

On Coordination in Hungarian Multiple Questions

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1 Introduction

Multiple questions: an overview

Possible definition: more than one information gap in a question, syntactic terms: more than one question phrase

- (1) **Who** said **what**?

Structures in Hungarian:

- (2) **Ki mit** hozott a bulira?
who what brought the party.to
- (3) **Ki** szeretett bele **kibe**?
who fell in love who.in
- (4) **Hol** és **mikor** találkozunk?
where and when we meet
- (5) **Ki** járt először a Holdon és **mikor**?
who went for the first time the Moon.on and when

General remarks, difficulties

- considerable hesitation and variation in the acceptability judgements
 - corpus studies: more embedded than main clause questions (not only factive predicates)
- (6) a. Tudom, hogy a gyanúsított **hol** és **mikor** vacsorázott tegnap este.
I know that the suspect where and when had dinner yesterday evening
- b. Mindig akadnak kifogások, hogy **mit** és **miért** nem lehet megvalósítani.
always there are excuses, that what and why not possible to carry out
- echo questions

- (7) Mit is mondtál, hogy **ki** és **miről** fog előadni?
what you said, that who and what.about will give a talk

2 The problem

Coordination

(Mouret, 2007): coordination is a syntactic operation that usually includes a conjunction and is based on some repetitive mechanism

- weak syntactic parallelism concerning category and morphosyntactic features like gender, number, mood, etc., cf. coordination of unlikes (Sag et al., 1985)

(8) Pat is [[a Republican]_{NP} and [proud of it]_{AP}].

(9) Pat is [[either asleep]_{AP} or [at the office]_{PP}].

(10) Pat is [either [stupid]_{AP} or [a liar]_{NP}].

- strong syntactic and semantic parallelism concerning syntactic function and semantic roles: the conjuncts must have the same syntactic function and the same semantic role

(11) *John eats [[an apple]_{NP} and [at midnight]_{PP}].

Hybrid Coordinations

Three structures that apparently violate the strong syntactic and semantic parallelism required in coordination (Chaves and Paperno, 2007):

- universal quantifiers (Lipták, 2001)

(12) Ide **mindenki** (és) **mindig** bejöhhet.
here everyone (and) always can-enter

- negative words

(13) **Senki** (és) **sehol** nincs biztonságban.
nobody (and) nowhere NEG in security

- *wh*-phrases (henceforth *wh*-ph)

(14) **Ki** (és) **mikor** érkezett?
who (and) when came

Possible analyses

- no coordination of unlikes, since:
 - the syntactic category is actually the same (clause)
 - the common function of the conjuncts is not their grammatical function (subject, object, adjunct, etc.), but another one
- coordination of unlikes? → basic concepts of coordination have to be modified

3 Syntactic structure

Monoclausal or biclausal?

→ no coordination of unlikes, but clausal coordination with ellipsis in the first or the second conjunct?
(Bánréti, 2007)

(15) Preverbal coordination

- a. [**Ki** és **miért**] tiltakozik a londoni Olimpia ellen?
who and why protests the London Olympic Games against
- b. [**Ki** tiltakozik a londoni Olimpia ellen] és [**miért** tiltakozik a londoni Olimpia ellen]?

(16) Final coordination

- a. **Ki** tiltakozik a londoni Olimpia ellen és **miért**?
- b. [**Ki** tiltakozik a londoni Olimpia ellen] és [**miért** tiltakozik a londoni Olimpia ellen]?

Interpretations

The basic readings:

- Pair-list reading (matching questions)

(17) **Ki kit** jelöl köztársasági elnöknek?
who whom nominates presidency.for

- Functional reading

(18) **Ki kit** hívott fel? – Mindenki az anyját.
who whom called – everybody the mother.his

- Single-pair reading (unique events)

(19) Jegyek rendben, igyekszem levelet írni, hogy **hol és mikor** találkozunk.
tickets ok, I'll try letter to write, that where and when we meet

Syntactic structure – interpretation

Krifka (2001): correspondences between syntactic structures and interpretations

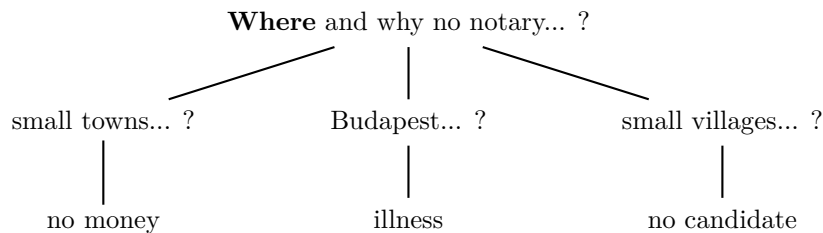
- pair-list reading, functional reading: the question words are in the same clause (monoclausal structure)
- single-pair readings: the question words are in separate clauses (biclausal structure with backward or forward ellipsis)
 - if multiple questions containing coordinated *wh*-phrases always license single-pair answers, they should be analyzed as biclausal structures

Multiple answers

- (20) Sorolhatnánk még, hogy **hol és miért** nincs jegyző, illetve milyen módon próbálják hiányát legalább átmenetileg pótolni.
we could list, that where and why there is no notary, and how they try to replace him at least temporarily
- (21) **Hol és milyen feltételekkel** lehet és szabad diákmunkát vállalni?
where and on what condition is it possible to do student jobs
- (22) Minden relatív, így az is, hogy **hol és mikor** van szükség forgalomirányító rendőrökre, s ha kellenek, akkor mennyi idő alatt érnek a helyszínre.

→ no one-to-one correspondence between syntax and interpretation

Layered discourse structure



Büring (2003): contrastive topics indicate such layered discourse topics

One question or two?

The answer to the first question is already presupposed in the second question:

- (23) Léci, léci, jelezzen, aki még nem tette, hogy jön-e és hányan!!!
please please tell me if you haven't done it yet, that you come and how many
- (24) a. Jó lenne tudni, hogy **ki** és **mikor** hozta el a ruhákat a tisztítóból.
It would be good to know that who and when took the clothes the dry-cleaner's from.
b. Jó lenne tudni, hogy **ki** hozta el a ruhát a tisztítóból és **mikor**.

→ does (24a) involve one question with two information gaps, whereas (24b) corresponds to two separate questions?

Definite and indefinite conjugation

Lipták (2001): (25a) cannot be the elliptical version of (25c), since then the verb following should be in the definite conjugation

- (25) a. Nem érdekel, hogy **mit** készítesz és **hogyan** készíted.
I'm not interested that what you make.INDEF and how make.DEF
b. *Nem érdekel, hogy **mit** ~~készítesz~~ és **hogyan** készíted.
c. Nem érdekel, hogy [**mit** és **hogyan**] készítesz.
d. Nem érdekel, hogy **mit** készítesz és **hogyan**.

→ difference in interpretation between (25c) and (25d)? → argument against clausal coordination with ellipsis

Argument/adjunct asymmetries

- (26) a. ***Ki** csinált és **mit**? (two obligatory arguments)
who did and what
b. **Ki** és **mit** csinált? / **Ki** csinált **mit**?
- (27) **Ki** énekelt és **mit**? (one optional arguments)
who sang and what
- (28) **Ki** és **mikor** érkezett? / **Ki** érkezett és **mikor**? (argument and adjunct)
who and when arrived
- (29) **Hol** és **mikor** találkozunk? / **Hol** találkozunk és **mikor**? (adjuncts)
where and when we meet

Cataphoric dependencies

ki (who) cannot appear in the second clause, since the answer to it is already presupposed by the first:

- (30) */?? **Mikor** érkeztek és **kik**?
when came and who
- (31) **Hogyan** döntöttek erről és **kik**?
how decided about this and who

→ pro-drop language, the answer to *kik* is not necessarily presupposed in the first clause (the equivalent of a passive structure in other languages)

ki must be the first question word in a preverbal coordination:

- (32) a. **Kik** és **mikor** érkeztek?
who and when arrived
b. ***Mikor** és **kik** érkeztek?
- (33) a. **Kik** és **hogyan** döntöttek erről?
b. ***Hogyan** és **kik** döntöttek erről?

The particle ‘vajon’

Hypothesis: the interrogative particle ‘vajon’ can appear only once per clause

- (34) a. *Vajon ki és (*vajon) mikor* érkezett?
PRT who and (*PRT) when arrived
b. *Vajon ki* érkezett és (*vajon*) **mikor**?

→ ‘vajon’ cannot appear before both question phrases in preverbal coordination, whereas it is possible (optionally) in final coordination

Sentence-level adverbials

- (35) a. ***Ki** és *még fontosabb* **mikor** jött be ide?
who and more importantly when came in here
b. **Ki** – és *még fontosabb*: **MIKOR** – jött be ide?

- (36) **Ki** jött be ide, és *még fontosabb*: **mikor**?

→ no sentence-level adverbials in preverbal coordination (only in a prosodically marked sentence, where the adverb and the second interrogative word are parenthetical), whereas they are possible in final coordination

Auxiliaries

- (37) a. **Mit** *fogunk* és **hol** vacsorázni?
what we will and where eat for dinner
b. **Mit** és **hol** *fogunk* vacsorázni?
c. **Mit** *fogunk* vacsorázni és **hol**?

Observation: if an auxiliary and the infinitive following it are clausemates (?), then structures containing preverbal coordination are monoclausal

Interim conclusion

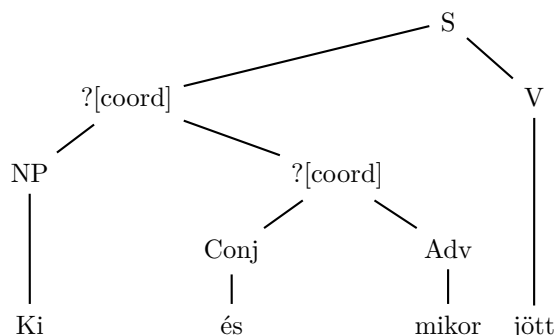
Based on the above arguments:

- multiple questions containing preverbal coordination are monoclausal, with the coordination of *wh*-phrases
- multiple questions containing final coordination are biclausal, possibly with forward ellipsis in the second clause

- (38) [[**Ki** és **mikor**]_{Coord_{wh-P}} jött]_S?
who and when came

- (39) [**Ki** jött]_S [és **mikor** –]_S?
who came and when –

Simplified tree for Hungarian preverbal coordination



4 Possible analyses

Common function: focus?

- multiple questions with preverbal coordination involve monoclausal structures in Hungarian: the *wh*-phrases are in one and the same clause but they must have the same function
 - common function = focus? (Lipták, 2001; Skrabalova, 2006)
- BUT: non-interrogative foci cannot always be coordinated

- (40) *JÁNOS és TEGNAP ment moziba.
János and yesterday went cinema.ILL
*JOHN and YESTERDAY went to the cinema.

- *wh*-items cannot necessarily be analyzed as a subtype of foci

Common grammatical function: *extracted*?

Extracted:

- ‘filler’ in HPSG (Ginzburg and Sag, 2000), UDF (Unbounded Dependency Function) in LFG (Asudeh, 2010)
- an overt constituent in a non-argument position (on the left periphery of the clause) which is associated with (or fills) a gap in its canonical position
- the *wh*-phrases in preverbal coordination in Hungarian are both fillers, this constitutes the basis of their coordination

Problems:

- what counts as *extracted* in Hungarian?
- some identity of features might be needed (universal or negative quantifiers, *wh*)

5 Conclusion

Conclusion

- no one-to-one correspondence between syntactic structure and interpretation
- multiple questions containing preverbal coordination cannot be analyzed as clausal coordination (with ellipsis) in Hungarian
- focus as a common function also inadequate
- other approach: *extracted* as common function and some identity of features

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