
e.	*FOC-V <sub>1</sub> -V <sub>3</sub> -V <sub>4</sub> -V <sub>2</sub>	ROLL-UP OF ENGLISH ORDER SEQUENCE	Group E
f.	*FOC-V <sub>1</sub> -V <sub>4</sub> -V <sub>2</sub> -V <sub>3</sub>	LONG ROLL-UP	Group F

In Question 4 we tested the six orders given in (2). Each order was tested by three separate examples. The data from Question 4 is given in (3). Class 1 contains the examples that were reported as grammatical orders in the literature. Class 2 contains the orders that we expected to be ungrammatical on the basis of the literature. Within the classes, the groups A, B, C, D, E and F contain the sentences corresponding to the orders tested.

(3) DATA FROM QUESTION 4

**Class 1**

- Group A: FOC-V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>-V<sub>3</sub>-V<sub>4</sub> ENGLISH ORDER

- S10 Péter hétfőn nem ér rá. Kedden fog tudni járni edzeni.  
*Tuesday-on will can-to go-to train-to*  
 'Peter is busy on Mondays. He will be able to go training on TUESDAYS.'
- S25 Ritkán fog akarni járni fel lépni a vidéki színházakban.  
*rarely will want-to go-to PV step-to the provincial theatres-in*  
 'He will RARELY want to go to perform in the provincial theatres.'

S30 Nem Mari, hanem Péter fog járni tanulni úszni.  
*not Mary rather Peter will go-to learn-to swim-to*  
 'Not Mary, but rather PETER will go to learn to swim.'

• Group B: FOC-V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>-V<sub>4</sub>-V<sub>3</sub> PARTIAL ROLL-UP

S3 Péter hétfőn nem ér rá. Kedden fog tudni edzeni járni.  
*Tuesday-on will can-to train-to go-to*  
 'Peter is busy on Mondays. He will be able to go training on TUESDAYS.'

S5 Ritkán fog akarni fel lépni járni a vidéki színházakban.  
*rarely will want-to PV step-to go-to the provincial theatres-in*  
 'He will RARELY want to go to perform in the provincial theatres.'

S20 Nem Mari, hanem Péter fog járni úszni tanulni.  
*not Mary rather Peter will go-to swim-to learn-to*  
 'Not Mary, but rather PETER will go to learn to swim.'

• Group C: FOC-V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>4</sub>-V<sub>3</sub>-V<sub>2</sub> FULL ROLL-UP

S13 Ritkán fog fel lépni járni akarni a vidéki színházakban.  
*rarely will PV step-to go-to want-to the provincial theatres-in*  
 'He will RARELY want to go to perform in the provincial theatres.'

S26 Nem Mari, hanem Péter fog úszni tanulni járni.  
*not Mary rather Peter will swim-to learn-to go-to*  
 'Not Mary, but rather PETER will go to learn to swim.'

S28 Péter hétfőn nem ér rá. Kedden fog edzeni járni tudni.  
*Tuesday-on will train-to go-to can-to*  
 'Peter is busy on Mondays. He will be able to go training on TUESDAYS.'

## Class 2

• Group D: FOC-V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>3</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>-V<sub>4</sub> ROLL-UP FROM THE MIDDLE

S8 Nem Mari, hanem Péter fog tanulni járni úszni.  
*not Mary rather Peter will learn-to go-to swim-to*  
 'Not Mary, but rather PETER will go to learn to swim.'

S18 Ritkán fog járni akarni fel lépni a vidéki színházakban.  
*rarely will go-to want-to PV-step-to the provincial theatres-in*  
 'He will RARELY want to go to perform in the provincial theatres.'

S33 Péter hétfőn nem ér rá. Kedden fog járni tudni edzeni.  
*Tuesday-on will can-to go-to train-to*  
 'Peter is busy on Mondays. He will be able to go training on TUESDAYS.'

- Group E: FOC-V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>3</sub>-V<sub>4</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>                      ROLL-UP OF ENGLISH ORDER SEQUENCE
- S1            Nem Mari, hanem Péter fog tanulni úszni járni.  
*not Mary rather Peter will learn-to swim-to go-to*  
 'Not Mary, but rather PETER will go to learn to swim.'
- S21           Ritkán fog járni fel lépni akarni a vidéki színházakban.  
*rarely will go-to PV step-to want-to the provincial theatres-in*  
 'He will RARELY want to go to perform in the provincial theatres.'
- S22           Péter hétfőn nem ér rá. Kedden fog járni edzeni tudni.  
*Tuesday-on will go-to train-to can-to*  
 'Peter is busy on Mondays. He will be able to go training on TUESDAYS.'
- Group F: FOC-V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>4</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>-V<sub>3</sub>                      LONG ROLL-UP
- S14           Nem Mari, hanem Péter fog úszni járni tanulni.  
*not Mary rather Peter will swim-to go-to learn-to*  
 'Not Mary, but rather PETER will go to learn to swim.'
- S15           Péter hétfőn nem ér rá. Kedden fog edzeni tudni járni.  
*Tuesday-on will train-to can-to go-to*  
 'Peter is busy on Mondays. He will be able to go training on TUESDAYS.'
- S31           Ritkán fog fel lépni akarni járni a vidéki színházakban.  
*rarely will PV step-to want-to go-to the provincial theatres-in*  
 'He will RARELY want to go to perform in the provincial theatres.'

The results of Question 4 are summarised in Table 1<sup>2</sup>. The Groups A, B, C, D, E and F appear on the horizontal axis, while the percentage of NO/YES/MAYBE judgements are shown on the vertical axis. Groups D, E and F were judged ungrammatical over 80% of the times. This confirms the judgements available in the literature that in Hungarian, there is no roll-up from the middle (Group D), no roll-up of an English order sequence (Group E), and no long roll-up (Group F).

The best order in a non-neutral sentence involving a verbal cluster with four verbs is the partial roll-up (Group B). This was judged grammatical 60% of the times and over 20% of the people thought it may be grammatical, with less than 20% disallowing it altogether.

One of the surprising results concerns the English order (Group A) and the full roll-up (Group C). The first was judged ungrammatical by almost 40% of the people, while the latter was judged ungrammatical by over 50%. Nevertheless, the average of the NO judgements of Groups A, B, and C remains under 40%. This, compared with the over 80% ungrammaticality found in the case of Groups D, E and F, are in our mind still sufficient to confirm the claim found in the literature that the English order, the partial roll-up and the full roll-up are significantly better than the other three orders. It remains to be seen whether the relative preference among these orders is really significant.

<sup>2</sup> Only the questionnaires from Budapest were evaluated for Question 4 i.e. altogether 24 questionnaires.

## Roll up with four verbs

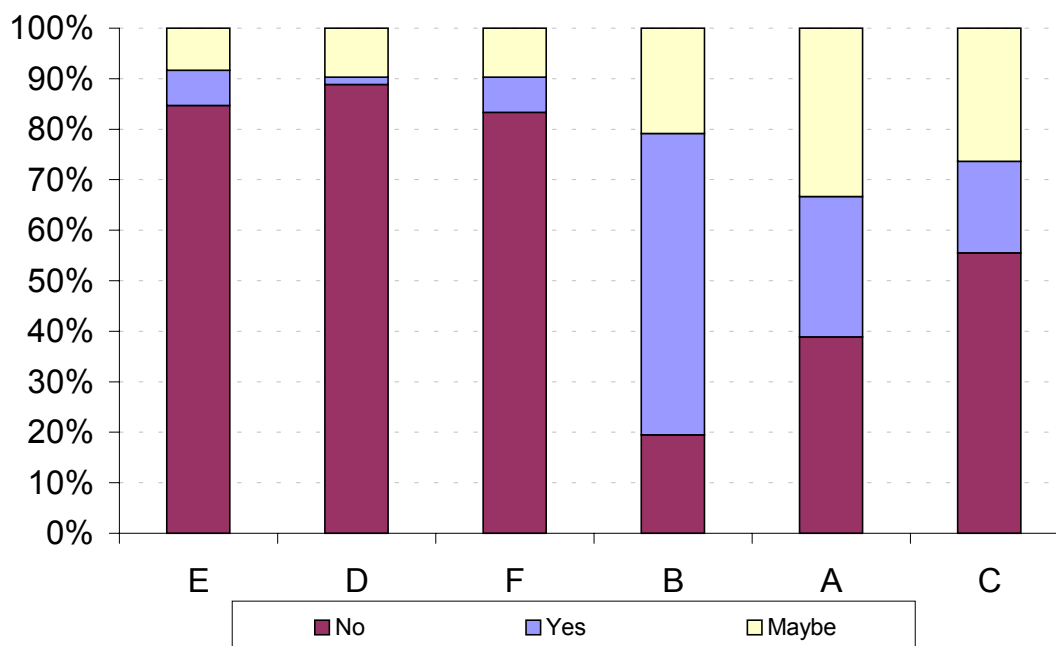


Table 1

Orders in a non-neutral sentence with four verbs

Let us now concentrate on the different sentences within each group. Table 2 shows the breakdown of the results. Each row corresponds to one sentence, while the columns indicate the number of YES/ NO/ MAYBE judgements given to these sentences.

The three sentences in each group contained different verbs. Each verb quadruplet was tested in all six possible orders. The sentences also differed in two other respects. Some examples contained additional material in the lowest VP, which is unaffected by the roll-up (S13, S18, S21, S25, S31). In the very same examples the lowest verb,  $V_4$ , had a verbal particle, so it was a complex verb. We think that the results in Table 2 do not indicate that either of these differences would be relevant for the ordering of the verbs within a four-verb cluster.

SENTENCES FROM Q4	YES	NO	MAYBE
A S30	<b>2</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>
S25	4	13	7
S10	14	4	6
B S20	19	3	2
S5	9	11	4
S3	15	0	9
C S26	10	9	6
S13	1	17	5
S28	<b>2</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>8</b>
D S8	<u>1</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>2</u>
S18	0	23	1
S33	0	20	4
E S1	<u>5</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>5</u>
S21	0	24	0
S22	0	23	1
F S14	<u>4</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>5</u>
S31	0	23	1
S15	1	22	1

Table 2  
Breakdown of the results from Table 1

S1 and S14 were judged YES and MAYBE more times than their group-mates<sup>3</sup>. This might be the result of an intervening factor caused by the lexical property of the verbs involved. The intended (underlying) order was 'to go to learn to swim'. An alternative (underlying) order 'to learn to go to swim' is semantically well-formed, though pragmatically rather odd. Under the intended reading S1 and S14 would involve roll up of an English order sequence and long roll-up, respectively. Under the non-intended, but possible, interpretation, the examples would involve partial roll-up and full roll-up, respectively. This might be the reason why S1 and S14 are judged better than the other examples in their respective groups. As Michael Bródy (p.c.) pointed out, this reasoning, however, seems to break down, when confronted with S8, as here the non-intended underlying order does not seem to improve the result.

In the English order, Group A, two out of the three examples (S25 and S30) were judged surprisingly bad. The third one (S10) had the judgement 58% YES/ 17% NO/ 25% MAYBE, which roughly matches the pattern of the average of the judgements given for the sentences with partial roll-up (Group B): 60% YES/ 20% NO/ 20% MAYBE.

Within Group B itself, which is overall the best order, S5 was judged much worse than the other two sentences. This may suggest that there was something independently wrong with the sentences S25, S5 and S13. Possibly, because the lowest verb in S25, S5 and S13 is a particle verb or because they also contains other material within the lowest VP. This would explain why S25 and S13 are unexpectedly bad, nevertheless, it would still remain a mystery why S30 and S28<sup>4</sup> are also bad as well.

On the whole, we doubt that any further conclusions can be drawn from the results other than that overall they supports the judgements available in the literature. In a non-neutral sentence with a four-verb verbal cluster the English-order, the partial roll-up and the full roll-up are grammatical, though various (sometimes unknown) factors may intervene to diminish

<sup>3</sup> Results for S1, S14 and S8 are underlined in Table 2 for convenience.

<sup>4</sup> Results for S30 and S28 are shown in bold in Table 2 for convenience.

grammaticality. In contrast, roll-up from the middle, roll-up of an English order sequence and long roll-up are ungrammatical.

### 3 Particle climbing

Bródy (1997, this volume), É.Kiss (1998, 1999, this volume) and Koopman & Szabolcsi (2000) argue that in neutral sentences (ones that do not involve a contrastive focus or negation), the lowest verb, or its particle or other verbal modifier if it has any, moves to a position immediately preceding the finite verb,  $V_1$ . This phenomenon is known as particle climbing (4a). It is also generally accepted that if a focused constituent appears in the finite clause, then climbing to the position immediately preceding the finite verb is blocked (4b).

- (4) a.  $PV_3-V_1-V_2-V_3$  PARTICLE CLIMBING  
 Haza<sub>i</sub> fog akarni jönni<sub>i</sub>.  
*Home will want-to come-to*  
 'He will want to come home.'
- b. \* $FOC-PV_3-V_1-V_2-V_3$  FOCUSING BLOCKS PARTICLE CLIMBING  
 \*MOST haza<sub>i</sub> fog akarni jönni<sub>i</sub>.  
 now *homewill want-to come-to*  
 'He will want to come home NOW.'

There seems to be less agreement, however, with respect to the possibility of what one might call partial climbing, where a focused constituent appears in front of the finite verb, but there is nevertheless particle climbing to a lower position. (5a) is an example of partial climbing to the position immediately preceding the highest infinitival verb. (5b) illustrates 'partially partial climbing', where the particle shows up in an intermediate position.

- (5) a.  $FOC-V_1- PV_4-V_2 -V_3- V_4$  PARTIAL CLIMBING  
 S1 Ritkán fog fel<sub>i</sub> akarni járn<sub>i</sub> lépni<sub>i</sub> a vidéki színházakban.  
*rarely will PV want-to go-to step-to the provincial theatres-in*  
 'He will RARELY want to go to perform in the provincial theatres.'
- b.  $FOC-V_1-V_2- PV_4-V_3- V_4$  PARTIALLY PARTIAL CLIMBING  
 S6 Ritkán fog akarni fel<sub>i</sub> járn<sub>i</sub> lépni<sub>i</sub> a vidéki színházakban.  
*rarely will want-to PV go-to step-to the provincial theatres-in*  
 'He will RARELY want to go to perform in the provincial theatres.'

In Question 2, another multiple choice question, we tested partial climbing in three-verb clusters (S3, S4, S7 and S10), partial climbing in four-verb clusters (S1, S2) and partially partial climbing in four-verb clusters (S6, S8).<sup>5</sup> We included S5 and S9 as control sentences. These non-neutral sentences involve no climbing. The data from Question 2 is given in (6).

#### (6) DATA FROM QUESTION 2

##### Group A

- $FOC-V_1-PV_4-V_2-V_3-V_4$  PARTIAL CLIMBING WITH FOUR VERBS
- S1 Ritkán fog fel akarni járn<sub>i</sub> lépni a vidéki színházakban.

<sup>5</sup> It is impossible to test partially partial climbing in three-verb clusters, as there are not enough positions.



*rarely will PV want-to go-to step-to the provincial theatres-in*  
 'He will RARELY want to go to perform in the provincial theatres.'

S2 Ritkán szokott be tudni menni rúgni a többiekkel.  
*rarely HABIT PV can-to go-to kick-to the others-with*  
 'He will RARELY be able to go out to get drunk with the others.'

• FOC-V<sub>1</sub>- V<sub>2</sub>-PV<sub>4</sub>-V<sub>3</sub>-V<sub>4</sub> PARTIALLY PARTIAL CLIMBING

S6 Ritkán fog akarni fel járni lépni a vidéki színházakban.  
*rarely will want-to PV go-to step-to the provincial theatres-in*  
 'He will RARELY want to go to perform in the provincial theatres.'

S8 Ritkán szokott tudni be menni rúgni a többiekkel.  
*rarely HABIT can-to PV go-to kick-to the others-with*  
 'He will RARELY be able to go out to get drunk with the others.'

### Group B

• FOC-V<sub>1</sub>-PV<sub>3</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>-V<sub>3</sub> PARTIAL CLIMBING WITH THREE VERBS

S3 Csak reggel fogok haza<sub>i</sub> akarni jönni<sub>i</sub>  
*only morning will home want-to come-to*  
 'I will only want to come home in the MORNING.'

S4 Nem ma, hanem holnap reggel fog oda<sub>i</sub> kelleni menni<sub>i</sub>  
*not today rather tomorrow morning will PV must-to go-to*  
 'I will only want to come home in the MORNING.'

S7 Figyelj Most fogja szét<sub>i</sub> kezdeni fűrészelni<sub>i</sub>; a bűvész a nőt  
*Look! Now will PV start-to saw-to the illusionist the woman*  
 'Look! The illusionist will start sawing the woman into to two NOW.'

S10 Nem keddenként, hanem szerdánként szokott  
*not Tuesdays but Wenesdays HABIT*  
 el tudni jönni előbb a munkahelyéről.  
*PV can-to come-to earlier the workplace-from*  
 'It is not on Tuesday, rather on WEDNESDAYS that he can leave the office earlier.'

### Group C

• FOC-V<sub>1</sub>- V<sub>2</sub>-V<sub>3</sub>- PV<sub>4</sub>-V<sub>4</sub> NO CLIMBING WITH FOUR VERBS

S9 Ritkán fog akarni járni fel lépni a vidéki színházakban.  
*rarely will want-to go-to PV step-to the provincial theatres-in*  
 'He will RARELY want to go to perform in the provincial theatres.'

S5 Ritkán szokott tudni menni be rúgni a többiekkel.  
*rarely HABIT can-to go-to PV kick-to the others-with*  
 'He will RARELY be able to go out to get drunk with the others.'

The results of Question 2 are shown in Table 3. The horizontal axis shows the sentences, and the vertical axis shows the percentage of the NO/YES/MAYBE judgements given to each sentence.<sup>6</sup> On the basis of the results, we concluded that the sentences can be divided into three groups according to their acceptability patterns. Group A contains sentences involving four-verb clusters with partial climbing and partially partial climbing (S8, S6, S1 and S2). Group B contains sentences involving three-verb clusters with partial climbing (S4, S3, S10 and S7). Group C contains the control sentences (S5 and S9). Table 4 shows the patterns of the judgements for each group. The groups are given on the horizontal axis, and the vertical axis shows, in percentages, the average of the judgements given for the sentences in that group in such a way that YES and MAYBE are taken together and NO is taken separately.

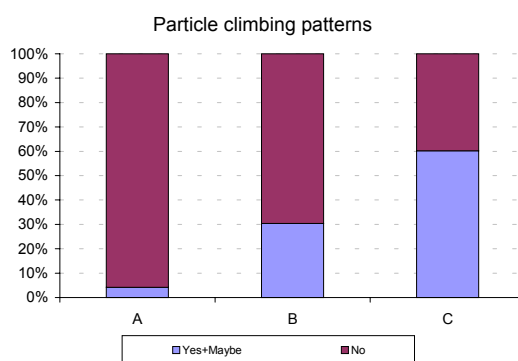
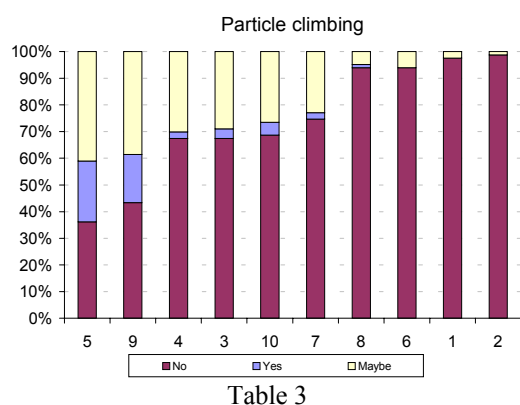


Table 4

Group A has a judgement pattern with over 95% NO. This shows that in the case of four-verb clusters, partial climbing as well as partially partial climbing is ungrammatical for almost all speakers. The difference between the results for the sentences with partial climbing (S1 and S2) and the ones with partially partial climbing (S6 and S8) is less than 4%, i.e. 3 speakers. We do not think that the difference is significant.

<sup>6</sup> A table is given in the Appendix showing the number of YES/NO/MAYBE judgements for each sentence. All 83 questionnaires were evaluated for Question 2.

Group C, the control group, received approximately 40% NO judgements.<sup>7</sup> Both sentences in the control group involved four verbs. Thus there is a 50% difference in the amount of NO judgements between Group A and Group C.

Group B has a judgement pattern where approximately 70% of the speakers gave a no judgement, with the 90% of the remaining 30% giving a MAYBE judgement, and only 3% of the overall judgements being YES. This might suggest that three-verb clusters (Group B) would be more permissive with regards to partial climbing than four-verb clusters (Group A). However, it must be kept in mind that four-verb clusters are in general less acceptable than three-verb clusters. To control for this it would be necessary to compare the results of Group B with controls involving three-verb clusters. Unfortunately, we do not have any relevant data available at present.

Another possible explanation for the difference between Group B and Group A may be the fact that the particle verbs in Group B are all non-compositional, or idiomatic (e.g. S6: *fel* 'up' + *lép* 'step' = perform), while Group A involves particle verbs whose meaning is more or less compositional and whose particle is more adverb-like (e.g. S3: *haza* 'home' + *jön* 'come' = come home; S10: *el* 'away' + *jön* 'come' = leave). One would have to test this hypothesis by testing three-verb clusters involving a non-compositional particle verb and four-verb clusters involving compositional particle verbs.

Some additional results follow if one takes a closer look at the sentences. The two verbs used in most of these examples as finite verbs are *fog* 'will' and *szokott* 'do habitually'. Comparing the results of sentence pairs from each group, one involving *fog* 'will', the other involving *szokott* 'do habitually' (e.g. S1 to S2, S5 to S9, S6 to S8, S4 to S10) does not reveal any systematic difference. This suggests that the choice of the finite verb does not effect the results. This is in line with Kenesei's (2000) claim that *fog* 'will' and *szokott* 'do habitually' are uncontested auxiliary verbs in Hungarian.

The following diagrams (Tables 5, 6 and 7) show the breakdown of the results for those counties that had more than 5 speakers. We do not think that smaller samples would be reliable indicators of any dialectal variation. As it is transparent from the diagrams, we do not find any indication of dialectal variation in the judgements. This may support the view, generally held among Hungarian linguists that the Hungarian verbal cluster is different from its Germanic counterparts in the sense that it is a much more unified phenomenon that is subject to much less cross-dialectal variation. The findings, nevertheless, are far from conclusive, since the samples are rather small and also because a large majority of the speakers tested received higher education, which is known to have a neutralising effect on dialectal variation. A more extensive sociolinguistic study would have to be conducted to reveal any dialectal variation in the possible orderings of the Hungarian verbal cluster.

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<sup>7</sup> This is in line with earlier findings in the case of Group A of Question 4, which also received 40% NO judgements. In fact S9 of Question 2 is exactly the same as S25 of Question 4. The judgements (in percentages) for the former are 18%YES/ 43% NO/ 39% MAYBE; while they are 17% YES/ 54% NO/ 29% MAYBE for the latter. The difference might be due to the fact that only 30% of the questionnaires were evaluated for Question 4.

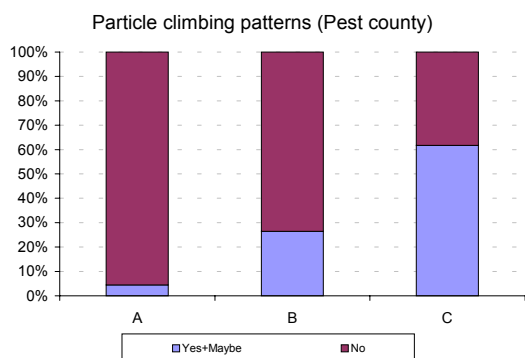


Table 5

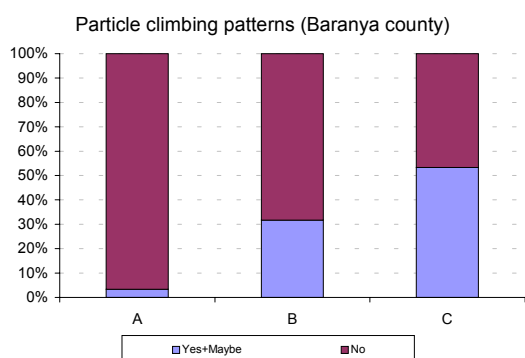


Table 6

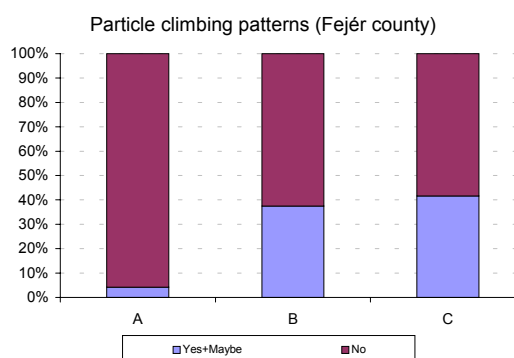


Table 7

#### 4 *látszik* 'seems' – a stress-avoiding verb that does not trigger particle climbing

The aim of Question 3 was to establish the characteristics of the Hungarian verb, *látszik* 'seem'. Kálmán et al. (1989) argues that Hungarian verbs that take infinitival complements fall into several classes. Two of these classes are the stress-avoiding verbs and the stress-requiring verbs. As the names suggest, stress-avoiding verbs cannot be stressed in a neutral sentence. If they are stressed, the stress is interpreted in a non-neutral way (e.g. involving contrast). Stress-requiring verbs take neutral stress. Bródy (1997), É.Kiss (1999) and Koopman & Szabolcsi (2000) argued that this classification of infinitival complement taking verbs is relevant for climbing and roll-up formation, as stress-avoiding verbs exhibit climbing in neutral sentences and take part in roll-up constructions in non-neutral sentences, while stress-requiring verbs block climbing and roll-up formation.

Although we agree with this characterisation of the data, we would like to suggest that it needs certain refinements<sup>8</sup>. It is true that stress-requiring verbs block both climbing and roll-up, but it seems to be the case that not all stress-avoiding verbs allow both climbing and roll-up formation. In particular, we would like to suggest on the basis of the results of Question 3, which are fully compatible with our own judgements, that the verb *látszik* 'seems' is a stress-avoiding verb that does not allow particle climbing. It does, nevertheless, take part in roll-up structures.

Question 3 was a fill-in question. It involved unfinished sentences with some material missing and the speakers were asked to fill in the missing material. It was shown on the

<sup>8</sup> See also Koopman & Szabolcsi (1998: Fn7) for the same claim.

questionnaire where the missing material was to go and fully inflected words were given below each sentence in alphabetical order. The speakers were told that they are only allowed to use the words given and not allowed to alter the sentence in any other way.<sup>9</sup>

The speakers gave the answers in (7) to S3 and S7. In the case of S3 100% of the speakers gave the order in S3a. In the case of S7, 91% of the speakers gave the order in S7a, 2% of the speakers (i.e. 1 speaker) gave the order in S7b, while 5% of the speakers (i.e. 3 speakers) wrote that no order is possible. We take these results to indicate that *látszik* 'seems' is a stress-avoiding verb. This is because the orders *\*látszik csökkenni* 'seems to diminish' and *\*látszik hajnalodni* 'seems to be dawning', where main stress would fall on the finite verb *látszik* 'seems' were not given as grammatical orders.

- (7)
- S3 A sajtó nyomására a városban ..... a rendőri jelenlét. (csökkenni, látszik)  
*the media pressing-on the city-in the police presence diminish-to seems*  
 'As a result of pressure from the media, the police presence in the city seems to diminish'
- a. csökkenni látszik INVERSION: 100%  
*decrease-to seems*
- S7 ..... – mondta Péter s mélyet sóhajtott. (hajnalodni, látszik)  
*said Peter and deep breathed dawn-to seems*  
 'It seems to be dawning.—said Peter and took a deep breath.'
- a. hajnalodni látszik INVERSION: 91%  
*dawn-to seems*  
 'seems to be dawning'
- b. látszik hajnalodni STRAIGHT ORDER: 2%  
*seems dawn-to*  
 'seems to be dawning'

The results of S5 and S9 are given in (8).

- (8)
- S5 Valami ..... az ablakon. Mari először megijedt, de aztán látta, hogy  
*Something the window-through Mary first was-scared but then saw that*  
 csak egy cserebogár. (be, látszott, repülni)  
*only a beetle (in, seemed, fly-to)*  
 'Something seemed to fly in through the window. Mary was frightened at first, but then she saw that it was only a beetle.'
- a. be repülni látszott INVERSION : 63%  
*PV fly-to seems*  
 'seems to fly in'
- b. látszott be repülni STRAIGHT ORDER: 18%  
*seems PV fly-to*

<sup>9</sup> The breakdown of the results for each sentence is given in the Appendix. A sample of 56 questionnaires was evaluated for Question 3, from all over the country.



The best order for S1 was the one in S1a, which involves fronting of the bare noun. This could be a case of climbing, but it could just as well be a case of focussing of the incorporated oblique argument. It is well-known that stress-avoiding verbs do not exhibit climbing in non-neutral sentences where a focussed phrase appears immediately preceding them. Given that an incorporated oblique argument has ample semantic and pragmatic content, it is easily focussed. Unfortunately, due to the method used in this survey we cannot take a stand with regards to the focussed nature of the bare noun. More tests are needed to control for the possible effects of focussing. Nevertheless, we would like to conclude that the results of Question 3 support a position that argues that *látszik* 'seems' is a stress-avoiding verb that does not exhibit particle climbing. (It may exhibit climbing of incorporated oblique arguments.) The majority of speakers use a roll-up structure in neutral sentences with *látszik* 'seems'.

## 5 Conclusion

We reported partial results of a questionnaire survey on the Hungarian verbal cluster. We would like to stress, however, that in our minds the results do not constitute conclusive evidence. We merely regard them as an indicator of the state-of-affairs. A questionnaire survey, as any experimental design, has its own built-in flaws which may distort the results significantly. We are also fully aware of the lack of expertise on our part for trying to counterbalance these intervening factors. For concreteness sake, if there existed a dialect of Hungarian that allows partial climbing, or roll-up from the middle whose speakers constitute roughly 10% of the population, on the basis of our estimate of the noise in our results, we reckon that our results would not indicate the existence of this dialect.

In this light, we tentatively conclude that the initial results support the dominant view in the literature that certain orders in the HUngharian verbal cluster are ungrammatical. In particular, the results of Question 4 support the view that in non-neutral sentences roll-up formation is constrained in such a way that (i) it cannot start from the middle, (ii) it cannot effect English order sequences, and (iii) it cannot invert nonadjacent verbs. The results of Question 2 do not indicate any dialectal variation in the case of partial climbing (or partially partial climbing). According to our results these orders are ungrammatical. Finally, the results of Question 3 lend support to our own view that verbs that the class of verbs that allow particle climbing and the class of those verbs that allow roll-up formation are not identical. In particular, *látszik* 'seems' takes part in roll-up formation, even in neutral sentences, but does not allow particle climbing.

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## Appendix

### 1 BREAKDOWN OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES WITH RESPECT TO COUNTIES:

Number of questionnaires	From ...
33	Budapest and Pest county
15	Baranya
6	Fejér
5	Nógrád
4	Jász
4	Somogy
4	Szabolcs-Szatmár
4	Tolna
8	other (e.g. Heves, Vas, Zala, BAZ, Komárom, Bács-Kiskun, Győr-Sopron, unspecified)

Table 1

The origin of the questionnaires

In Table 1 the breakdown of the total of 83 questionnaires is given for each county. No sampling technique was applied to ensure that we get a representative sample of judgements from all around the country.



## 2 BREAKDOWN OF THE RESULTS OF QUESTION 2 FOR EACH SENTENCE

SENTENCES FROM Q2	YES	NO	MAYBE
A S1	0	81	2
S2	0	81	1
S6	0	78	5
S8	1	78	4
B S3	3	56	24
S4	2	56	25
S7	2	62	19
S10	4	57	22
C S9	15	36	32
S5	19	30	34

Table 2  
Breakdown of the results from Question 2

In Table 2, each row corresponds to a sentence, while the columns indicate the number of YES/ NO/ MAYBE judgements given to that sentence.

## 3 BREAKDOWN OF THE RESULTS OF QUESTION 3 FOR EACH SENTENCE

S1			S3	S5				S7			S9			
a	b	∅	a	a	b	c	∅	a	b	∅	a	b	c	∅
45	5	6	56	35	10	9	6	51	1	3	48	9	1	1

Table 3  
Breakdown of the results for Question 3

In Table 3, the first row contains the sentences. The second row refers to the orders given for each sentence. The actual orders were given in the main text. ∅ indicates that the speaker explicitly claimed that no order gives a grammatical sentence. The third row gives the number of speakers who gave that order for that sentence.

The remaining sentences S2, S4, S6, and S8 are not shown. These sentences tested the characteristics of the verb *kényszerül* 'be-forced-to'. The results were not possible to evaluate. The only conclusion that we could draw from the results was that for many speakers *kényszerül* 'be forced-to' does not allow an infinitival complement.