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Chapter 10: Syntactically Relevant Aspects of Stress and Intonation in the Hungarian Simple Sentence

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Section 10.1
Introduction

Intonation in spoken sentences performs a number of functions and can be looked at from different angles. In this chapter we shall deal with those aspects of Hungarian intonation which are relevant to syntax, and are necessary for a proper understanding of the syntactic phenomena that have been treated in the preceding chapters of this book. Other aspects of intonation (for instance, many of the attitudinal and emotional functions) will therefore be deliberately ignored here. Readers interested in a more comprehensive account of Hungarian intonation can consult e.g. Fónagy (1998) or Varga (2002).

On the syntactic side, our attention will be restricted to simples sentences, i.e. sentences which do not contain embedded clauses. Discussion will be carried out in terms of the topic—comment division of the Hungarian sentence. The canonical Hungarian sentence consists of an optional **topic** part and an obligatory **comment** part (É. Kiss 1987).[1] The topic is the initial part of the sentence in connection with which something is being stated or demanded or questioned, while the comment is the final part of the sentence which states or demands or asks something. For instance, in (1a) *a gyereket* is topic (T), *elvitték az állatkertbe* is comment (Com), whereas in (1b) the entire sentence *Elvitték a gyereket az állatkertbe* is a comment and there is no topic.

(1) a. A   gyereket   elvitték   az   állatkertbe.
       the child.Acc away-take.Past-3Pl.DefObj the zoo.Ill
       'They took the child to the zoo.' (Literally: 'The child they took to the zoo.')
       [T A gyereket] [Com elvitték az állatkertbe.]
   b. Elvitték   a gyereket   az   állatkertbe.
       away-take.Past-3Pl.DefObj the child.Acc the zoo.Ill
       'They took the child to the zoo.'
       [Com Elvitték a gyereket az állatkertbe.] [2]

The chapter consists of five sections. After the present **introduction**, in Section 10.2 we briefly present the inventory of, and transcription symbols for, the **intonational features** which we care to distinguish for the purposes of this book. Section 10.3 concentrates on the intonational features of **communicative sentence types**, section 10.4 is devoted to the intonation and stressing of the major constituents within **comments**, while section 10.5 examines the intonational and stress peculiarities of **topic constituents** within the Hungarian sentence.

The numbering of the examples and footnotes will be continuous within the sections of the chapter, but will restart in every new section.

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[1] In some more recent works on Hungarian syntax the term *comment* has been replaced by the term *predicate* (É. Kiss 2002), but we are not going to use the latter term here because of its ambiguity.
[2] The acute accents on certain vowel letters in Hungarian orthography (see e.g. the *é* in *elvitték*, or the *á* in *állatkertbe*) are not intonational symbols, they represent phonemic vowel length and have nothing to do with stress or intonation. Stress in Hungarian words always falls on the first syllable.

Section 10.2
Stress and Intonation in Hungarian

10.2.1 Basic concepts: intonation, stress, accents; the need for a notation

Intonation means superimposing certain pitch patterns upon the segmental string of sentences.[1] The sentential pitch patterns are meaningful and have characteristic shapes. They will be called **intonation contours**. The intonation contours are carried by the syllables of the spoken sentence.

Some of these syllables are **accented** (i.e. **pitch-accented**). The accented syllables are stressed (i.e. they have extra intensity or some other, non-pitch-involving feature that gives them extra prominence) and, in addition, they are pitch-accented (i.e. they are associated with a pitch-event, in the sense that they initiate a recurring intonation contour). All other syllables are **unaccented**. Some of the unaccented syllables may be stressed: these have some extra intensity but are not associated with independently chosen pitch events. In most cases the stressed but unaccented syllables are regarded as accentable syllables that happen to occur in deaccented parts of the sentence (i.e. they retain some extra prominence but lack the pitch-event potentially associated with them). The rest of the unaccented syllables are unstressed.

From the point of view of intonation it is only the accented syllables that are relevant. They are the significant points in intonation, and therefore they have to be indicated in an intonational transcription. These significant points will be indicated by **tonetic accent marks**, i.e. graphic intonation symbols which we will put before the relevant syllables in the line of written text representing the segmental part of the utterance, and which will simultaneously signal both accent and intonation. For instance, the symbol [$\backslash$] before a syllable indicates that the syllable is accented and initiates a fully falling contour (Full Fall), the symbol [$^{\shortmid}$] indicates that the syllable is accented and initiates a half falling contour (Half Fall), and the symbol [$^{\wedge}$] indicates that the syllable is accented and initiates a rising-falling contour (Rise-Fall). Such symbols constitute the bulk of our **intonational transcription system**, which makes separate pitch diagrams ultimately superfluous. Nevertheless, in this section the diagrammatic representations are also necessary: they serve to familiarise the reader with the correspondences between the graphic intonation symbols and the pitch diagrams.

In (1a) below we can see a schematic pitch diagram, which contains filled dots for the accented syllables and little lines for the other syllables, arranged at different heights above a long horizontal line, representing the bottom pitch of the speaker's voice. Below this line we can see the written text of the spoken sentence, provided with the tonetic accent marks, which show the accented syllables and intonation of the sentence.

(1) a. És akkor elvitték   a   gyereket   az állatkertbe.
       and then   away-take.Past-3Pl.DefObj the child.Acc the zoo.Ill
       'And then they took the child to the zoo.'

---

[1] In some languages, pitch patterns are superimposed on **words** and so they can distinguish words that are segmentally identical. These patterns of pitch variation are not intonational contours but **lexical tones**. Hungarian does not have lexical tones.

És akkor ˈelvitték a ˈgyereket az ˈ\állatkertbe.
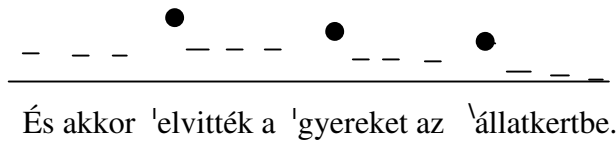
10.2.2 The Intonation Phrase

The intonation contours appear as melodic constituents within certain phonological structures called **Intonation Phrases** (IPs). IPs can be regarded as containers of intonation, with a characteristic internal structure. The obligatory part of IPs is the **Terminal Part**, which begins on the last (rightmost) accented syllable of the IP and lasts till the end of the IP. It carries a terminal contour. This may optionally be preceded by a **Scale**, which begins on the first (leftmost) accented syllable before the Terminal Part and lasts till the Terminal Part. It carries one or more scalar contours. The Scale may be optionally preceded by a **Preparatory Part**, which is formed by the unaccented syllables before the first (leftmost) accented syllable of the IP. It carries some default melody, which we call preparatory contour. The structure of IPs is shown in (2), with the optional parts in parentheses:

(2) *Structure of the Hungarian Intonation Phrase:*
    (Preparatory Part) + (Scale) + Terminal Part [2]

In example (1a) above, repeated here as (3), all three parts of the IP are present:

(3)

És akkor ˈelvitték a ˈgyereket az ˈ\állatkertbe.

Prepara- tory Part	Scale	Terminal Part
IP		
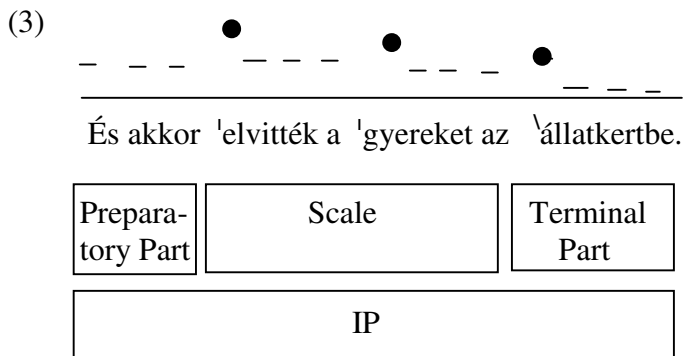
In the transcriptions, the end (right boundary) of an IP can be symbolised with a vertical line [│], which, however, is omitted in this book in obvious cases such as the end of examples, cf. (3), and is shown only when the boundary occurs between two consecutive IPs, as in example (4). The second IP in (4) has no Preparatory Part or Scale and only consists of the Terminal Part.

(4) És akkor elvitték   a gyereket   az állatkertbe, nem igaz?
    and then away-take.Past-3Pl.DefObj   the child.Acc the zoo.Ill   not true

---

[2] In addition to the ordinary IPs presented in (2), there also exist **Appended IPs**, which can be illustrated by the quoting clause *mondtam* 'I said' in *Elvitték a gyereket az állatkertbe, mondtam* 'They took the child to the zoo, I said.'. These differ from (2) in that their only obligatory part is the Preparatory Part. Since they have a very restricted use, we are not considering them in this description.

'And then they took the child to the zoo, didn't they?'

És akkor ˈelvitték a ˈgyereket az ˋállatkertbe, | ^nem igaz?

Prepara-tory Part	Scale	Terminal Part	Terminal Part

IP	IP
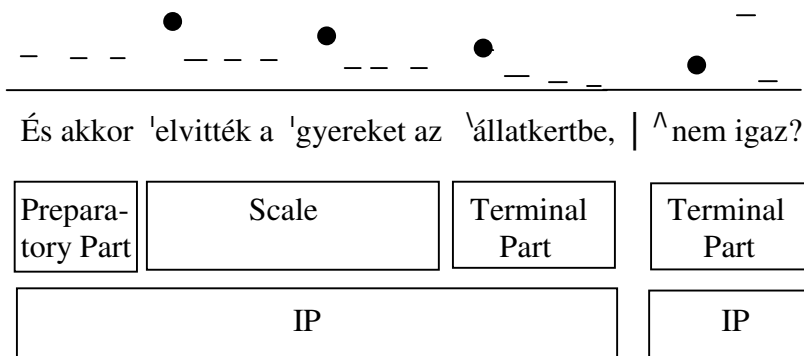
It is necessary to point out here that the accented syllable initiating a terminal contour in Hungarian is not necessarily stronger (in fact it is often weaker) than the accented syllables that precede it in the Scale. For instance, in (3) and in the first IP of (4) the physically strongest syllable is probably *el-* rather than *ál-*. This is why we do not use the term *nuclear contour* for the last intonation contour within a Hungarian IP, and instead we use the term *terminal contour.*[3]

10.2.3 Terminal contours

The Terminal Part of an IP always begins with the last (righmost) pitch accented syllable and lasts till the end of the IP, and it carries a terminal contour.

A **terminal contour** is a recurring, discrete, meaningful speech melody, which is able to appear on independent utterances. For the purposes of the present book we shall recognise the following terminal contours in Hungarian: (i) *Full Fall*, symbol [ˋ], (ii) *Fall-Rise,* symbol: [˅]), (iii) *Rise-Fall*, symbol: [^], (iv) *Rise*, symbol: [´], (v) *High Monotone*, symbol: [¯], and (vi) *Descent*, symbol: [↪].[4] These contour types are not the only terminal contours in Hungarian, but they are the ones that are directly relevant to syntax. Their phonetic contents are displayed in the schematic pitch diagrams of (5), where the (a) one-syllable, (b) two-syllable, and (c) three-or-more-syllable phonetic variants of the terminal contours are illustrated on the carrier phrases *finn* 'Finnish', *angol* 'English', and *amerikai* 'American'.

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[3] The term *nuclear contour* is appropriate for English, where the syllable initiating the last intonation contour in an IP is actually the strongest of all the accents within the IP, and can be called the nucleus. This is not necessarily the case in Hungarian.

[4] The graphic symbols presented here are traditional devices of intonational notation, based on the practice of British intonation studies (see e.g. Wells 2006). Nowadays, especially in purely phonological works on intonation, other ways of transcribing intonation, characterized by the autosegmental approach and based on different versions of ToBI, are also common. (As for ToBI, see Beckman & Elam 1997). The reasons why we have chosen graphic symbols rather than ToBI are that (a) they are less space-consuming than ToBI, (b) most of them being iconic, they are easier than ToBI to decode for non-phonologists, (c) although there have been efforts to create a Hungarian ToBI system, there are still a lot of open questions concerning its exact details and no generally accepted ToBI system for Hungarian is available (see Varga 2008, 2010).

(5) *Terminal contours:*

(i) *Full Fall:*

a.   b.   c.

      `\`Finn.   `\`Angol.   `\`Amerikai.

(ii) *Fall-Rise:*

a.   b.   c.

      ᵛFinn.   ᵛAngol.   ᵛAmerikai.

(iii) *Rise-Fall:*

a.   b.   c.

      ^Finn?   ^Angol?   ^ Amerikai?

(iv) *Rise:*

a.   b.   c.

      ʹFinn,   ʹAngol,   ʹAmerikai,

(v) *High Monotone:*

a.   b.   c.

      ¯ Finn.   ¯ Angol.   ¯ Amerikai.

(vi) *Descent:*

a.   b.   c.

      ↪ Finn.   ↪ Angol.   ↪ Amerikai.
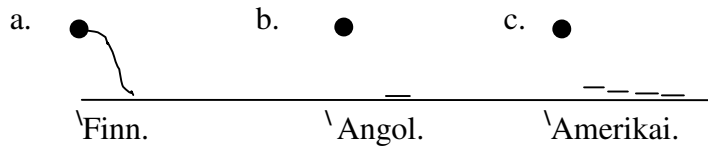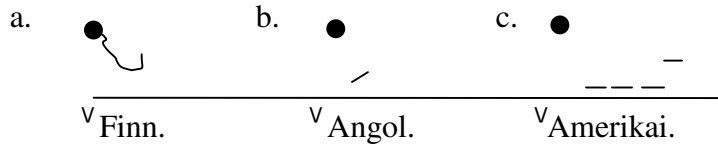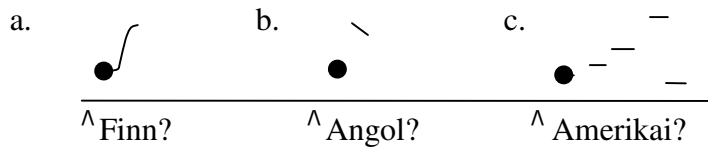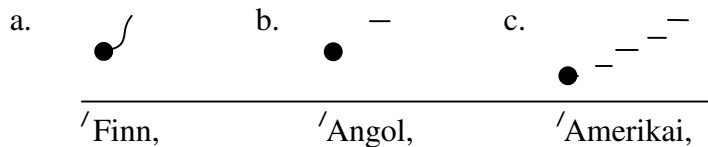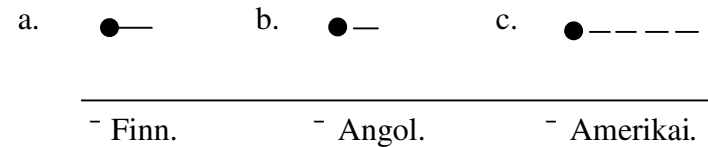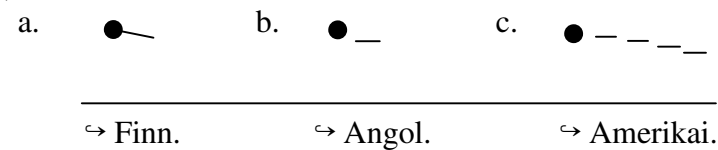
A common feature of the Full Fall and the Fall-Rise (5.i,ii) is that in their plurisyllabic variants the voice radically drops down between the first and the second syllables. This is why they can be called 'front-falling contours'. The Full Fall ends on the bottom pitch of the speaker's normal voice range, whereas the Fall-Rise goes down to the bottom but then moves up at the end.

       The Rise-Fall, which is typical of Hungarian yes-or-no questions, goes up and then may slide down a little in the syllable when realised on a monosyllable, but the backslide is usually physically missing unless the question is a surprised one (5.iii.a).

When the Rise-Fall has two syllables to spread over, the pitch radically steps up between the syllables and then may slide down slightly in the second syllable (5.iii.b). In a three-or-more-syllable carrier phrase the melody rises until it reaches the penultimate syllable and then drops abruptly between the last two syllables (5.iii.c).

The Rise (5.iv), the High Monotone (5.v) and the Descent (5.vi) together can be called the 'sustained contours'. The Rise is the name either of a steadily rising contour, or of a contour which is level-keeping for a large part and then moves upwards at its end. At the same time it can be high and low. However, we shall not distinguish these varieties in our transcriptions. The High Monotone (5.v) does not change in pitch, and it can be at high or mid level, but we shall ignore such differences. The Descent (5.vi) is a narrow-ranged, gradually sloping pitch movement which starts fairly high and lacks the big drop that occurs between the first two syllables of the Full Fall or Fall-Rise. It often reaches its peak (i.e. the highest-pitched point from where the descent actually begins) with some procrastination: it is normal for it to have its peak not at the beginning of the first syllable, but at the end of the first, or beginning of the second syllable.

The Rise can be replaced by a High Monotone, and the High Monotone by a Descent, but not the other way round. These replacements, however, carry only attitudinal differences, and can be regarded as syntactically insignificant alternatives to the contour type which they replace. These possibilies are summed up as Sustained Contour Alternatives, shown in (6).

(6) *Sustained Contour Alternatives*
    Rise [$^{/}$xxx] → High Monotone [$^{-}$xxx] → Descent [$^{↪}$xxx]
                    opt   opt
    Note: These optional changes can be associated with attitudinal differences but are insignificant from a syntactic point of view.

In an intonational transcription the domain of a tonetic accent mark is a string of syllables which begins with the syllable which the tonetic accent mark precedes, and lasts till the next tonetic stress mark if there is one, or else to the end of the IP. So the domain a tonetic accent mark need not be one word (as the examples in (5) might misleadingly suggest), but can be any number of words. For instance, in (7) there are three words, forming four syllables, and they together constitute the domain of a Rise-Fall, having the accent on the first syllable and the frequency peak on the antepenultimate syllable, as is normal when the Rise-Fall has a domain of three or more syllables.

(7) Van   benne víz?
    be.Pres.3Sg   in-it   water
    'Is there any water in it?'

^{Λ}Van benne víz?

At this point it needs to be mentioned that the terminal contour status of the Full Fall, the Fall-Rise, the Rise-Fall, and the Rise does not depend on whether or not there is an

audible pause after the contour. Any Full Fall, Fall-Rise, Rise-Fall or Rise automatically constitutes the Terminal Part of an IP, and there may, but need not be, a pause at the end of such an IP. This is not so, however, with the High Monotone and the Descent (when it replaces a pauseless High Monotone). These only count as terminal contours if they are followed by an audible pause or at least a quasi pause. If there is no pause at the end of a High Monotone or Descent, it counts as a scalar contour, see 10.2.4 below.

Pauses provide separation within and between sentences. They can be (a) **audible pauses** (which are noticeable intervals of silence at a certain point in speech), or **quasi pauses** (which are illusions of silence created by other phonetic means, such as the lengthening of a syllable or the insertion of a schwa at a certain point in speech). Both kinds of pause are in contrast with (b) **the lack of pause**. The symbol of an audible or quasi pause is the square: [ ]. This need not be shown at the end of isolated examples. Since the pause at the end of the IP is obligatory if its terminal contour is a High Monotone (̄xxx⎸), or a Descent (↪xxx⎸), in these cases the symbol of the IP boundary [⎸] automatically signals the pause, too. In other cases the IP boundary does not signal a pause, only the end of an IP, which may or may not be followed by a pause.

10.2.4 Scalar contours and preparatory contours

Scalar contours are those contours that are initiated by accented syllables other than the last one in an IP. The most frequent scalar contour is the **Half Fall**, symbol: ['], which is like the Full Fall but it does not reach down to the bottom pitch of the speaker. In (3) above, reproduced here as (8a), the parts *elvitték a* and *gyereket az* both carry a scalar Half Fall.[5]

(8) a.

És akkor 'elvitték a 'gyereket az ⟍állatkertbe.

Prepara-tory Part	Scale	Terminal Part

IP
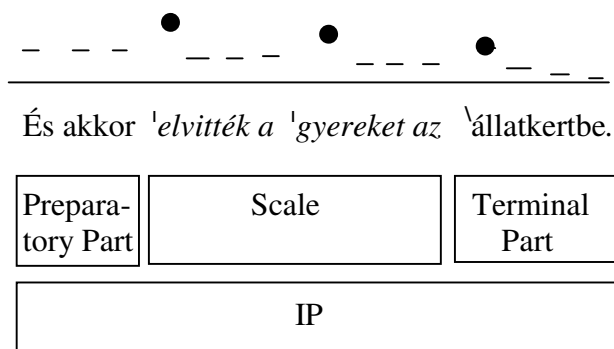
In addition to the Half Fall, another contour, viz. the **High Monotone** (and the Descent, when it replaces a High Monotone) also functions as a scalar contour, when it does not end in a pause. (When it does end in a pause, it is regarded as a terminal contour, see 10.2.3.) To distinguish this kind of High Monotone from the terminal High Monotone, it will be called scalar High Monotone. The scalar High Monotone is quite common when the terminal contour is a Rise-Fall in the comment of a yes-or-no question, as in (8b):

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[5] Earlier I treated the Half Fall differently: I regarded it as a terminal contour when it ended in a pause, and as a scalar contour when it did not end in a pause (cf. e.g. Varga 2002). For the purposes of this chapter, however, I do not think this bifurcation is necessary, and consider every Half Fall as a scalar contour.

(8) b. És   akkor el-vitték   a   gyereket az állatkertbe?
      and then away-take.Past-3Pl.DefObj the child.Acc the zoo.Ill
      'And then they took the child to the zoo? (surprised)'

_   _ _   ●— — —   ●— — —   ●— —
                                          ●   _

És akkor ⁻*elvitték a* ⁻*gyereket az* ^állatkertbe? [6]
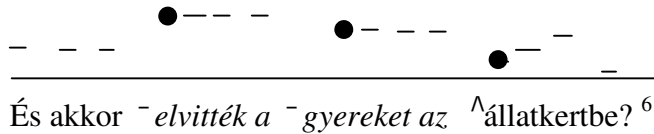
The melody of the unaccented initial portion of an IP can be called **preparatory contour**. Its shape is similar to a sustained contour (i.e. it can be rising, level, descending) but it lacks a pause after it and it also lacks the extra intensity on the first syllable of its carrier phrase. It is realised anywhere in the region between mid low and high. Its varieties may convey attitudinal information, but are insignificant syntactically, and so they will not be indicated in the transcriptions. The strings *és akkor* in (8a, b) carry a preparatory contour.

10.2.5 Relative peak heights, downdrift and upstep

If you go back to the pitch diagrams of (8a, b), you will find that each intonation contour in the Scale and the Terminal Part is a little lower than the preceding contour. (That is to say: the height of the peak of each contour is somewhat lower than the height of the peak in the preceding contour, and the entire contour is realised in a somewhat lower region than the previous one.) This gradual lowering of the contours within an IP can be called **downdrift**. It can occur between scalar contours, or between a scalar contour and a front-falling terminal contour (i.e. Full Fall, Fall-Rise), as in (8a), or between a scalar contour and a Rise-Fall terminal contour, as in (8b). We consider downdrift as a natural process, which automatically stops at the end of every IP, and begins anew at the first accented syllable of every new IP. We shall give it no special symbol in our intonational notation.

However, downdrift is not compulsory; it can be deliberately suspended. This happens when the speaker makes a downdriftable syllable as high as, or occasionally even slightly higher than, the corresponding syllable of the preceding contour, instead of letting it be lower. This avoidance of the natural process of downdrift at a certain syllable will be called **upstep**, and the syllable receiving upstep will be referred to as **upstepped syllable.** In many cases upstep reveals only attitudinal but not syntactic differences and need not be marked in our transcriptions. But when it does have a syntactic relevance, the upstepped contour will be marked by putting the symbol [↑] before its tonetic stress mark. The difference between the two kinds of upstep, viz. 'equally high' and 'higher', has only attitudinal but not syntactic significance, and therefore both will be indicated by the same [↑] symbol. For instance, in (9), the contour beginning with the syllable *el-* is upstepped, because upstepping in this position is a way of separating the topic (*a barátaink*) from a comment that has several acce,nts (*elvitték a gyereket az állatkertbe*).

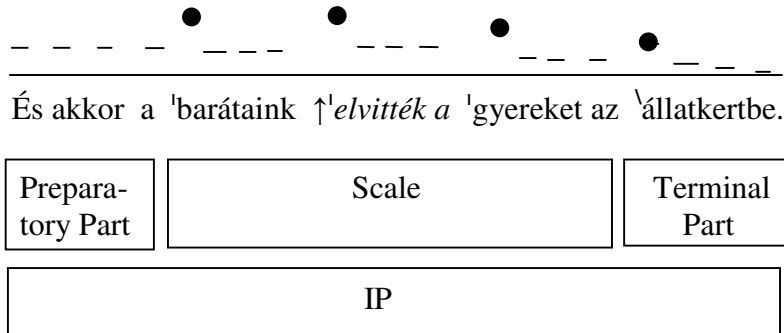(9) És   akkor a   barátaink   el-vitték   a   gyereket az
    and then the friend.Poss.1Pl away-take.Past-3Pl.DefObj the child.Acc the

---

[6] Like the terminal High Monotone, the scalar High Monotone, too, is replaceable by a Descent.

az állatkertbe.
zoo.Ill
'And then our friends took the child to the zoo.'

És akkor a ˈbarátaink ↑ˈ*elvitték a* ˈgyereket az ˋállatkertbe.

Prepara-tory Part	Scale	Terminal Part

IP

Section 10.3
Intonation and Communicative Sentence Types

10.3.1 Communicative sentence types

In this section we shall examine those aspects of intonation that are relevant for the identification of the communicative sentence types in Hungarian. By communicative sentence types we mean those finer divisions within the traditional grammatical sentence types which are determined by the speaker's communicative intention and the context, cf. Varga (2002: 25-28).

In nearly every sentence, an important key to the communicative sentence type is provided by the **intonation of the comment**.[1] Therefore, for simplicity's sake, wherever possible, the examples we use will consist of only a comment and no topic.

We shall concentrate on neutral intonation, i.e. the kind of intonation that expresses no particular attitude other than the attitude inherently involved in the communicative sentence type. However, some of the attitudinal variants will also have to be mentioned in order to show how the neutral solutions differ from them.

In order to show accents and intonation, from now on we shall not be using pitch diagrams any more. Instead, we will be using the tonetic accent marks and the other graphic intonational transcription symbols presented in Section 10.2.

10.3.2 Declarative sentences

When declarative sentences are used as statements and have neutral intonation, they typically have a Full Fall as their terminal contour, and all the other, non-pronominal constituents carrying new information within the comment begin with an accented syllable and have a scalar Half Fall, cf. (1a).

(1) a. Elvitték a barátaikat a borfesztiválra.
    away-take.Past.3Pl.DefObj the friend.Poss.3Pl.Acc the winefestival.Sub

---

[1] There is one exception, viz. the class of truncated questions, which do not have a comment, see 10.3.10 below.

'They took their friends to the wine festival.'
ˈ*Elvitték a* ˈ*barátaikat a* ˋ*borfesztiválra.*

The intonation of declaratives has various kinds of attitudinal variants, including (1b). In (1b) the terminal contour is a Fall-Rise, and the sentence implies some kind of contrast between the sentence and the context, and therefore it is especially suitable for expressing a warning over some aspect of the proposition which otherwise would not have been revealed or noticed.

(1) b. ˈ*Elvitték a* ˈ*barátaikat a* ᵛ*borfesztiválra.*

For example, (1b) may express the speaker's reservation (partial agreement, partial disagreement) over his interlocutor's previous remark that the people mentioned did not treat their friends well enough. Or it may prepare the way for a (potential) conflicting continuation, which begins with the word *de* 'but', as in *De az egy katasztrófa volt* 'But that was a disaster.'

10.3.3 Imperative sentences
Imperative sentences also typically have a Full Fall as their terminal contour, and a series of Half Falls in the scale, see (2a).

(2) a. Vigyék   el   a   barátaikat   a   borfesztiválra!
        take.Subj.3Pl.DefObj away the friend.Poss.3Pl.Acc the winefestival.Sub
        'Let them take their friends to the wine festival.'
        ˈ*Vigyék el a* ˈ*barátaikat a* ˋ*borfesztiválra!*

The attitudinal variant discussed in the subsection on declaratives can also be observed in the intonation of imperatives. (2b), with a Fall-Rise terminal contour starting on the last accentable item, sounds like a warning. When the Fall-Rise embraces the entire comment, as in (2c), the result is an emphatic command or – in a negative sentence – prohibition.

(2) b. ˈ*Vigyék el a* ˈ*barátaikat a* ᵛ*borfesztiválra!*
    c. ᵛ*Vigyék el a barátaikat a borfesztiválra!*

An important and very frequent attitudinal variant is the use of the Rise-Fall as a terminal contour, embracing the comment of the imperative sentence, as in (2d):

(2) d. Gyere   (csak) ide   egy percre!
        come.Subj.2Sg just   here a   minute.Sub
        'Come here for a minute.'
        ᶺ*Gyere* (*csak*) *ide egy percre!* [2]

---

[2] The use of the Rise-Fall here, which otherwise is the characteristic intonation of yes-or-no questions in Hungarian, is probably due to the fact that such imperatives are similar in force to yes-or-no questions used to express similar requests, e.g. ᶺ*Idejönnél egy percre?* 'Would you come here for a minute?'

Such sentences are what Varga (2002: 41) calls 'belittling imperatives', because they play down the importance of the activity asked for, suggesting that the effect or result of the activity asked for will be far more important than the activity itself. This is why the Rise-Fall can only be used on imperatives that request activities which can be done easily and rapidly. It cannot be used on imperatives that request activities which take a longer time to perform, see (2e):

(2) e. Olvasd   el   ezt   a   regényt!
         read.Subj.2Sg away   this.Acc the   novel.Acc
         'Read this novel.'
         * $^{\Lambda}$Olvasd el ezt a regényt!

10.3.4 Ordinary yes-or-no questions

By ordinary yes-or-no question we mean a yes-or-no question (YNQ) which does not contain either the question particle -e or the interrogative word ugye, and which is distinguished from its declarative counterpart only by its intonation. The typical, neutral intonation of ordinary yes-or-no questions in Hungarian is characterised by a Rise-Fall terminal contour. This Rise-Fall is initiated by the last (rightmost) accented syllable. The other accented syllables before a Rise-Fall terminal, at least within the comment of the sentence, take the High Monotone scalar contour, cf. (3a):

(3) a. Elvitték   a   barátaikat   a   borfesztiválra?
         away-take.Past-3Pl.DefObj the   friend.Poss.3Pl.Acc the   winefestival.Sub
         'Did they take their friends to the wine festival?'
         $^{-}$Elvitték a $^{-}$barátaikat a $^{\Lambda}$borfesztiválra? [3]

Very often, however, the postverbal constituents in yes-or-no questions have no accent because they carry given information and then the Rise-Fall can embrace the entire comment, as in (3b):

(3) b. $^{\Lambda}$Elvitték a barátaikat a borfesztiválra?

For reasons that are not entirely clear, it is often the case that postverbal constituents in yes-or-no questions can lose their accent even when they convey new information, and thus the Rise-Fall can spread out on the entire comment. This possibility seems especially common when there is only one postverbal constituent and/or the sentence is negative, cf. (3c, d).

(3) c. Innál   egy kávét?
         drink.Cond.Pres.2Sg a   coffee.Acc
         'Would you drink a (cup of) coffee?'
         $^{\Lambda}$Innál egy kávét?
     d. Nem láttál   itt   egy hajléktalant?
         not   see.Past.3Sg here   a   vagrant.Acc

---

[3] As was pointed out in 10.2.3., the High Monotone is always replaceable by a Descent.

'Didn't you see a vagrant here?'
^*Nem láttál itt egy hajléktalant?*

But when the ordinary yes-or-no question carries a **surprised, incredulous** attitude, summing up an unexpected or unbelievable experience of the speaker or echoing a statement that the speaker has heard but found hard to believe, it is the last accentable constituent in the comment that takes the Rise-Fall terminal contour, and all the other accentable constituents before it within the comment take a High Monotone scalar contour, even though they convey given information, see (4a, b).

(4) *Surprised / Increduluous YNQs*
   a. Elvitték   a   barátaikat   a   borfesztiválra?
     away-take.Past.3Pl.DefObj the friend.Poss.3Pl.Acc the winefestival.Sub'
     'Is it really true that they took their friends to the wine festival?'
     ‾*Elvitték a* ‾*barátaikat a* ^*borfesztiválra?*
     ('How come? Am I right in thinking so? Did I hear it correctly?')
  b. Nem láttál   itt   egy hajléktalant?
     not see.Past.3Sg here a   vagrant.Acc
     'Is it really true that you didn't see a vagrant here?'
     ‾*Nem láttál* (‾)*itt* egy ^*hajléktakant?* [4]
     ('How come? Am I right in thinking so? Did I hear it correctly?')

10.3.5 Yes-or-no questions with the question particle *-e*
A special kind of yes-or-no question in Hungarian is the yes-or-no question with the *-e* morpheme. This morpheme is a question particle (QPart), placed right after the verb. Since this morpheme adequately shows that the sentence is a yes-or-no question, there is no need for the the Rise-Fall, which is the intonational signalling of Hungarian yes-or-no questions otherwise. Yes-or-no questions with the *-e* morpheme have a Full Fall terminal contour embracing the whole comment, and the postverbal constituents do not take accents even if they convey new information, at least not when the yes-or-no question is used as an independent sentence. This is illustrated in (5):

(5) '*-e'-type YNQs*
   a. Elvitték   -e   a   barátaikat   a   borfesztiválra?
     away-take.Past.3Pl.DefObj QPart the friend.Poss.3Pl.Acc the winefestival.Sub
     'Did they take their friends to the wine festival?'
     Elvitték-e a barátaikat a borfesztiválra?

Such sentences are rather rare nowadays. Yes-or-no questions with the *-e* morpheme are more common in subordinated clauses, where each accentable constituent is accented, the last one initiating a terminal Full Fall, the preceding ones initiating scalar Half Falls, as in (6b):

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[4] Optionality of a symbol is indicated by putting it in parentheses. For instance, (‾) before a syllable means that that syllable may or may not initiate a High Monotone.

(6) Azt   kérdezem,   hogy elvitték   -e
     that.Acc ask.Pres.1Sg.DefObj if   away-take.Past.3Pl.DefObj QPart
     a   barátaikat   a   borfesztiválra.
     the friend.Poss.3Pl.Acc the winefestival.Sub
     'I am asking if they took their friends to the wine festival.'
     ˈ*Azt kérdezem, hogy* ˈ*elvitték-e a* ˈ*barátaikat a* ˋ*borfesztiválra.*

The speaker may repeat (echo) a yes-or-no question heard, in order to clarify it or to gain some time for thinking out an answer to it. These can be called **echo yes-or-no questions**. They have the *-e* morpheme in them, but take the Rise-Fall, starting on their last accentable item, preceded by the High Monotone scalar contour on the preterminal accents. They can be regarded as subordinate clauses introduced by *Azt kérdezed, hogy...?* 'Are you asking if…?', with the introductory part ellipted, but with the complementiser *hogy* 'if' usually retained, see Speaker B's utterance in (7).

(7) *Echo YNQ (in Speaker B's response)*
   –Speaker A: ^*Elvitték a barátaikat a borfesztiválra?*
              'Did they take their friends to the wine festival?'
   –Speaker B: Hogy elvitték   -e
                if   away-take.Past.3Pl.DefObj QPart
                a   barátaikat   a   borfesztiválra?
                the friend.Poss.3Pl.Acc the winefestival.Sub
                Hogy ¯*elvitték-e a* ¯*barátaikat a* ^*borfesztiválra?*
                '(Are you asking) if they took their friends to the wine festival?'

10.3.6 Yes-or-no questions with the interrogative word *ugye*
There also exist yes-or-no questions with the interrogative word (IW) *ugye* (literally: 'is it so?'). This interrogative element is normally accentless and stands at the beginning of the sentence. The intonation of the sentence has a Full Fall terminal contour, embracing the entire comment, as in (8a).

(8) *'Ugye'-type YNQs*
   a. Ugye elvitték   a barátaikat
      IW   away-take.Past-3Pl.DefObj the friend.Poss.3PlAcc
      a   borfesztiválra?
      the winefestival.Sub
      'They took their friends to the wine festival, didn't they?'
      Ugye ˋ*elvitték a barátaikat a borfesztiválra?*

But the word *ugye* can also occur in sentence-final position and then it is normally in a separate IP, with either a Rise-Fall (when the speaker is less sure of the answer), or a Full Fall (when the speaker expects a mere confirmation), see (8b, c).

(8) b. ˈ*Elvitték a* ˈ*barátaikat a* ˋ*borfesztiválra,* | ^*ugye?*
   c. ˈ*Elvitték a* ˈ*barátaikat a* ˋ*borfesztiválra,* | ˋ*ugye?*
   'They took their friends to the wine festival, didn't they?'

10.3.7 WH-questions

Some questions begin with special question words whose English equivalents are WH-words, e.g. *ki?* 'who?', *mi?* 'what?', *hol?* 'where?', *mikor?* 'when?', etc. Therefore, for easier reference, we shall call these type of questions WH-questions (WHQs). The WH-word itself and all the postverbal constituents that carry new information (but not the verb) are accented. Alternatively, it can happen that the WH-word alone is accented, and the postverbal constituents are not, even though they carry new information. The last accented syllable takes the Full Fall terminal contour, the other accented syllables take the scalar Half Fall.

(9) *WHQs*
    Hová   vitték   el   a   barátaikat?
    where.to take.Past.3Pl.DefObj away the friend.Poss.3Pl.Acc
    'Where did they take their friends to?'
    a. ˈ*Hová vitték* (ˈ)*el a* ˋ*barátaikat?*
    b. ˋ*Hová vitték el a barátaikat?*

Sometimes speakers ask the question in order to make their partner repeat or explain a piece of information which they have forgotten or heard badly or found unbelievable. Such questions take the Rise-Fall terminal contour, starting on the question word itself, see Speaker B's utterance in the mini-dialogue of (10). Such sentences can be called **repetitive WH-questions**.

(10) *Repetitive WHQ (in Speaker B's response)*
    – Speaker A: ˈ*Elvitték a* ˈ*barátaikat a* ˋ*borfesztiválra.*
             'They took their friends to the wine festival.'
    –Speaker B. Hová   vitték   el   a   barátaikat?
             where.to take.Past.3Pl.DefObj away the friend.Poss.3Pl.Acc
             ˄*Hová vitték el a barátaikat?*
             'Where did they take their friends?' = 'They took their friends where?'
             ('I couldn't catch this, please repeat.' Or: 'I can't believe this, please explain.')

The repetitive WH-question should not be confused with the **echo WH-question.** The latter is a repetition (echo) of a WH-question which the speaker has heard but wants to clarify or think about before answering it. Such a question is the subordinate clause of a higher sentence *Azt kérdezed, hogy...?* 'Are you asking...?', from which the higher clause (*azt kérdezed*) is omitted and which optionally begins with an unstressed *hogy* 'if'.[5] Such a question has the Rise-Fall terminal contour on the last accentable element, with High Monotone scalar contours on the accentable elements before it. This is illustrated in Speaker B's utterance in (11).

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[5] In Hungarian, as opposed to English, the complementiser *hogy* 'if'/'that' and a wh-word e.g. *hová* 'where' may both be present, in this order, at the beginning of a subordinate clause.

(11) *Echo WHQ (in Speaker B's response)*
    –Speaker A: ˋ*Hová vitték el a barátaikat?*
                'Where did they take their friends to?'
    –Speaker B: (Hogy) hová   vitték   el   a   barátaikat?
                If   where.to take.Past.3Pl.DefObj away the friend.Poss.3Pl.Acc
                (*Hogy*) ¯ *hová vitték* (¯) *el a* ^*barátaikat?*
                '(Are you asking) where they took their friends to?

10.3.8 Alternative questions

These questions offer a choice of alternatives in the form of two IPs, the first having a Rise terminal contour, the second having a Full Fall.

(12) A borfesztiválra   vitték   a barátaikat,   vagy a
    the winefestival.Sub take.Past.3Pl.DefObj. the friend.Poss.3Pl.Acc or the
    táncbemutatóra?
    danceshow.Sub
    'Did they take their friends to the wine festival or to the dance show?'
    A ˊ*borfesztiválra vitték a barátaikat,* │ *vagy a* ˋ*táncbemutatóra?*

10.3.9 Exclamative sentences

From the point of view of their syntactic form, exclamative sentences are rather a mixed bag. Intonationally, however, most of them are like statements, i.e. have a Full Fall terminal contour, with occasional Half Fall scalar contours before it. The only difference their intonation has in comparison with statement intonation is that exclamations often have a wider pitch range than statements, but we have decided not to show pitch range differences in our intonational transcriptions. Therefore (13a), which is statement, and (13b), which is an exclamation, are both transcribed with the same symbols, although (13b) is likely to have a wider range than (13a).

(13) Fel-állt   a   kisbaba
    up-stand.Past3Sg the baby
    a. 'The baby has stood up.'
        ˈ*Felállt a* ˋ*kisbaba.*
    b. 'The baby has stood up!'
        ˈ*Felállt a* ˋ*kisbaba!*

However, there is a subtype of exclamative sentence whose intonation has to be shown in our transcriptions. This is the **evaluative exclamation**, which expresses that the speaker is positively or negatively impressed. Such a sentence contains a WH-word used here to refer to a degree in quality or quantity. Although a Full Fall on the WH-word is possible in the exclamation, thus neutralizing the difference between WH-questions and evaluative exclamations, the exclamation can also take a Descent, which is not an option for the question.These solutions are shown in (14).

(14) Milyen szépen énekel
    how   nicely sing.Pres.3Sg
    a. 'How nicely does s/he sing?'
       [\]*Milyen szépen énekel?* (WHQ)
    b. 'How nicely s/he sings!'
       [\]*Milyen szépen énekel!* (Exclamation)
    c. 'How nicely s/he sings!'
       ↪*Milyen szépen énekel!* (Exclamation)

10.3.10 Truncated questions

Truncated questions are derived from longer sentences. They are exceptional in that – in contrast to all the other communicative sentence types – truncated questions do not have a comment. They often correspond to the topics of sentences whose comments have been ellipted, e.g. *Apja neve mi?* (literally: 'Your father's name, is what?') → [/]*Apja neve?* 'Your father's name?', or *Csokoládét hozhatok-e?* (literally: 'Chocolate, can I bring you?') → [/]*Csokoládét?* 'Chocolate?'. Or they can consist of a mere conjunction, when the hearer is expected to say the rest of the sentence, e.g. [/]*És?* 'And?'. Intonationally, they are characterised by a Rise terminal contour.

      Speaker B's utterance in (15) is a truncated question: it is the topic of a fuller question *És a borfesztiválra mennek-e?* (literally: 'And to the wine festival, are they going?'), from which the comment *mennek-e* ('are they going?') has been omitted.

(15) –Speaker A: A   táncbemutatóra nem mennek.
             the danceshow.Sub not   go.Pres.3Pl
             A táncbemutatóra [\]*nem mennek.*
             'They are not going to the dance show.'
  –Speaker B: És a   borfesztiválra?
             and the winefestival.Sub
             És a [/]*borfesztiválra?*
             'And what about the wine festival?' Literally: 'And to the wine festival?'

Section 10.4
The Intonational Features of Comment Constituents

10.4.1 General remarks

The **comment** (Com) is an obligatory part of a prototypical Hungarian sentence. It is preceded by an optional **topic** (T) position. In Section 10.3 we have already dealt with the intonation of comments, and examined how comment intonation (especially the terminal contour, initiated by the last accented syllable in the comment) shows the communicative types of sentences.

      We shall now continue to examine comment intonation from a different aspect: we will consider the intonational peculiarities of the major constituents that occupy the various structural positions of the comment. We will distinguish the following structural positions in the comments of positive Hungarian sentences: **Distributive** (Dist) position,

Positive Degree/Manner Adverb (PDMA) position, **Focus** (F) position, **Verb Modifier** (VMod) position, **Verb** (V) position, and **Postverbal** (PostV) position. Of these it is only the V position that is obligatory in a prototypical sentence, all other positions are optional. The F and the VMod positions are immediately before the V position, but they mutually exclude each other: either or neither of them is present but they cannot both be present. If the F or the VMod constituent is present, then the verb in the V position is accentless and forms a phonological word with the accented F or VMod constituent before it. While the F, VMod and V positions are filled by one constituent each, the other positions can be filled by more than one constituent of the same kind. Sentences are **focusless** (non-emphatic) when their comment does not contain a focussed constituent, and **focus-bearing** (emphatic) when their comment does contain a focussed constituent. In our examples the focussed constituents will be capitalised. All the main structural comment positions that have been mentioned here are illustrated in (1) and (2):

(1) *Focusless sentence:*
    [T Izabella][Com[Dist mindenkit   ] [PDMA gyorsan][VMod fel] [V küldött   ]
        Isabella   everybody.Acc   quickly   up   send.Past.3Sg
    [PostV a   padlásszobába]].
           the attic.Sub
    'Isabella sent everybody up to the attic quickly.'

(2) *Focus-bearing sentence:*
    [T Izabella][Com [Dist mindenkit   ] [PDMA gyorsan] [F A   PADLÁSSZOBÁBA]
        Isabella   everybody.Acc   quickly   the attic.Sub
    [V küldött   ] [PostV fel]].
       send.Past.3Sg   up
    'It is to the attic that Isabella sent everybody up quickly.'

Now we shall move on to a discussion of the intonation of the various types of comment constituents in detail.

10.4.2 The intonation of comment constituents in positive sentences
For the intonation of non-last constituents within the comments of Hungarian sentences we can establish the following default rules:

(3) *Default Intonation Rules for comments*
    Comment Default Intonation Rule A: When the Comment ends with a terminal contour other than a Rise-Fall (i.e. when the last terminal contour of the comment is a Full Fall, Fall-Rise, Rise, High Monotone, or Descent), then any accented syllable other than the last one within the comment takes a scalar Half Fall.
    Comment Default Intonation Rule B: When the Comment ends with a Rise-Fall terminal contour, then any accented syllable other than the last one within the comment takes a scalar High Monotone.

Since the scalar Half Fall and the scalar High Monotone do not have an IP boundary at their end, a consequence of applying (3) is that the constituents of the comment are not in

separate IPs. For instance, the comments of (1) and (2), although consisting of five major constituents each, will be realised in a single IP, as is shown in (4) and (5):

(4) [Dist Mindenkit] [PDMA gyorsan][VMod fel] [V küldött   ] [PostV a   padlásszobába]
     everybody.Acc   quickly   up   send.Past.3Sg   the attic.Sub
     a. 'S/he sent everybody up to the attic quickly.'
        (i) ꞌMindenkit ꞌgyorsan ꞌfelküldött a ꜗpadlásszobába.
        (ii) ꞌMindenkit ꞌgyorsan ꞌfelküldött a ⱽpadlásszobába.
        (iii) ꞌMindenkit ꞌgyorsan ꞌfelküldött a ꞌpadlásszobába.
        (iv) ꞌMindenkit ꞌgyorsan ꞌfelküldött a ‾padlásszobába.
        (v) ꞌMindenkit ꞌgyorsan ꞌfelküldött a ↪padlásszobába.
     b. 'Did s/he send everybody up to the attic quickly?'
        (vi) ‾Mindenkit ‾gyorsan ‾felküldött a ꞿpadlásszobába? [1]

(5) [Dist Mindenkit   ] [PDMA gyorsan] [F A   PADLÁSSZOBÁBA] [V küldött   ]
     everybody.Acc   quickly   the attic.Sub   send.Past.3Sg
     [PostV fel]].
          up
     a. 'It was to the attic that s/he sent everybody up quickly.'
        (i) ꞌMindenkit ꞌgyorsan a ꜗpadlásszobába küldött fel.
        (ii) ꞌMindenkit ꞌgyorsan a ⱽpadlásszobába küldött fel.
        (iii) ꞌMindenkit ꞌgyorsan a ꞌpadlásszobába küldött fel.
        (iv) ꞌMindenkit ꞌgyorsan a ‾padlásszobába küldött fel.
        (v) ꞌMindenkit ꞌgyorsan a ↪padlásszobába küldött fel.
     b. 'Was it to the attic that s/he sent everybody up quickly?
        (vi)‾Mindenkit ‾gyorsan a ꞿpadlásszobába küldött fel?

In some cases a certain degree of separation is created between one comment constituent and the next one by establishing upstep [↑] on the first accent of the next constituent. Let us present the upstep rules for the comment:

(6) *Upstep Rules within comments*
    Comment Upstep Rule A: If X is a V, or a combination of F and V, or a combination of VMod and V, or a PostV constituent, ending with a scalar Half Fall or a scalar High Monotone, and Y is a PostV constituent with more than one accent, there will be an upstep on the first accented syllable of Y if that syllable satisfies the Condition for upstep.
    Comment Upstep Rule B: If X is a Topic constituent ending with a scalar Half Fall or a scalar High Monotone, and Y is the comment with more than one accent, then there will be an upstep on the first accented syllable of Y if that syllable satisfies the Condition for upstep.

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[1] As was explained in section 10.2 above, the High Monotone can be replaced by a Descent.

Condition for Upstep: Upstep is only possible on syllables which initiate a scalar Half Fall or a scalar High Monotone, or a terminal Full Fall or a terminal Fall-Rise.

The effect of Comment Upstep Rule A can be illustrated on *újonnan-festett padlásszobába* 'to the newly-decorated attic' in the sentences of (7):

(7) [Dist Mindenkit   ] [PDMA gyorsan][VMod fel] [V küldött] [PostV az újonnan festett
       everybody.Acc   quickly   up   send.Past.3Sg. the newly decorated
    padlásszobába].
    attic.Sub
    a. 'S/he sent everybody up to the newly-decorated attic quickly.'
        (i) ˈMindenkit ˈgyorsan ˈfelküldött az ↑ˈújonnan-festett ˋpadlásszobába.
        (ii) ˈMindenkit ˈgyorsan ˈfelküldött az ↑ˈújonnan-festett ˇpadlásszobába.
        (iii) ˈMindenkit ˈgyorsan ˈfelküldött az ↑ˈújonnan-festett ´padlásszobába.
        (iv) ˈMindenkit ˈgyorsan ˈfelküldött az ↑ˈújonnan-festett ¯padlásszobába.
        (v) ˈMindenkit ˈgyorsan ˈfelküldött az ↑ˈújonnan-festett ↪padlásszobába.
    b. 'Did s/he send everybody up to the newly-decorated attic quickly?'
        (vi) ¯Mindenkit ¯gyorsan ¯felküldött az ↑¯ újonnan-festett ^padlásszobába?

If the comment has more than one accent and is preceded by a topic constituent ending in a scalar Half Fall, Comment Upstep Rule C will establish upstep on the first accent of the comment, see the upstep on *mindenkit* in (8) and (9):

(8) [T Izabella][Com[Dist mindenkit   ][PDMA gyorsan][VMod fel] [V küldött   ]
       Isabella   everybody.Acc   quickly   up   send.Past.3Sg
    [PostV a   padlásszobába]]
       the attic.Sub
    a. 'Isabella sent everybody up to the attic quickly.'
        (i) ˈIzabella ↑ˈmindenkit ˈgyorsan ˈfelküldött a ˋpadlásszobába.
        (ii) ˈIzabella ↑ˈmindenkit ˈgyorsan ˈfelküldött a ˇpadlásszobába.
        (iii) ˈIzabella ↑ˈmindenkit ˈgyorsan ˈfelküldött a ´padlásszobába.
        (iv) ˈIzabella ↑ˈmindenkit ˈgyorsan ˈfelküldött a ¯padlásszobába.
        (v) ˈIzabella ↑ˈmindenkit ˈgyorsan ˈfelküldött a ↪padlásszobába.
    b. 'Did Isabella send everybody up to the attic quickly?'
        (vi) ˈIzabella ↑¯ mindenkit ¯gyorsan ¯felküldött a ^padlásszobába? [2]

(9) [T Izabella][Com [Dist mindenkit   ] [PDMA gyorsan] [F A   PADLÁSSZOBÁBA]
       Isabella   everybody.Acc   quickly   the attic.Sub
    [V küldött   ] [PostV fel]]

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[2] In (8b) the Scale of the IP of a yes-or-no question is not homogeneous: the topic constituent (*Izabella*) has a Half Fall, while the non-final constituents of the comment (*mindenkit gyorsan felküldött*) have a High Monotone each. This happens whenever the Rise-Fall terminal contour is preceded by a Scale that has both topic and comment constituents in it.

> send.Past.3Sg   up
>
> a. 'It is to the attic that Isabella sent everybody up quickly.'
>> (i) ˈIzabella ↑ˈmindenkit ˈgyorsan a ˋpadlásszobába küldött fel.
>> (ii) ˈIzabella ↑ˈmindenkit ˈgyorsan a ᵛpadlásszobába küldött fel.
>> (iii) ˈIzabella ↑ˈmindenkit ˈgyorsan a ´padlásszobába küldött fel.
>> (iv) ˈIzabella ↑ˈmindenkit ˈgyorsan a ⁻padlásszobába küldött fel.
>> (v) ˈIzabella ↑ˈmindenkit ˈgyorsan a ↪padlásszobába küldött fel.
>
> b. 'Was it to the attic that Isabella sent everybody up quickly?'
>> (vi) ˈIzabella ↑⁻ mindenkit ⁻gyorsan a ^padlásszobába küldött fel?

Finally, in addition to the default intonation rules presented in (3), we need to recognise a special intonation rule which can be used in comments ending with a front-falling terminal contour (Full Fall or Fall Rise). This is (10), which can override (3).

(10) *Special Intonation Rule for comments (optional)*
> If a non-last major constituent of the comment has more than one accented syllable, its last accented syllable can initiate a Rising terminal contour (with a concomitant IP boundary after it).
> Condition: The comment ends with a Full Fall or Fall-Rise.

For an illustration see *minden muzsikust* in (11.a.i. and ii).

(11) [Dist Minden muzsikust] [VMod fel] [V küldtek] [PostV a   padlásszobába]
> every musician.Acc   up   send.Past.3Pl   the attic.Sub
>
> a. 'They sent every musician up to the attic.'
>> (i) ˈMinden ˈmuzsikust ˈfelküldtek a ˋpadlásszobába.
>>> ˈMinden ´muzsikust │ ˈfelküldtek a ˋpadlásszobába.
>> (ii) ˈMinden ˈmuzsikust ˈfelküldtek a ᵛpadlásszobába.
>>> ˈMinden ´muzsikust │ ˈfelküldtek a ᵛpadlásszobába.
>> (iii) ˈMinden ˈmuzsikust ˈfelküldtek a ´padlásszobába.
>> (iv) ˈMinden ˈmuzsikust ˈfelküldtek a ⁻padlásszobába.
>> (v) ˈMindent ˈmuzsikust ˈfelküldtek a ↪padlásszobába.
>
> b. 'Did they send every musician up to the attic?'
>> (vi) ⁻Minden ⁻muzsikust ⁻felküldtek a ^padlásszobába?

Now we are ready to discuss the intonation of the positions of the major comment constituents one by one. Comments whose last terminal contour is other than the Rise-Fall will all be illustrated by comments having a Full Fall. Each example will be provided in two versions: the (a) version will end with a Full Fall, and the (b) version will end with a Rise-Fall. Most examples will be topicless sentences. The intonation of topics will be discussed separately in Section 10.5.

     The first comment constituent we have to discuss is the **Verb**. Since a sentence minimally consists of a comment, and a comment minimally consists of an accented verb, a prototypical focusless sentence minimally consists of an accented verb, see e.g. (12).

(12) [$_V$ Dolgozik]
     work.Pres.3Sg
  a. 'S/he is working.'
     `Dolgozik.
  b. 'Is s/he working?'
     $^\wedge$Dolgozik?

The comment of a focusless sentence can have a special position immediately before the Verb: the VMod position.[3] This is occupied by a **Verb Modifier**, which is generated in a postverbal position within the VP, and moves to the VMod position in focusless declarative sentences. Verb Modifiers can be (i) verbal prefixes, (ii) determinerless common nouns, and (iii) predicative adjectives, see (13). When the Verb Modifier is in VMod position, it is accented and the Verb is unaccented. Together, they form a single phonological word.

(13) *Verb Modifiers*
  (i) *Verbal prefixes:*

    [$_{VMod}$ Meg][$_V$ eszi]   [$_{VMod}$ El][$_V$ megy]
      Perf   eat.Pres.3Sg.DefObj   away   go.Pres.3Sg
    a. 'S/he eats it.'   a. 'S/he goes away.'
      `Megeszi.                     `Elmegy.
    b. 'Does s/he eat it?   b. 'Does s/he go away?
      $^\wedge$Megeszi? $^\wedge$Elmegy?[4]

  (ii) *Determinerless nouns:*

    [$_{VMod}$ Lakást][$_V$ vett]   [$_{VMod}$ Moziba][$_V$ megy]
      flat.Acc   buy.Past.3Sg   cinema.Ill   go.Pres.3Sg
    a. 'S/he bought a flat.'   a. 'S/he's going to the cinema.'
      `Lakást vett.                 `Moziba megy.
    b. 'Did s/he buy a flat?'   b. 'Is s/he going to the cinema?
      $^\wedge$Lakást vett? $^\wedge$Moziba megy?

  (iii) *Predicative adjectives:*

    [$_{VMod}$ Boldog][$_V$ volt]
      happy   be.Past.3Sg
    a. 'S/he was happy.'
      `Boldog volt.
    b. 'Was s/he happy?'
      $^\wedge$Boldog volt?

---

[3] In the more elaborate system of É. Kiss (2002: 55-68) this position corresponds to the specifier of the Aspect Phrase, i.e. Spec, AspP.
[4] When the verbal prefix sits in VMod position, the prefix and verb are written together and form one orthographic word: *megeszi*, *elmegy*. When other kinds of Verb Modifiers, viz. determinerless nouns and predicative adjectives are in this position, they are written separately from the verb.

However, in focusless imperative sentences the VMod constituent normally remains in a postverbal position and does not move to the preverbal VMod position, even though, since there is no F-constituent, such a position could be available.[5] In (14) we can observe the imperative counterparts of the sentences in (13). In these, both the verb and the VMod constituent are accented.

(14) a. [$_V$ Edd   ][$_{VMod}$ meg]!
      eat.Subj.2Sg.DefObj   Perf
   'Eat it.'
   'Edd ˋmeg!

  b. [$_V$ Menj   ][$_{VMod}$ el]!
     go.Subj.2Sg   away
    'Go away.'
    'Menj ˋel!

  c. [$_V$ Vegyél   ][$_{VMod}$ lakást]!
     buy.Subj.2Sg   flat.Acc
    'Buy a flat.'
    'Vegyél ˋlakást!

  d. [$_V$ Menj   ][$_{VMod}$ moziba]!
     go.Subj.2Sg   cinema.Ill
    'Go to the cinema.'
    'Menj ˋmoziba!

  e. [$_V$ Légy   ][$_{VMod}$ boldog]!
     be.Subj.2Sg   happy
    'Be happy.'
    'Légy ˋboldog!

One kind of Verb Modifier, viz. the **verbal prefix**, when it refers to a direction or destination (like *be* 'in', *ki* 'out', *fel* 'up', *le* 'down', *össze* 'together', *szét* 'apart', etc.), can be involved in expressing aspectual differences. When this verbal prefix is in the VMod position, i.e. immediately before the Verb, it expresses perfective aspect: the activity has been completed, see (15).

(15) Már   [$_{PostV}$ fel][$_V$ mentek] [$_{PostV}$ a   lépcsőn]
    already   up go.Past.3Pl   the stairs.Sup
  a. 'They already went up the stairs.'
     Már 'felmentek a ˋlépcsőn.
  b. 'Did they already go up the stairs?
     Már ˉfelmentek a ˄lépcsőn?

It can happen, however, that the verbal prefix remains in PostV position (where it was generated), even though there is no focus, and so in principle there could exist a VMod position before the Verb to accommodate the prefix. If in this case the verbal prefix and

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[5] In informal style a verbal prefix may occasionally occupy the preverbal VMod position, to convey a (humorously) threatening attitude, as in e.g. ˄*Megedd!* 'Eat it!'

all the other PostV constituents are accented, the sentence has a progressive interpretation: 'at a certain point of time the activity described is/was in progress', see (16). Alternatively, the verbal prefix and the other PostV constituents can be unaccented and then the sentence conveys an existential interpretation: 'until a certain point of time the activity described has happened at least once', see (17).

(16) Már   [$_V$ mentek   ][$_{PostV}$ fel] [$_{PostV}$ a   lépcsőn]
     already   go.Past.3Pl   up   the stairs.Sup
    a. 'They were already going up the stairs.'
       Már $^|$mentek $^|$fel a $^\backslash$lépcsőn.
    b. 'Were they already going up the stairs?'
       Már $^-$mentek $^-$fel a $^\wedge$lépcsőn?

(17) Már   [$_V$ mentek   ][$_{PostV}$ fel] [$_{PostV}$ a   lépcsőn]
     already   go.Past.3Pl   up   the stairs.Sup
    a. 'It has already happened at least once until now that they went up the stairs.'
       Már $^\backslash$mentek fel a lépcsőn.
    b. 'Has it already happened at least once until now that they went up the stairs?'
       Már $^\wedge$mentek fel a lépcsőn?

Postverbal (PostV) constituents are in the PostV position (i.e. they remain where they have been generated). These are unaccented if they convey old (= given) information, and accented if they convey new information, apart from cases where even 'new' PostV constituents are deaccented.[6] In (18) there is one PostV constituent, in (19)-(21) there are two PostV constituents.

(18) [$_V$ Dolgozik   ][$_{PostV}$ a   kertben]
      work.Pres.3Sg   the garden.Ine
    a. 'S/he is working in the garden.'
       $^|$Dolgozik a $^\backslash$kertben.
    b. 'Is s/he working in the garden?'
       $^-$Dolgozik a $^\wedge$kertben?

(19) [$_{VMod}$ Meg][$_V$ hívtak   ][$_{PostV}$ egy énekest   ] [$_{PostV}$ a   partira]
       Perf   call.Past.3Pl   a singer.Acc   the party.Sub
    a. 'They invited a singer to the party.'
       $^|$Meghívtak egy $^|$énekest a $^\backslash$partira.
    b. 'Did the invite a singer to the party?'
       $^-$Meghívtak egy $^-$énekest a $^\wedge$partira?

(20) [$_{VMod}$ Meg][$_V$ hívtak   ][$_{PostV}$ egy francia énekest] [$_{PostV}$ a   partira]
       Perf   call.Past.3Pl   a French singer.Acc   the party.Sub
    a. 'They invited a French singer to the party.'

---

[6] Some of these cases were presented in Section 10.3 above, in connection with yes-or-no-questions (10.3.4).

ˈMeghívtak egy ↑ˈfrancia ˈénekest a ˋpartira.

ˈMeghívtak egy ↑ˈfrancia ′énekest │ a ˋpartira.

b. 'Did the invite a French singer to the party?'

⁻Meghívtak egy ↑⁻ francia ⁻ énekest a ^partira?

(21) [$_{VMod}$ Meg][$_V$ hívtak   ] [$_{PostV}$ egy francia énekest   ] [$_{PostV}$ a holnapi
      Perf   call.Past.3Pl   a   French singer.Acc   the tomorrow's
partira]
party.Sub

a. 'They invited a French singer to tomorrow's party.'

ˈMeghívtak egy ↑ˈfrancia ˈénekest a ↑ˈholnapi ˋpartira .

b. 'Did they invite a French singer to tomorrow's party?'

⁻Meghívtak egy ↑⁻ francia ⁻énekest a ↑⁻ holnapi ^partira?

As an alternative to the VMod position, there can be a Focus (F) position immediately before the Verb, and it accommodates a **Focussed (F) constituent.** The F constituent is also generated in PostV position, but it moves to F position.[7] Occasionally there can be more than one candidate for F position but only one of them is actually able to move to the F position.

      The F constituent in the F position is accented, and this accent is a kind of eliminative stress (see Kálmán and Nádasdy 1994: 396), which causes obligatory deaccentuation of the Verb and optional deaccentuation of some or all of the PostV constituents. In other words, the F constituent and the Verb after it (plus optionally some or all of the PostV constituents) form a phonological word. Since the F position is an alternative to the VMod position, if there are both an F constituent and a Verb Modifier in the sentence, the former will move to F position, while the latter will remain in its original PostV position. This happens in (22), where the first PostV constituent is the Verb Modifier *meg*, and the second PostV constituent is the noun phrase *a lakást*.

(22) [$_F$ A SZOMSZÉDJUKTÓL] [$_V$ vették   ][$_{PostV}$ meg]
    the neighbour.Poss.3Pl.Abl   buy.Past.3Pl.DefObj   Perf
[$_{PostV}$ a lakást].
     the flat.Acc

a. 'It was from their neighbour that they bought the flat.

A ˋszomszédjuktól vették meg a lakást.

A ˈszomszédjuktól vették (ˈ)meg a ˋlakást.

b. 'Was it was from their neighbour that they bought the flat?'

A ^szomszédjuktól vették meg a lakást?

A ⁻szomszédjuktól vették (⁻)meg a ^lakást?

Members of certain syntactico-semantic categories have an inherent [+focus] feature and tend to go into the F position, unless it is occupied by another focussed constituent.[8] The

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categories which inherently favour the F position are: **WH-phrases**, see (23); ***csak-phrases***, see (24); **negative existential quantifiers**, e.g. *kevés* 'few', *legfeljebb n* 'at most n', *pontosan n* 'exactly n', see (25); **negative adverbs of frequency, degree, manner**, e.g. *ritkán* 'rarely', *nehezen* 'with difficulty', *rosszul* 'badly', see (26).

(23) [$_F$ KI][$_V$ vette   ][$_{PostV}$ meg] [$_{PostV}$ a   lakást]?
      who   buy.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   the flat.Acc
   a. 'Who bought the flat?'
       `Ki vette meg a lakást?
       'Ki vette (')meg a `lakást?
   b. 'Who bought the flat?'
       ^Ki vette meg a lakást?
           (Repetitive WH-question: 'I couldn't hear / I can't believe / I've forgotten
           who it was who bought the flat. Please say it again.')
       ⁻Ki vette (⁻)meg a ^lakást?
           (Echo WH-question: 'Is this what you are asking? Let me think before I
           answer.')

(24) [$_F$ CSAK IZABELLA] [$_V$ vette   ][$_{PostV}$ meg][$_{PostV}$ a   lakást]
       only Isabella   buy.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   the flat.Acc
   a. 'It was only Isabella who bought the flat.'
       Csak `Izabella vette meg a lakást.
       Csak 'Izabella vette (')meg a `lakást.
   b. 'Was it only Isabella who bought the flat?'
       Csak ^Izabella vette meg a lakást?
       Csak ⁻Izabella vette (⁻)meg a ^lakást?

(25) [$_F$ KEVÉS DIÁK] [$_V$ vette   ][$_{PostV}$ meg] [$_{PostV}$ a   lakást   ]
       few   student   buy.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   the flat.Acc
   a. 'Few students bought the flat.'
       `Kevés diák vette meg a lakást.
       'Kevés diák vette (')meg a `lakást.
   b. 'Did few students buy the flat?'
       ^Kevés diák vette meg a lakást?
       ⁻Kevés diák vette (⁻)meg a ^lakást?

(26) [$_F$ NEHEZEN   ] [$_V$ vette   ][$_{PostV}$ meg] [$_{PostV}$ a   lakást]
       with.difficulty   buy.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   the flat.Acc
   a. 'S/he bought the flat with difficulty.'
       `Nehezen vette meg a lakást.
       'Nehezen vette (')meg a `lakást.
   b. 'Did s/he buy the flat with difficulty?'
       ^Nehezen vette meg a lakást?
       ⁻Nehezen vette (⁻)meg a ^lakást?

In (27), the *csak*-phrase (*csak a lakást*), although a candidate for the F position, remains in PostV position because the F position is filled by a WH-phrase (*ki*), which has a wider scope than the *csak*-phrase. Although in (i) the *csak*-phrase is accentless, there is some stress (but no pitch event) on *csak* or on *la-*. In (ii) either the syllable *csak* or the syllable *la-* is accented.

(27) [F KI] [V vette   ][PostV meg][PostV csak a   lakást]
       who   buy.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   only the flat.Acc
      (és   semmi mást)?
      (and nothing else.Acc)
      a. 'Who (was it who) bought only the flat (and nothing else)?'
          i. ˋKi vette meg csak a lakást?
          ii. 'Ki vette (')meg csak a ˋlakást?
             'Ki vette (')meg ˋcsak a lakást?
      b. 'Who (was it who) bought only the flat (and nothing else)?'
          i. ^Ki vette meg csak a lakást?
              (Repetitive WH-question: 'I couldn't hear / I can't believe / I've forgotten who it was who bought only the flat. Please say it again.')
          ii. ˉKi vette (ˉ)meg csak a ^lakást?
             ˉKi vette (ˉ)meg ^csak a lakást?
              (Echo WH-question: 'Is this what you are asking? Let me think before I answer. ')

Let us dwell on WH-phrases for a while. We have said that such phrases are inherently marked [+focus], and we have illustrated them in (23) and (27). There is, however, one exception: *miért* 'why'. This can occupy the F position as expected, i.e. similarly to (23), as is shown in (28).

(28) [F MIÉRT] [V vett   ] [PostV lakást   ][PostV Izabella]?
       why   buy.Past.3Sg   flat.Acc   Isabella
      a. 'Why did Isabella buy a flat?'
          ˋMiért vett lakást Izabella?
          'Miért vett (')lakást ˋIzabella?
      b. 'Why did Isabella buy a flat?'
          ^Miért vett lakást Izabella?
              (Repetitive WH-question: 'I couldn't hear / I can't believe / I've forgotten why Isabella bought a flat. Please say it again.')
          ˉMiért vett (ˉ)lakást ^Izabella?
              (Echo WH-question: 'Is this what you are asking? Let me think before I answer.')

But *miért* 'why' can also occur between the Dist position and F position, as in (29). This can be explained by assuming that this kind of *why* is left-adjoined to the F-position.[9]

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[9] This is the view of É. Kiss (2002: 98).

(29) [F Miért IZABELLA] [V vett   ] [PostV lakást]?
       why   Isabella   buy.Past. Sg3   flat.Acc
   a 'Why was it Isabella who bought a flat?
     ˋMiért Izabella vett lakást?
     ˈMiért ˋIzabella vett lakást?
   b. 'Why was it Isabella who bought a flat?
     ˆMiért Izabella vett lakást?
         (Repetitive WH-question: 'I couldn't hear / I can't believe / I've forgotten
          why it was Isabella who bought the flat. Please say it again.')
      ˉMiért (ˉ)Izabella vett ˆlakást?
         (Echo WH-question: 'Is this what you are asking? Let me think before I
         answer.')

In some cases there are more than one WH-phrase in the comment, and then the sentence can be called a multiple question. Two types of multiple question can be distinguished.[10] When the multiple question requires a single answer, then one of the WH-phrases occupies the F position, the other remains in PostV position, and both are accented, as in (30).

(30) [F KI] [V hívott   ][PostV meg] [PostV kit   ]?
     who   invite.Past.3Sg   Perf   who.Acc
   a. 'Who invited whom?'
     ˈKi hívott meg ˋkit?
   b. 'Who invited whom?'
     ˉKi hívott meg ˆkit?
         (Repetitive WH-question: 'I couldn't hear / I can't believe / I've forgotten
         who invited whom. Please say it again.')
         (Echo WH-question: 'Is this what you are asking? Let me think before I
         answer.')[11]

In such cases the second WH-phrase (the one within the PostV position) must be accented. The answer is a single sentence, e.g. an answer to (30a) is (31):

(31) [F IZABELLA] [V hívta   ][PostV meg] [PostV Pétert].
     Isabella   invite.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   Peter.Acc
   'Isabella invited Peter.'
    ˈIzabella hívta meg ˋPétert.

However, other multiple questions require a pair-list answer, i.e. several answers can be given to them, each involving a pair. In this case the first WH-phrase is in the Dist position, the second in F position, and both are accented, see (32).

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[10] This discussion of multiple questions is based on É. Kiss (2002: 99-104).
[11] In (30b) the repetitive and echo renderings coincide.

(32) [_Dist Ki] [_F KIT][_V hívott][_PostV meg]?
        who   who.Acc   invite.Past.3Sg   Perf
    a. 'Who invited whom?'
      'Ki ˋkit hívott meg?
    b. 'Who invited whom?'
      ⁻Ki ^kit hívott meg?
          (Repetitive WH-question: 'I couldn't hear / I can't believe / I've forgotten who invited whom. Please say it again.')
      ⁻Ki ↑⁻kit hívott ^meg?
          (Echo WH-question: 'Is this what you are asking? Let me think before I answer.')

A possible pair-list answer to (32a) is (33):

(33) [_T Izabella][_F PÉTERT], [_T Ágnes][_F FERIT], [_T Monika][_F ANGÉLÁT] [_V hívta]
    Isabella   Peter.Acc   Agnes   Frank.Acc Monica Angela.Acc
   [_PostV meg].
       Perf
   'Isabella invited Peter, Agnes (invited) Frank, Monica (invited) Angela.'
   'Isabella ′Pétert, │'Ágnes ′Ferit, │'Monika ˋAngélát hívta meg.

With (32), we have arrived at the leftmost structural position within the Comment, viz. the **Distributive (Dist) position**, which can have one or more **Dist constituents** in it. The Dist position is primarily filled by **positive universal quantifiers**, e.g. *mindenki* 'everybody', *minden diák* 'every student', *mindegyik leány* 'each girl', *mindkét könyv* 'both books', *az összes pénz* 'all the money', phrases with *is* 'also', like *Péter is* 'Peter too', *még … is* 'even', like *még Péter is* 'even Peter', and **universal frequency adverbs** such as *mindig* 'always'; see (34) and (35). While sentence (34) is focusless (and so the VMod precedes the V), sentence (35) has an F constituent in it and so the VMod remains in PostV position. The constituents in the Dist position are always accented.

(34) [_Dist Mindenkit] [_VMod meg] [_V hívtak]
       everybody.Acc   Perf   invite.Past.3Pl
    a. 'They invited everybody.'
      'Mindenkit ˋmeghívtak.
    b. 'Did they invite everybody?'
      ⁻Mindenkit ^meghívtak?

(35) [_Dist Péter is] [_F CSAK EGY KÖNYVET] [_V olvasott] _PostV el]
       Peter also   only one book.Acc   read.Past.3Sg   Perf
    a. 'Peter, too, read only one book.'
      'Péter is csak ˋegy könyvet olvasott el.
    b. 'Did Peter, too, read only one book?'
      ⁻Péter is csak ^egy könyvet olvasott el?

In (36) the Dist position contains three Dist constituents.

(36) [Dist Mindenki] [Dist mindig] [Dist mindent][VMod el][V olvasott]
　　　　 everybody 　　 always 　　 everything.Acc 　　 Perf 　 read.Past.3Sg
　　a. 'Everybody always read everything.'
　　　　'Mindenki 'mindig 'mindent ˋelolvasott.
　　b. 'Did everybody always read everything?'
　　　　ˉMindenki ˉmindig ˉmindent ^elolvasott?

In addition, the Dist position can also be filled by **positive existential quantifiers**, e.g. *sok* 'many', *több mint n* 'more than n', *legalább n* 'at least n', *sokszor* 'many times', and by **positive frequency adverbs** such as *gyakran* 'often', see (37). As opposed to the previous group of Dist constituents (positive universal quantifiers and universal frequency adverbs), positive existential quantifiers and positive frequency adverbs can take not only the Dist position but also the F position, as shown in (38).

(37) [Dist Mindenkit][Dist gyakran] [VMod meg] [V hívtak]
　　　　 everybody.Acc 　　 often 　　　 Perf 　 invite.Past.3Pl
　　a. 'They often invited everybody.'
　　　　'Mindenkit 'gyakran ˋmeghívtak.
　　b. 'Did they often invite everybody?'
　　　　ˉMindenkit ˉgyakran ^meghívtak?

(38) [Dist Mindenkit][F GYAKRAN] [V hívtak][PostV meg]
　　　　 everybody.Acc 　　 often 　　　 invite.Past.3Pl 　 Perf
　　a. 'It was often that they invited everybody.'
　　　　'Mindenkit ˋgyakran hívtak meg.
　　b. 'Was its often that they invited everybody?'
　　　　ˉMindenkit ^gyakran hívtak meg?

Positive adverbs of degree and manner, such as *nagyon* 'very much' or *tökéletesen* 'perfectly', *gyorsan* 'quickly', etc., occupy a special position immediately before the VMod, see (39), or immediately before the Verb if there is no VMod constituent before the V, see (40), but not before an F constituent. It is tempting to regard these adverbs as occupying the Dist position, too, but this would be wrong for two reasons. First: these adverbs are not Dist constituents because Dist constituents can immediately precede F constituents, whereas the positive adverbs of degree and manner discussed here cannot occur before F constituents. Secondly, if these positive adverbs were Dist constituents, they should be able to come either before or after other Dist constituents (e.g. *mindenki* 'everybody', *mindig* 'always"), but in reality they can appear only after Dist constituents. Therefore we assume that they occupy a separate **Positive Degree/Manner Adverb** position, which we shall abbreviate as PDMA. This is the second structural position of the comment, counting from the left.

(39) [Dist Mindig] [PDMA gyorsan] [VMod fel][V álltak]
　　　　 always 　　　 quickly 　　　 up 　 stand.Past.3Pl
　　a. 'They always stood up quickly.'

ˈMindig ˈgyorsan ˋfelálltak.

b. 'Did they always stand up quickly?'
⁻Mindig ⁻gyorsan ^felálltak?

(40) [PDMA Gyorsan] [V dolgoznak]
      quickly   work.Pres.3Pl

a . 'They work quickly.'
ˈGyorsan ˋdolgoznak.

b. 'Do they work quickly?'
⁻Gyorsan ^dolgoznak?

While the constituents in Dist position and PDMA position are accented, the constituents after them, including even the constituent in F position, can lose their accents if they convey old (= given) information, cf. (41)-(46).

(41) [Dist Mindenkit   ][VMod meg][V hívtak   ]
      everybody.Acc   Perf   invite.Past.3Pl

a. 'They invited everybody.'
ˋMindenkit meghívtak.

b. 'Did they invite everybody?'
^Mindenkit meghívtak?

(42) [Dist Péter is   ] [F CSAK EGY KÖNYVET] [V olvasott   ] [PostV el]
      Peter also   only one book.Acc   read.Past.3Sg.   Perf

a. 'Peter, too, read only one book.'
ˋPéter is csak egy könyvet olvasott el.

b. 'Did Peter, too, read only one book?'
^Péter is csak egy könyvet olvasott el?

(43) [Dist Mindenkit   ][Dist gyakran] [VMod meg][V hívtak   ]
      everybody.Acc   often   Perf   invite.Past.3Pl

a. 'They often invited everybody.'
ˈMindenkit ˋgyakran meghívtak.

b. 'Did they often invite everybody?'
⁻Mindenkit ^gyakran meghívtak?

(44) [Dist Mindenkit   ][F GYAKRAN] [V hívtak   ][PostV meg]
      everybody.Acc often   invite.Past.3Pl   Perf

a. 'It was often that they invited everybody.'
ˋMindenkit gyakran hívtak meg.

6 b. 'Was its often that they invited everybody?'
^Mindenkit gyakran hívtak meg?

(45) [Dist Mindig] [PDMA gyorsan] [VMod fel][V álltak]
      always   quickly   up   stand.Past.3Pl

a. 'They always stood up quickly.'

       `\`Mindig gyorsan felálltak.

    b. 'Did they always stand up quickly?'

       `^`Mindig gyorsan felálltak?

(46) [$_{PDMA}$ Gyorsan] [$_V$ dolgoznak]
         quickly   work.Pres.3Pl

    a. 'They work quickly.'

       `\`Gyorsan dolgoznak.

    b. 'Do they work quickly?'

       `^`Gyorsan dolgoznak?

The Dist constituents (like all the major constituents other than the verb) are generated in the postverbal region, but move to the Dist position, in order to take scope over the rest of the comment. However, in the phonological component, the Dist constituent may undergo **Stylistic Postposing**[12], and appear in a PostV position, while still retaining its accent and its wide scope over the rest of the comment. So (47a) and (48a) have the same meaning: 'it is true for all persons that they were invited', and so do (47b) and (48b): 'is it true for all persons that they were invited?'

(47) [$_{Dist}$ Mindenkit   ] [$_{VMod}$ meg][$_V$ hívtak   ]
        everybody.Acc   Perf   invite.Past.3Pl

    a. 'They invited everybody.'

       `'`Mindenkit `\`meghívtak.

    b. 'Did they invite everybody?'

       `⁻`Mindenkit `^`meghívtak?

(48) [$_{VMod}$ Meg][$_V$ hívtak   ][$_{PostV}$ mindenkit   ]
        Perf   invite.Past.3Pl   everybody.Acc

    a. 'They invited everybody.'

       `'`Meghívtak `\`mindenkit.

    b. 'Did they invite everybody?'

       `⁻`Meghívtak `^`mindenkit?

When the sentence has an F constituent, it is possible to have an accented Dist constituent in Dist position, i.e. before the F position, but also in PostV position, and in both cases it will have wide scope (i.e. scope over the F-constituent). So (49a) and (50a) have identical meanings, and so do their yes-or-no question counterparts, (49b) and (50b):

(49) [$_{Dist}$ Mindig] [$_F$ IZABELLÁT][$_V$ hívják   ] [$_{PostV}$ be]
        always   Isabella.Acc   call.Pres.3Pl.DefObj   in

    a. 'It is always Isabella whom they call in.'

       `'`Mindig `\`Izabellát hívják be.

    b. 'Is it always Isabella whom they call in?'

---

[12] This is É. Kiss's term (2002: 121).

⁻Mindig ^Izabellát hívják be?

(50) [F IZABELLÁT][V hívják   ][PostV be] [PostV mindig]
        Isabella.Acc   call.Pres.3Pl.DefObj   in   always
    a. 'It is always Isabella whom they call in.'
       ˈIzabellát hívják be ˎmindig.
    b. 'Is it always Isabella whom they call in?'
       ⁻Izabellát hívják be ^mindig?

But if the Dist constituent in PostV position has no accent, it has narrow scope, i.e. its scope does not include the F-constituent, see (51):

(51) [F IZABELLÁT][V hívják   ] [PostV be] [PostV mindig]
        Isabella.Acc   call.Pres.3Pl.DefObj   in   always
    a. 'It is Isabella whom they always call in.'
       ˎIzabellát hívják be mindig.
    b. 'Is it Isabella whom they always call in?'
       ^Izabellát hívják be mindig?

That is to say, (51a) has a different meaning from (49a) and (50a), and (51b) differs in meaning from (49b) and (50b).

    As a matter of fact, this Dist constituent, with a narrow scope, may also occupy topic position, expressing contrast.[13]

(52) [T Mindig] [F IZABELLÁT] [V hívják   ] [PostV be]
        always   Isabella.Acc   call.Pres.3Pl.DefObj   in
    a. 'It is Isabella whom they always call in.'
       ˊMindig │ ˎIzabellát hívják be.
    b. 'Is it Isabella whom they always call in?'
       ˎMindig │ ^Izabellát hívják be?

10.4.3 The intonation of comment constituents in negative sentences
Sentences (or rather comments) can be made negative in several different ways. Let us start discussion with the negation of the verb. In Hungarian this is done by putting the negative particle (*nem* 'not') into a **Negative** position (Neg) which is immediately before the verb. This position is an alternative to the VMod position. Since there is no VMod position, any VMod constituent will appear in a PostV position, see (53) and (54). If there is no F constituent before the preverbal Neg particle, then the Neg particle is accented and the verb after it is unaccented, see (53).[14] If the preverbal Neg particle is after an F constituent, the Neg particle will be unaccented, just like the verb after it, see (54).

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[13] Contrastive topics will be discussed in Section 10.5.

[14] However, the verb after *nem* can be accented if it is contrasted with another verb, or the sentence is uttered in a special narrative, explanative, plaintive style, e.g. *(Nem állhatom őt,) mert* ˈ*nem* ˎ*olvas* ='(I can't stand him) because he doesn't read'.

(53) [$_{Neg}$ Nem][$_V$ olvasták   ] [$_{PostV}$ el] [$_{PostV}$ a   levelet]
         not   read.Past.3Pl.DefObj   Perf   the letter.Acc

   a. 'They didn'read the letter.'
      \Nem olvasták el a levelet.
      'Nem olvasták (')el a \levelet.

   b. 'Did they not read the letter?'
      ^Nem olvasták el a levelet?
      ‾Nem olvasták (‾)el a ^levelet?

(54) [$_F$ A   LEVELET][$_{Neg}$ nem] [$_V$ olvasták   ][$_{PostV}$ el]
      the letter.Acc   not   read.Past.3Pl.DefObj   Perf

   a. 'It was the letter that they didn't read.'
      A \levelet nem olvasták el.
      A 'levelet nem olvasták \el.

   b. 'Was it the letter that they didn't read?'
      A ^levelet nem olvasták el?
      A ‾levelet nem olvasták ^el?

When it is the F constituent that is negated, the Neg position is before the F constituent.[15] The negative particle *nem* is accented, and the F constituent immediately after it can be accented or unaccented, cf. (55).

(55) [$_{Neg}$ Nem] [$_F$ A LEVELET] [$_V$ olvasták   ] [$_{PostV}$ el]
      not   the letter.Acc   read.Past.3Pl.DefObj   Perf

   a. 'It was not the letter that they read.'
      \Nem a levelet olvasták el.
      'Nem a levelet olvasták \el.
      'Nem a \levelet olvasták el.

   b. 'Was it not the letter that they read?'
      ^Nem a levelet olvasták el?
      ‾Nem a levelet olvasták ^el?
      ‾Nem a ^levelet olvasták el?

The word *nem* 'not' is not always a negative particle. It can also be a coordinator, together with *hanem* 'but', as is exemplified in (56). The coordinators *nem* and *hanem* form a pair, they are unaccented and the constituents after them are accented.

(56) Nem [$_{VMod}$ ki][$_V$ nyitotta   ][$_{PostV}$ az ajtót   ], hanem [$_{VMod}$ be]
     not   out open.Past.3Sg.DefObj   the door.Acc but   in
   [$_V$ törte   ]
     break.Past.3Sg.DefObj

   a. 'He didn't open the door but broke it down.'
      Nem 'kinyitotta az ajtót, hanem \betörte.

---

[15] É. Kiss (2002: 130-133) explains the negation of verbs and F constituents by assuming that the negative particle occupies the head position of a NegP, and the VP or FP is its complement.

b. 'He didn't open the door but broke it down?
   Nem ⁻kinyitotta az ajtót, hanem ^betörte?

The negative particle *nem* can also be immediately before a Dist constituent but it is not regarded as being in a separate Neg position. Rather, it is considered to be left-adjoined to the Dist constituent, if there is a separate F constituent, as in (57).[16]

(57) [Dist Nem mindenki] [F A   LEVELET][V olvasta   ][PostV el   ]
         not   everybody   the letter.Acc   read.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf
   a. 'For not everybody was it the letter that he read.'
      \Nem mindenki a levelet olvasta el.
      'Nem mindenki a \levelet olvasta el.
   b. 'For not everybody was it the letter that he read?'
      ^Nem mindenki a levelet olvasta el?
      ⁻Nem mindenki a ^levelet olvasta el?'

If, however, there is no separate F constituent after the negated Dist constituent, then the negated Dist constituent itself will occupy the F position, causing the VMod to appear in PostV position, as in (58):

(58) [F Nem mindenki] [V olvasta   ][PostV el   ] [PostV a   levelet   ]
         not   everybody   read.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   the letter.Acc
   a. 'Not everybody read the letter.'
      \Nem mindenki olvasta el a levelet.
      'Nem mindenki olvasta (')el a \levelet.
   b. 'Didn't everybody read the letter?'
      ^Nem mindenki olvasta el a levelet?
      ⁻Nem mindenki olvasta (⁻)el a ^levelet?

Negative sentences can contain *se*-phrases, such as *senki* 'nobody', *semmi* 'nothing', *sehol* 'nowhere', *semmikor* 'at no time', *soha* 'never', *sehogy* 'in no way', *semmilyen autó* 'no car of any kind', etc. They are analysed as Dist constituents, with the extra requirement that they should not be directly followed by a VMod constituent.
    In a focusless sentence the *se*-phrase can immediately precede the verb-negating negative particle, see *senki* 'nobody' in (59). Alternatively, it can stand in PostV position after a negated verb, see *senki* in (60). The latter arrangement is a result of Stylistic Postposing.[17] The meanings of (59a) and (60a) are identical, and so are the meanings of (59b) and (60b). The *se*-phrase is accented in both positions.

(59) [Dist Senki][Neg nem] [V olvasta   ][PostV el   ] PostV a   levelet   ]
         nobody   not   read.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   the letter.Acc
   a. 'Nobody read the letter.'
      \Senki nem olvasta el a levelet.

---

[16] Convincing support for this analysis is provided by É. Kiss (2002: 133).
[17] Stylistic Postposing was explained in connection with (48) and (49) above.

ˈSenki (ˈ)nem olvasta (ˈ)el a ˋlevelet.

  b. 'Did nobody read the letter?'
    ᐱSenki nem olvasta el a levelet?
    ⁻Senki (⁻)nem olvasta (⁻)el a ᐱlevelet?

(60) [$_{Neg}$ Nem] [$_V$ olvasta   ][$_{PostV}$ el] [$_{PostV}$ a   levelet] [$_{PostV}$ senki]
        not   read.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   the letter.Acc   nobody
  a. 'Nobody read the letter.'
    ˈNem olvasta (ˈ)el a (ˈ)levelet ˋsenki.
  b. 'Did nobody read the letter?'
    ⁻Nem olvasta (⁻)el a (⁻)levelet ᐱsenki?

When an F constituent is negated by the negative particle, a *se*-phrase can be before the negative particle, as in (61).[18] As an alternative, the *se*-phrase can be stylistically postposed to PostV position, as in (62). In the latter case the accented *se*-phrase preseves its wide scope over the F constituent. The *se*-phrase is accented in both positions. The meanings of (61a) and (62a) are identical, and so are the meanings of (61b) and (62b).

(61) [$_{Dist}$ Senki][$_{Neg}$ nem] [$_F$ A   LEVELET] [$_V$ olvasta   ][$_{PostV}$ el]
        nobody   not   the letter.Acc   read.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf
  a. 'Nobody read THE LETTER'
    ˈSenki nem a ˋlevelet olvasta el.
    ˋSenki nem a levelet olvasta el.
  b. 'Did nobody read THE LETTER?'
    ⁻Senki nem a ᐱlevelet olvasta el?
    ᐱSenki nem a levelet olvasta el?

(62) [$_{Neg}$ Nem] [$_F$ A   LEVELET] [$_V$ olvasta   ][$_{PostV}$ el] [$_{PostV}$ senki]
        not   the letter.Acc   read.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   nobody
  a. 'Nobody read THE LETTER'
    ˈNem a (ˈ)levelet olvasta el ˋsenki.
  b. 'Did nobody read THE LETTER?'
    ⁻Nem a (⁻)levelet olvasta el ᐱsenki?

It can happen that the verb is negated after an F constituent. In this case the *se*-phrase must obtain a PostV position, it loses its accent, and has narrow focus, see (63):

(63) [$_F$ CSAK A   LEVELET][$_{Neg}$ nem] [$_V$ olvasta   ][$_{PostV}$ el] [$_{PostV}$ senki]
      only   the letter.Acc   not   read.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   nobody
  a. 'It was only the letter that nobody read.'
    Csak a ˋlevelet nem olvasta el senki.
  b. 'Was it only the letter that nobody read?

---

[18] É. Kiss (2002: 139-140) assumes that the functional heads Neg and Dist fuse and project a joint DistNeg Phrase, in which the specifier position is filled by the *se*-phrase and the head position is filled by the negative particle *nem*.

Csak a ^levelet nem olvasta el senki?'

Just like the particle *is* 'also' is adjoined to some types of Dist constituents (e.g. *Péter is* 'Peter, too'), its negative counterpart *sem* 'neither' can be adjoined to Dist constituents in negative contexts, to produce *sem*-phrases. In a *sem*-phrase the particle *sem* is either adjoined to an ordinary noun phrase (e.g. *Péter sem* 'neither Peter'), or to a *se*-phrase (e.g. *senki sem*, literally: 'nobody neither'). The particle *sem* is unaccented and forms a phonological word with the preceding noun phrase or *se*-phrase.

When the *sem*-phrase is subjected to Stylistic Postposing (i.e. it appears in a PostV position), the negative particle *nem* is present before the verb. However, when the *sem*-phrase does not undergo Stylistic Postposing, the negative particle *nem* is missing. Compare (64) and (65). In (64) the *sem*-phrase *Péter sem* is stylistically postposed and so the verb is explicitly negated. In (65) *Péter sem* is not stylistically postposed and so the negative particle *nem* is not spelled out. (64a) means the same as (65a), and (64b) means the same as (65b).

(64) [$_{Neg}$ Nem][$_V$ olvasta   ][$_{PostV}$ el] [$_{PostV}$ a   levelet]$_{PostV}$ Péter sem   ]
        not   read.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   the letter.Acc   Peter neither
    a. 'Peter didn't read the letter, either. = 'The letter was not read by Peter, either.'
       'Nem olvasta (')el a (')levelet `Péter sem.
    b. 'Didn't Peter read the letter, either?' = 'Was the letter not read by Peter, either?'
       ¯Nem olvasta (¯)el a (¯)levelet ^Péter sem?

(65) [$_{Dist}$ Péter sem   ] [$_V$ olvasta   ][$_{PostV}$ el] [$_{PostV}$ a   levelet]
        Peter neither   read.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   the letter.Acc
    a. 'Peter didn't read the letter, either. = 'The letter was not read by Peter, either.'
       `Péter sem olvasta el a levelet.
       'Péter sem olvasta (')el a `levelet.
    b. 'Didn't Peter read the letter, either?' = 'Was the letter not read by Peter, either?'
       ^Péter sem olvasta el a levelet?
       ¯Péter sem olvasta (¯) el a ^levelet?

(66) and (67) exemplify the same regularity, but this time the *sem*-phrase is *senki sem*. In (66) this phrase is stylistically postposed and the verb is negated. In (67) the *sem*-phrase is not postposed and the verb is not negated. (66a) and (67a) have the same meaning, and so do (66b) and (67b).

(66) [$_{Neg}$ Nem][$_V$ olvasta   ][$_{PostV}$ el][$_{PostV}$ a levelet   ] [$_{PostV}$ senki   sem]
        not   read.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   the letter.Acc   nobody neither
    a. 'Nobody read the letter.' = 'The letter was not read by anybody, either.'
       'Nem olvasta (')el a (') levelet `senki sem.
    b. 'Did nobody read the letter? = 'Was the letter not read by anybody, either?'
       ¯Nem olvasta (¯)el a (¯)levelet ^senki sem?

(67) [$_{Dist}$ Senki   sem   ][$_V$ olvasta   ][$_{PostV}$ el][$_{PostV}$ a   levelet   ]
        nobody neither   read.Past.3Sg.DefObj   Perf   the letter.Acc

a. 'Nobody read the letter.' = 'The letter was not read by anybody, either.'
   ˋSenki sem olvasta el a levelet.
   ˈSenki sem olvasta (ˈ)el a ˋlevelet.

b. 'Did nobody read the letter? = 'Was the letter not read by anybody, either?''
   ^Senki sem olvasta el a levelet?
   ‾Senki sem olvasta (‾)el a ^levelet?

Section 10.5
The Intonational Features of Topic Constituents

10.5.1 General remarks
The prototypical Hungarian sentence has an optional **Topic (T) position** before an obligatory comment. The T position can be filled by one or more T-constituents. The default rule for topic intonation, which can be used in any kind of Hungarian sentence, is (1).

(1) *Default Topic Intonation Rule*
    Any accented syllable within any topic constituent takes a scalar Half Fall.

Since a scalar Half Fall does not have an IP-boundary at its end, the result of applying (1) is that topics are not in separate IPs, but share an IP with the next constituent (i.e. the topic or comment immediately after them). In these cases, some separation between a topic and the next constituent (a second topic or the comment) can still be achieved by establishing upstep on the first accent of the next constituent. One of the upstep rules relevant here is Comment Upstep Rule B, which places an upstep on the first accent of the comment after a topic. We introduced this rule in subsection 10.4.2 above, and repeat it here for the reader's convenience as (2):

(2) *Comment Upstep Rule B*
    When X, which is an accented topic constituent with no IP boundary at its end, is immediately followed by Y, which is a comment that has more than one accent, there will be an upstep on the first accent of Y.

This has to be complemented by another upstep rule, (3) which is relevant here because it separates adjacent topic constituents.

(3) *Topic Upstep Rule*
    When X, which is an accented topic constituent with no IP boundary at its end, is immediately followed by Y, which is an accented topic constituent that has more than one accent, there will be an upstep on the first accent of Y.

However, other intonational solutions, in addition to those generated by (1)-(3), are also possible. These special solutions are partly dependent on the terminal contour of the comment of the sentence. Therefore topic intonation can be more fully discussed only if we take into consideration the terminal contours of comments. From the point of view of

topic intonation the terminal contours of Hungarian comments can be divided into two groups: **front-falling** (when the terminal contour is a Full Fall or a Fall-Rise, see 10.2.3), and **non-front-falling** (when the terminal contour is a Rise-Fall, or a Rise, or a High Monotone, or a Descent, see 10.2.3).

The topic constituents in our examples below will be italicised.

10.5.2 Intonation of the topic when the comment has a front-falling terminal contour

In this section we shall specify the special intonations of topic constituents in sentences whose comment has a front-falling terminal contour (i.e. Full Fall or Fall-Rise).[1] The examples will also illustrate the default intonation of the topics discussed. Since our interest in this chapter is restricted to simple sentences, we shall ignore the intonation of topic constituents that are subordinate clauses, and we shall only deal with non-clausal topics. These can be "contrastive", "old", and "new". Each of these can appear with the default intonation rule presented in (1), and in conformity with the upstep rules given in (2) and (3), but in addition, they can be subject to special intonation rules as well.

A **contrastive topic** is contrasted with the corresponding topic of a parallel sentence (which need not be explicitly present), and it can express old as well as new information, but this potential difference is not reflected in its intonational realisation.

(4) *Special Intonation Rule for Contrastive Topics*
  If X is a contrastive topic which occurs in a sentence whose comment has a front-falling terminal contour (i.e. a Full Fall or a Fall-Rise), then, regardless of whether it has one or more than one accented syllable, X can have a Rise terminal contour on its last accent, and so an IP-boundary at its end.

The second clause in (5) and (6) has a contrastive topic (*Monika* and *Monika barátja*, respectively). Examples marked (i) show the effect of Rule (4), those marked (ii) are the default solutions.

(5) (Izabella utálja   a   káposztát,   de) [T *Monika*]
  Isabella hate.Pres.3Sg.DefObj   the cabbage.Acc but   Monica
  [Com szereti   ].
       love.Pres.3Sg.DefObj
  '(Isabella hates cabbage but) Monica loves it.'
  i. (Izabella utálja a káposztát, de) $^{/}$*Monika* $|$ $^{\backslash}$szereti.[2]
  ii. (Izabella utálja a káposztát, de) $^{\mathsf{I}}$*Monika* $^{\backslash}$szereti.

(6) (Izabella utálja   a káposztát,   de) [T *Monika*
  Isabella hate.Pres.3Sg.DefObj   the cabbage.Acc but   Monica.Posr
  barátja   ] [Com szereti   ].
  friend.Poss.3Sg   love.Pres.3Sg.DefObj
  '(Isabella hates cabbage but) Monica's friend loves it.'

---

[1] In all our examples below the front-falling terminal contour of the comment will be illustrated by the Full Fall.

[2] As has been pointed out in 10.2.3., the Rise can be replaced by a High Monotone (and the High Monotone by a Descent), causing only an attitudinal change.

i. (Izabella utálja a káposztát, de) ˈ*Monika* ˊ*barátja* │ˋszereti.

ii. (Izabella utálja a káposztát, de) ˈ*Monika* ˈ*barátja* ˋszereti.

When personal pronouns are used as contrastive topics, (i) they can be accentless, or (ii) they can receive accent and have a Rise terminal contour, or (iii) they can receive accent and have a scalar Half Fall (the default solution), see (7).

(7) (Izabella utálja   a   káposztát,   de) [$_T$ *mi*][$_{Com}$ szeretjük].
     Isabella hate.Pres.3Sg.DefObj the cabbage.Acc but   we   love.Pres.1Pl.DefObj
     '(Isabella hates cabbage but) we love it.'
     i. (Izabella utálja a káposztát, de) *mi* ˋszeretjük.
     ii. (Izabella utálja a káposztát, de) ˊ*mi* │ˋszeretjük.
     iii. (Izabella utálja a káposztát, de) ˈ*mi* ˋszeretjük.

The second subgroup of non-clausal topics comprises **non-contrastive** topics that convey **old (i.e. given) information**.

(8) *Special Intonation Rules for Non-Contrastive Old (= NCO) Topics*
     If X is an NCO topic which occurs in a sentence whose comment has a front-falling
         terminal contour, then, regardless of whether it has one or more than one
         potentially accentable syllable,
     (i) X can be accentless,
     (ii) or X can have a Rise terminal contour on its last accent, and so an IP-boundary at
         its end.

In (9) and (10) below the examples marked (i) contain accentless topics (cf. 8.i), those marked (ii) have the Rise terminal contour on the last accent of their topics (cf. 8.ii), those marked (iii) have topics with the default intonation.

(9) – Speaker A: Elmentek áprilisban a tengeri utazásra? 'Did they go to the sea
                       voyage in April?'
     – Speaker B: Nem, [$_T$ *áprilisban*] [$_{Com}$ lakást   vettek   ].
                    no   April.Ine   flat.Acc buy.Past 3Pl
             'No, in April they bought a flat.'
       i. ˅Nem, │*áprilisban* ˋlakást vettek.
       ii. ˅Nem, │ˊ*áprilisban* │ˋlakást vettek.
       iii. ˅Nem, │ˈ*áprilisban* ˋlakást vettek.

(10) – Speaker A: Elmentek április végén a tengeri utazásra? 'Did they go to the sea
                       voyage at the end of April?'
     – Speaker B: Nem, [$_T$ *április*   *végén*   ] [$_{Com}$ lakást   vettek   ].
                  No,   April.Posr end.Poss.3Sg.Sup   flat.Acc buy.Past 3Pl
             'No, at the end of April they bought a flat.'
      i. ˅Nem, │*április végén* ˋlakást vettek.
      ii. ˅Nem, │ˈ*április* ˊ*végén* │ˋlakást vettek.

iii. ^VNem, | ¹április ¹végén ˎlakást vettek.

The content words in accentless topics may retain some degree of stress, but their stressed syllables are not associated with significant pitch events (i.e. they are not accented) and mere stress is not indicated in our transcriptions.

Non-contrastive pronominal topics (like *ezt* and *én* in (11) normally carry old information (i.e. are NCO topics), and are accentless.

(11) [T *Ezt*] [T   *én*] [Com sohasem mondtam   ].
     this.Acc   I   never   say.Past.1Sg
     'This I never said.'
     Ezt én ˎsohasem mondtam.

We shall now turn to the third subgroup of non-clausal topics: these are **non-contrastive** topics containing accentable content words and conveying **new information.**

(12) *Special Intonation Rule for Non-Contrastive New (=NCN) Topics*
     If X is an NCN topic which occurs in a sentence whose comment has a front-falling terminal contour, and X has more than one accent, then X can have a Rise terminal contour on its last accent, and consequently an IP-boundary at its end.

In (13), X is an NCN topic with one accent (*egy barátom*). Therefore Rule (12) is inapplicable, and only default solutions are available. In (13a) Y is a comment with one accent (*lakást vett*). In (13b) Y is a comment with more than one accent and so an upstep appears on its first accent.

(13) a. [T *Egy barátom*   ][Com lakást   vett   ].
       a   friend.Poss.1Sg   flat.Acc   buy.Past.3Sg
      'A friend of mine bought a flat.'
      Egy ¹*barátom* ˎlakást vett.
    b. [T *Egy barátom*   ][Com lakást   vett   Monikának].
       a   friend.Poss.1Sg   flat.Acc   buy.Past.3Sg Monica.Dat
      'A friend of mine bought a flat for Monica.'
      Egy ¹*barátom* ↑ ¹lakást vett ˎMonikának.

In (14), X, the NCN topic (*Ferdinánd ismerőse*), has more than one accent. The examples marked (i) display the effect of Rule (12), while those marked (ii) have the default intonation.

(14) a. [T *Ferdinand*   *ismerőse*   ][Com lakást   vett   ].
       Ferdinand.Posr acquaintance.Poss.3Sg   flat.Acc   buy.Past.3Sg
      'An acquaintance of Ferdinand bought a flat.'
      i. ¹*Ferdinand* ´*ismerőse* | ˎlakást vett.
      ii. ¹*Ferdinand* ¹*ismerőse* ˎlakást vett.
    b. [T *Ferdinánd*   *ismerőse*   ][Com lakást   vett
       Ferdinand.Posr acquaintance.Poss.3Sg   flat.Acc   buy.Past.3Sg

Monikának].
Monica.Dat
'An acquaintance of Ferdinand bought a flat for Monica.'
  i. ˈ*Ferdinand* ˊ*ismerőse* │ˈlakást vett ˋMonikának.
  ii. ˈ*Ferdinand* ˈ*ismerőse* ↑ˈlakást vett ˋMonikának.

Up to this point we have only discussed topic constituents that are immediately before the comment. However, a topic constituent may appear not only immediately before a comment, but also immediately before another topic constituent. The intonation rules and upstep rules for the various types of these "pre-topic" topics will be the same as the intonation rules and upstep rules for the corresponding types of "pre-comment" topics, which we have described and illustrated above.

For instance, in (15) there are two topic constituents, X: *április végén*, and Y: *Ferdinánd ismerőse*. Since X has more than one accent, Rule (12) is applicable to it. This is shown in (15.i), while the default solution can be seen in (15.ii). In the latter case, since Y has more than one accent, an upstep will appear on the first accent of Y.

(15) [$_T$ *Április   végén   *][$_T$ *Ferdinánd ismerőse   *]
      April.Posr end.Poss.3Sg.Sup   Ferdinand.Posr acquaintance.Poss.3Sg
  [$_{Com}$ lakást vett   ].
        flat.Acc buy.Past.3Sg
  'At the end of April an acquaintance of Ferdinand bought a flat.'
  i. ˈ*Április* ˊ*végén* │ ˈ*Ferdinand* ˊ*ismerőse* │ˋlakást vett.
  ii. ˈ*Április* ˈ*végén* ↑ˈ*Ferdinánd* ˊ*ismerőse* │ˋlakást vett.

As a partial summary of this section, we can say that, in a sentence whose comment has a front-falling terminal contour, all the accents in all the topic constituents can initiate a scalar Half Fall. In addition, an accented topic in such a sentence can also take a **Rise terminal contour** in cases recapitulated in (16).

(16) *Special Intonation Rules for Topics in sentences whose comment has a front-falling terminal contour (A summary)*
  When X is a topic constituent which occurs in a sentence whose comment has a front-falling terminal contour, then, regardless of whether X has one or more than one accented syllable, it can have a **Rise terminal contour** on its last accent, and so an IP-boundary at its end, if
  (a) X is contrastive,
  (b) X conveys old information,
  In addition, X can have a Rise terminal contour on its last accent, and so an IP-boundary at its end, if
  (c) X conveys new information and contains more than one accent.[3]

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[3] It can be pointed out here that a Rise terminal contour is also possible on **clausal topics** (regardless of whether they have one or more than one accent), e.g. [$_T$ *Amikor* ˊ*hazajöttem*], [$_{Com}$ ˋjó volt a lift] 'When I came home, the lift was working.' We do not elaborate on this here, because our concern is the intonation of simple sentences, i.e. sentences with no clausal constituents.

10.5.3 Intonation of the topic when the comment has a non-front-falling terminal contour

When the comment of a sentence has a non-front-falling terminal contour (i.e. Rise-Fall, Rise, High Monotone, or Descent), the topic constituent **cannot have a Rise as its terminal contour**. For instance, the comment of the first clause in (17), *utálja a káposztát*, ends in a Rise, and so putting a Rise on the topic of the same clause, *Izabella*, is unacceptable, see (17.i). The acceptable solutions are either (17.ii), a Full Fall, or (17.iii), a default scalar Half Fall on the topic.

(17) [T *Izabella*][Com utálja   a   káposztát   ], (de Monika
      Isabella   hate.Pres.3Sg.DefObj   the cabbage.Acc   but Monica
   szereti   ).
   love.Pres.3Sg.DefObj
   'Isabella hates cabbage (but Monica loves it).'
(i) * ′*Izabella* │′utálja a káposztát, (│de ˈMonika ˎszereti). [4]
(ii) ˎ*Izabella* │′utálja a káposztát, (│de ˈMonika ˎszereti).
(iii) ˈ*Izabella* ′utálja a káposztát, (│de ˈMonika ˎszereti).

When the comment of the clause has a non-front-falling terminal contour, all accented syllables of the topics before the comment can have the default solution, i.e. a scalar Half Fall, and the Upstep Rules given in (2) and (3) continue to be valid.

      But special solutions are also possible. All those types of topics which could appear with the Rise terminal contour before a front-falling comment (see the special rules in 10.5.2 above), can appear with a Full Fall terminal contour before a non-front-falling comment. These are detailed in (18).

(18) *Special Rules for Topics in sentences whose comment has a non-front-falling terminal contour*
When X is a topic constituent which occurs in a sentence whose comment has a non-front-falling terminal contour, then, regardless of whether X has one or more than one accented syllable, it can have a **Full Fall terminal contour** on its last accent, and so an IP-boundary at its end, if
(a) X is contrastive,
(b) X conveys old information,
In addition, X can have a Full Fall terminal contour on its last accent, and so an IP-boundary at its end, if
(c) X conveys new information and contains more than one accent.

In (19) and (20) the topics *Monika* and *Monika barátja* are contrasted with *Izabella*. They can take either (i) a Full Fall, as a result of (18a), or (ii) the default solution, i.e. the scalar Half Fall.

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[4] Although the Rise on *Izabella* in (17.i) is unacceptable, it is not impossible: it can occur as a performance mistake resulting from the speaker's changing the sentence while saying it.

(19) (Izabella utálja   a   káposztát,   de) [_T _Monika_]
　　　 Isabella hate.Pres.3Sg.DefObj the cabbage.Acc but   Monica
　　　 [_Com_ szereti   ]?
　　　 love.Pres.3Sg.DefObj
　　　 '(Isabella hates cabbage, but) does Monica love it?'
　　　 i. (Izabella utálja a káposztát, de) `Monika │^szereti?
　　　 ii. (Izabella utálja a káposztát, de) 'Monika ^szereti?

(20) (Izabella utálja   a   káposztát, de) [_T _Monika_   _barátja_   ]
　　　 Isabella hate.Pres.3Sg.DefObj the cabbage   but   Monica.Posr friend.Poss.3Sg
　　　 [_Com_ szereti   ]?
　　　 love.Pres.3Sg.DefObj
　　　 '(Isabella hates cabbage but) does Monica's friend love it?'
　　　 i. [Izabella utálja a káposztát, de] 'Monika `barátja │^szereti?
　　　 ii. [Izabella utálja a káposztát, de] 'Monika 'barátja ^szereti?

In (21) and (22), the topics in Speaker B's response carry **old** information (i.e. they are
NCO topics). Such topics (i) can be accentless, (ii) can have a Full Fall as a result of
(18b), and (iii) can have a default intonation.

(21) – Speaker A: És végre eljött április. 'And April came at last.'
　　　 – Speaker B: [_T _Áprilisban_] [_Com_ lakást   vettek   ]?
　　　　　　　　　　　　 April.Ine   flat.Acc buy.Past.3Pl
　　　　　　　 'In April did they buy a flat?'
　　　　　　　 i. _Áprilisban_ ^lakást vettek?
　　　　　　　 ii. `_Áprilisban_ │^lakást vettek?
　　　　　　　 iii. '_Áprilisban_ ^lakást vettek?

(22) – Speaker A: És végre eljött április vége. 'And the end of April came at last.'
　　　 – Speaker B: [_T _Április_   _végén_   ] [_Com_ lakást   vettek   ]?
　　　　　　　　　　　　 April.Posr end.Poss.3Sg.Sup   flat.Acc buy.Past 3Pl
　　　　　　　 'At the end of April did they buy a flat?'
　　　　　　　 i. _Április végén_ ^lakást vettek?
　　　　　　　 ii. '_Április_ `_végén_ │^lakást vettek?
　　　　　　　 iii. '_Április_ '_végén_ ^lakást vettek?

In (23) the topic (_Ferdinánd_) conveys **new** information (i.e. it is a NCN topic) and
contains one accent. Only the default intonations are possible.

(23) a. [_T _Ferdinánd_] [_Com_ lakást   vett   ]?
　　　　　　 Ferdinand   flat.Acc buy.Past.3Sg
　　　　 'Did Ferdinand buy a flat?'
　　　　 '_Ferdinánd_ ^lakást vett?
　　　 b. [_T _Ferdinánd_] [_Com_ lakást   vett   Monikának]?
　　　　　　 Ferdinand   flat.Acc buy.Past.3Sg Monica.Dat

‘Did Ferdinand buy a flat for Monica?’
ˈ*Ferdinánd* ↑ ⁻ lakást vett ^Monikának?

In (24), however, the new topic (*Ferdinánd ismerőse*) has more than one accent, so it (i) can have a Full Fall as a result of (18c), or (ii) it can have a default intonation.

(24) a. [T *Ferdinánd   ismerőse   ] [Com lakást   vett   ]?
          Ferdinand.Posr   acquaintance.Poss.3Sg   flat.Acc buy.Past.3Sg
       ‘Did an acquaintance of Ferdinand buy a flat?’
       i. ˈ*Ferdinánd* ⟍*ismerőse* │^lakást vett?
       ii. ˈ*Ferdinánd* ˈ*ismerőse* ^lakást vett?
     b. [T *Ferdinánd   ismerőse   ] [Com lakást   vett
          Ferdinand.Posr   acquaintance.Poss.3Sg   flat.Acc buy.Past.3Sg
       Monikának]?
       Monica.Dat
       ‘Did an acquaintance of Ferdinand buy a flat for Monica?’
       i. ˈ*Ferdinand* ⟍*ismerőse* │⁻ lakást vett ^Monikának?
       ii. ˈ*Ferdinánd* ˈ*ismerőse* ↑⁻ lakást vett ^Monikának?

Finally, in (25) the comment which has a Rise-Fall is preceded by two topic constituents: *április végén* and *Ferdinánd ismerőse*. Since the first topic constituent has more than one accent, it can have two intonational solutions: either (i) a Full Fall terminal contour, since (18c) is applicable to it, or (ii) the default intonation.

(25) [T *Április   végén   ] [T *Ferdinánd   ismerőse   ]
          April.Posr   end.Poss.3Sg.Sup   Ferdinand.Posr   acquaintance.Poss.3Sg
       [Com lakást vett]?
          flat.Acc buy.Past.3Sg
       ‘At the end of April did an acquaintance of Ferdinand buy a flat?’
       i. ˈ*Április* ⟍*végén* │ˈ*Ferdinand* ⟍*ismerőse* │^lakást vett?
       ii. ˈ*Április* ˈ*végén* ↑ˈ*Ferdinánd* ⟍*ismerőse* │^lakást vett?

The same intonational possibilities that we have seen in (19) to (25) are also available for topics when the non-front-falling terminal contour of the comment is not a Rise-Fall, but a Rise or High Monotone or Descent. We are not going to illustrate these here. One example has been given in (17ii., iii.) above, where the comment had a Rise.

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