The Intonation of Topic and Comment in the Hungarian Declarative Sentence*

László Varga

This paper is primarily meant to be a descriptive overview of how intonation contributes to the realisation of simple declarative sentences in Hungarian. The first aim of the paper is to offer a description of those aspects of Hungarian intonation that may have grammatical and informational functions in Hungarian sentences. The second aim is to provide a notational system whereby the intonational facts of Hungarian declarative sentences can be transcribed. The third aim is to give a detailed analysis of the grammatically and informationally relevant intonational facts of simple Hungarian declarative sentences, concentrating on attitudinally neutral intonational solutions. We do this in three steps: first we examine the intonation of the Comment, and then the intonation of the Topic(s) in these sentences, and finally we suggest ways in which certain intonational rules we have established separately for the Comment and the Topic(s) can be conflated.

Keywords: *Hungarian, intonation, declarative sentence, topic, comment, focus*

1   Introduction

1.1   The main goal of this study

The paper is a descriptive overview of the intonation of simple Hungarian declarative sentences, formalised using the terms of the contour-based tradition of intonational studies. The declarative sentence has been chosen because it is the most basic grammatical sentence type: it is used for making statements, it offers an ideal opportunity for identifying the main structural positions within the sentence, and its intonation provides a background to which the intonations of other sentence types can be compared.

1.2   The syntactic framework

Within declaratives, we shall limit our attention to simple sentences, i.e. sentences which do not contain embedded clauses. The canonical Hungarian sentence contains one or more or nil *topic* constituents and an obligatory *comment* (É. Kiss 1987, 2002, Surányi et al. 2012).[1] The topics occupy structural positions before the comment, they are constituents in connection with which something is being stated or demanded or questioned in the comment (cf. Radford et al. 2009, 391). Also before the comment there may be *sentence*

---

[1]   In É. Kiss (2002) the term *comment* has been replaced by the term *predicate*, but we are not using the latter term here because of its ambiguity.

adverbials as well (É. Kiss 2002: 20–22). For instance, in (1) *a gyereket* 'the child.ACC' is topic (T), *szerencsére* 'fortunately' is a sentence adverbial (SAdv), and *az állatkertbe vitték el* 'the zoo.ILL took.3PL away' is comment (Com). [2, 3]

(1)   [_T *A*   *gyereket*][_SAdv *szerencsére*][_Com *az* *állatkertbe* *vitték*   *el*].
       the   child.ACC   fortunately   the   zoo.ILL   took.3PL   away
       'Fortunately it was to the zoo that they took the child.'

In addition to the structural positions before the comment, there are also structural positions in the comment. In example (1) the comment has a Focus position, occupied by *az állatkertbe* 'the zoo.ILL', a Verb position, occupied by *vitték* 'took.3PL', and a Postverbal position, occupied by *el* 'away'.

Hungarian is a discourse-configurational language, in which "both topic/comment and focus/background divisions are reflected in surface syntax" (Surányi 2002a, 20). In (1) the constituent *az állatkertbe* is in Focus position, while the constituents in other structural positions before and after it form the background. Moreover, the content word in Focus position (*állatkertbe*) is accented and is immediately followed by the unaccented Verb (*vitték*). The verbal prefix (*el*), which would stand immediately before the Verb if there were no Focus position in the sentence, is in Postverbal position.

The structural positions are established on the basis of É. Kiss (2002), and will be discussed in Sections 3–5 below. In É. Kiss's generative account of Hungarian syntax the major constituents of the Hungarian sentence, apart from the verb, are generated in the postverbal region of a flat structure, viz. the VP, and then move, or may move, to the various preverbal positions that are available at different levels, arranged in a hierarchical structure. However, in this paper we do not wish to discuss theoretical assumptions of this kind and do not commit ourselves to any particular theory. Instead, we will deliberately adopt a pre-theoretical (theory-neutral) approach, and present the structural positions with the major constituents filling them as they follow one another linearly on the surface.

In this paper our primary concern is the intonation of topics and comment constituents in declarative sentences. We leave the intonation of sentence adverbials for future research.

1.3   The intonational framework

Intonation in its narrowest sense is the superimposition of certain pitch patterns (i.e. speech melodies) on the segmental material (i.e. sound string) of sentences, when producing spoken sentences (i.e. utterances). Intonation performs a number of functions, among which a particularly well-known one is the *attitudinal function*, i.e. expressing the

---

[2]   The acute accents on certain vowel letters in Hungarian orthography (see e.g. the *é* in *elvitték* and *szerencsére*, or the *á* in *állatkertbe*) represent phonemic vowel length and have nothing to do with the signalling of intonation or stress.

[3]   The grammatical glosses used in the examples of this paper are: ACC = 'accusative', ADE = 'adessive', ILL = 'illative', INE = 'inessive', INF = 'infinitive', INS = 'instrumental', PAST = 'past tense' (used when past tense is not obvious from the shape of the English gloss of the verb), PREF = 'verbal prefix' (used when the prefix is untranslatable into English), PL = 'plural' (used to indicate the plural number of an adjective), SUB = 'sublative', SUP = 'superessive', 1SG = 'first person singular', 1SG.POSS = 'possessed by a first person singular possessor', 2SG = 'second person singular', 3PL = 'third person plural', 3SG = 'third person singular', 3SG.POSS = 'possessed by a third person singular possessor'.

speaker's emotional/social attitude(s) in particular speech situations. However, instead of the attitudinal function of intonation, in the present paper we concentrate on the *grammatical and informational functions* of intonation. These potentially include (a) revealing the syntactic structure and, through that, the cognitive meaning of the sentence, (b) signalling the grammatical type of the sentence, and (c) showing the division of the sentence into informationally new, given (old), or contrasted parts. These functions of intonation manifest themselves in the ability of intonation to disambiguate sentences that are identical segmentally but different grammatically and/or in information structure.

There are several important works on Hungarian intonation and also syntactic works containing precious intonational observations. Unfortunately, many of these works are only available in Hungarian and are inaccessible to an international readership. Those that have been published in English include Varga (1983, 2002, 2008), Kornai & Kálmán (1988), Kenesei & Vogel (1989, 1998), Rosenthall (1992), Gósy & Tekken (1994), Fónagy (1998), Grice et al. (2000), Olaszy (2002), É. Kiss (2002), Hunyadi (2002), Surányi (2002a), Szendrői (2003), Mycock (2010), Surányi et al. (2012), Gyuris & Mády (2013, 2014), Genzel et al. (2015), etc.

These works have different scopes and theoretical backgrounds. Although they have all influenced our views on Hungarian intonation, the intonational description in the present paper primarily relies on, and develops further, the contour-based approach to intonation advocated by Varga (2002). This follows the British tradition by treating the contours as wholes rather than as configurations of levels, and it uses graphic intonational symbols, 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, stemming from the autosegmental approach and manifesting themselves in different versions of ToBI (see Beckman et al. 2005), are also common. The reasons why we have chosen graphic symbols rather than ToBI are that (a) most of these graphic symbols are iconic, and so they are easier than ToBI to decode for non-phonologists, (b) although there have been efforts to approach Hungarian intonation in autosegmental and also in ToBI terms (see e.g. Kornai & Kálmán 1988, Grice et al. 2000, Varga 2002, 2008, 2010, Mády & Kleber 2010, Gyuris & Mády 2013), there are still a lot of open questions concerning various details and no generally accepted ToBI system is yet available for Hungarian.

1.4   The structure of this study

The paper consists of six sections. After the present introduction, Section 2 gives a selective outline of the intonation system of Hungarian, i.e. presents the inventory of, and transcription symbols for, the intonational features which are relevant grammatically and informationally in simple Hungarian declarative sentences. Section 3 deals with the basic syntactic structure of Hungarian declarative sentences in terms of the structural positions they contain. Section 4 is devoted to the intonation of comments, while Section 5 examines the intonation of topics within Hungarian declaratives. Section 6 is a brief summary and it conflates some rules that have been presented separately in Sections 4 and 5.

2   The system of Hungarian intonation

2.1   Basic concepts: intonation contours, stress, accent, tonetic accent marks

Intonation means superimposing certain pitch patterns on the segmental strings of sentences, and thereby producing utterances. However, the smallest units that are usually recognised as being directly relevant to the realisation of pitch patterns are not the segments (sounds), but the syllables, which are composed of the segments. The recurring pitch patterns that the syllables of utterances carry will be called *intonation contours*. They are meaningful and have characteristic shapes.[4]

Some of the syllables are *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-prominent (i.e. they are associated with a pitch-event, in the sense that they initiate an intonation contour). All other syllables are *unaccented*. Some of the unaccented syllables may be stressed: these have some extra prominence but are not associated with independently chosen pitch events. The rest of the unaccented syllables are unstressed. In sum, the syllables of Hungarian utterances are either accented or unaccented, and the unaccented syllables are either stressed or unstressed, cf. Varga (2002: 127–28).[5]

Word stress in Hungarian has a fixed position: it normally falls on the first syllable of a stressed word (apart from cases where a later syllable of the word receives a special contrastive stress).

From the point of view of intonation it is the accented syllables that play a crucial role. They are the significant points in intonation, and therefore they have to be shown in an intonational transcription. They will be indicated by *tonetic accent marks*, i.e. graphic intonation symbols which simultaneously signal both accent and intonation, and which will be put before the relevant syllables in the line of written text representing the segmental part of the utterance. Such symbols belong to 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. Therefore, intonation in this section is shown in two ways: by a schematic pitch diagram and by the intonationally transcribed text of the utterance, running parallel to the pitch diagram.

2.2   The Intonation Phrase and the intonation contours

The intonation contours appear as melodic constituents within certain phonological structures called *Intonation Phrases* (IPs). IPs are units of intonation, i.e. containers of connected intonational events, with a characteristic internal structure. The obligatory part of Hungarian IPs is the *Terminal Part*, which begins on the last (or only) accented syllable

---

[4]   In some languages (known as tone languages) pitch patterns are integral parts of *words* and so they can distinguish words that are segmentally identical. Those patterns of pitch variation are not intonation contours but *lexical tones*. Hungarian is not a tone language: it does not have lexical tones. It has intonation contours, which can distinguish utterances or parts of utterances.

[5]   For a discussion of stressed and accented syllables along similar lines, but in the context of English prosody, see Warren (2016: 7–8).

of the IP and carries a *terminal contour*. Terminal contours last till the end of the IP, indicated by the IP-boundary symbol: [│].

   A terminal contour is a recurring, discrete, meaningful speech melody, which is able to appear on independent utterances and can (but need not) be followed by a pause. In this paper we shall recognise only those terminal contours that occur in declarative sentences in Hungarian. These are: (a) the *Full Fall*, symbol: [`], (b) the *Fall-Rise*, symbol: [ᵛ], (c) the *Rise*, symbol: [′], (d) the *High Monotone*, symbol: [¯], and (e) the *Descent*, symbol: [↪]. This list and the symbols are based on Varga (2002: 33–47), with the omission of some contours that are not necessary for the purposes of the present paper.

   The phonetic contents of the terminal contours are displayed in the schematic pitch diagrams of (2), where the (i) one-syllable, (ii) two-syllable, and (iii) three-or-more-syllable phonetic variants (allo-contours) of the terminal contours are illustrated on the carrier phrases *finn* 'Finnish', *angol* 'English', and *amerikai* 'American', respectively.[6] The diagrams contain filled dots for the accented syllables and short lines for the other syllables, arranged at different heights above a long horizontal line, which represents the bottom pitch of the speaker's voice. Below this line we can see the written text of the utterance, provided with the tonetic accent marks. Each example in (2) is an IP consisting of a Terminal Part alone.

(2)   *Terminal Contours (selected for the purposes of the present study)*

   a. Full Fall:

   b. Fall-Rise:

   c. Rise:

   d. High Monotone:

   e. Descent:

---
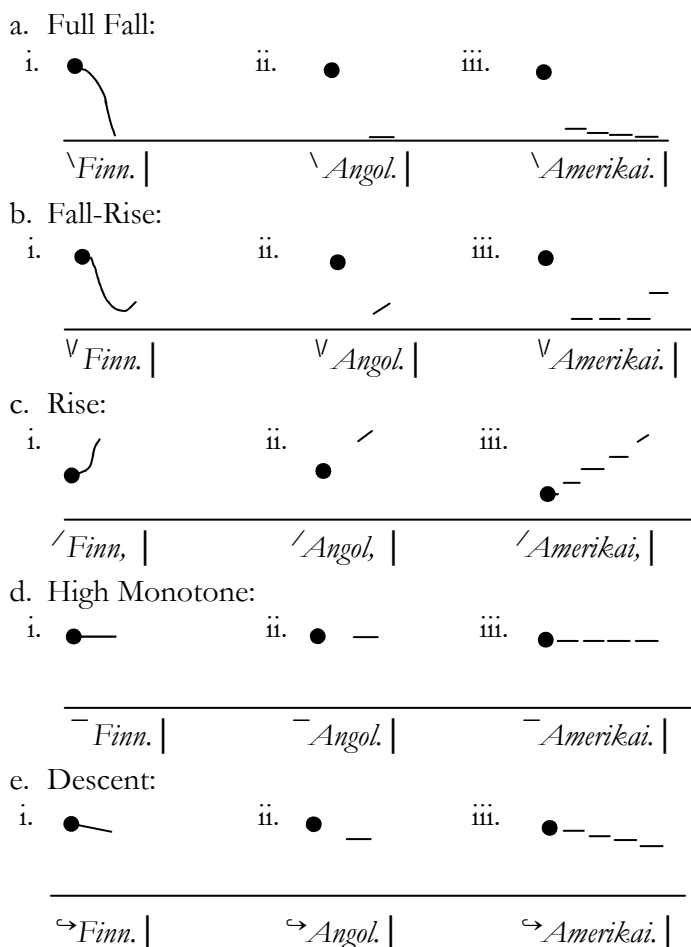
6   The word *amerikai* consists of five syllables: a-me-ri-ka-i.

A common feature of the Full Fall and the Fall-Rise (2a, b) 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 but then moves up at the end. The starting point of the Full Fall can be at different heights, and in extreme cases it can be quite low, yielding a flattened Full Fall, but even this flattened variety starts with an accented syllable and ends at the bottom pitch. Since the flattened variety is either the result of automatic downdrift (see 2.3 below), or – when deliberately chosen – has only attitudinal significance, it will not have a separate transcription symbol from the Full Fall.

The Rise, the High Monotone and the Descent together can be called *sustained contours*. The Rise (2c) is the name either of a steadily rising contour, or of a contour which keeps level for a large part and then moves upwards at its end. In both cases it can be high or low. However, we shall not distinguish these varieties in our transcriptions. The High Monotone (2d) does not change in pitch, and it can be at high or mid level, but we shall ignore such differences. The Descent (2e) 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 delay: it can have its peak at the end of the first syllable or at the beginning of the second syllable, rather than at the beginning of the first.

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 grammatically/informationally insignificant alternatives to the contour type which they replace, cf. Varga (2002: 36–38). These possibilities are summed up here as Sustained Contour Alternatives, shown in (3).

(3)   *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 grammatical/informational point of view.

In (2) above we have seen examples of IPs that contain only the obligatory component of an IP, viz. the Terminal Part. However, an IP may contain pre-terminal parts as well. These are the Preparatory Part and the Scale. If there are several accents in the IP, the first accented syllable starts a *Scale*, which lasts till the Terminal Part. Since each accented syllable in the Scale starts a *scalar contour*, the scale 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 accented syllable of the IP. It carries some melody which we call the *preparatory contour*. The structure of IPs is summed up in (4), with the optional parts in parentheses:

(4)   *Structure of the Hungarian Intonation Phrase*
        (Preparatory Part) + (Scale) + Terminal Part[7]

The most frequent scalar contour is the *Half Fall*, symbol: [']. This is similar in shape to the Full Fall (see (2a) above), but it does not reach down to the bottom pitch of the speaker and does not end in a pause. In (5) below, which is an utterance consisting of two IPs, we can find three scalar Half Falls, one in the first IP (on the string *Izabella* 'Isabella'), and two in the second IP (on the strings *elvitték a* 'away.took.3PL the' and *gyereket az* 'child.ACC the'). Example (5) contains a preparatory contour as well (on the string *és akkor* 'and then'). The shape of a preparatory contour is similar to a sustained contour (i.e. it can be rising, level, descending) but it lacks the extra prominence on the first syllable of its carrier string. 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.

(5)   *És   akkor   Izabella   barátai   elvitték   a   gyereket   az*
        and then   Isabella   friends.3SG.POSS away.took.3PL the child.ACC the
        állatkertbe.
        ZOO.ILL
        'And then Isabella's friends took the child to the zoo.'

És   akkor 'Izabella ⌐barátai | 'elvitték a 'gyereket az `állatkertbe. |
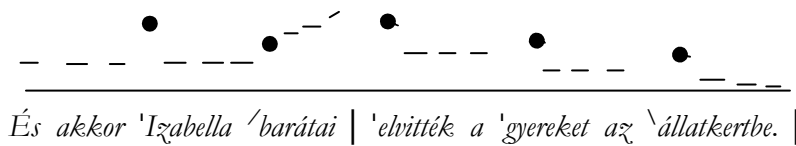
In our intonational transcriptions the force of a tonetic accent mark lasts till the next tonetic accent mark, or – if there is no such mark – till the end of the IP.

A syllable that initiates one of the terminal contours presented in (2) above is by definition the last (rightmost) accented syllable of a Hungarian IP. This syllable is not necessarily physically stronger than the accented syllables that precede it in the Scale (cf. Fónagy 1998: 340). For instance, in the second IP of (5), 'elvitték a 'gyereket az `állatkertbe, the accents may be physically equally strong, or the first accent (the one on *el-*) may be even stronger than the later ones.[8]

The end of an IP coincides with the end of a terminal contour. Physically, this is marked by an audible pause (or some phonetic phenomenon creating the impression of a pause) at the end of the terminal contour, and/or by a melodic break between the end of

---

[7]   This is the structure of *ordinary IPs* in Hungarian, developed for Hungarian by Varga (2002). It is analogous to the traditionally recognised structure of English IPs, divisible into optional Pre-head, optional Head and obligatory Nuclear Part, the latter consisting of obligatory Nucleus and optional Tail (see e.g. Tench 1996: 14). In addition to ordinary IPs, there exist *appended IPs*, too, in Hungarian (cf. Varga 2002: 48–50). Such IPs are exceptional: they may consist of nothing but an unaccented low level contour carried by utterance-final inorganic material such as vocatives, quoting clauses, etc. In this paper we are not dealing with appended IPs.

[8]   In an English IP, the last accented syllable is generally considered to be the strongest of all the accents within the IP, and the contour it initiates is called the *nuclear* contour. This is a difference between Hungarian and English IPs, but the Hungarian terminal contours can still be regarded as analogous to the English nuclear contours, with the qualification that they stand out due to their shape, and not due to their extra prominence.

a terminal contour and what follows it (see e.g. the melodic separation between the low-pitched end of a falling terminal contour or the high-pitched end of a rising terminal contour, and the mid-pitched beginning of a preparatory contour immediately after it).

2.3 Relative peak heights, downdrift and upstep

If you go back to the pitch diagram of the second IP in (5), transcribed as ˈ*elvitték a* ˈ*gyereket az* ˋ*állatkertbe*│, you will find that each intonation contour in the Scale and the Terminal Part is noticeably lower than the preceding contour. This gradual lowering of the contours within an IP can be called *downdrift* (also known as *declination*). It can occur between adjacent Half Falls or between a Half Fall and a Full Fall. We consider downdrift as a natural process and give it no special symbol in our intonational notation.

However, downdrift can be suspended. This means that the peak (i.e. the highest-pitched syllable) of a theroretically downdriftable contour is (almost) as high as, or even higher than, the peak of the preceding contour, instead of being noticeably lower. This avoidance of downdrift at a contour will be called *upstep*, the contour receiving upstep will be referred to as *upstepped contour*. Some instances of upstep can happen at grammatically/informationally significant points, when it is used to highlight a word or to separate a sentence constituent from a previous one. In our intonational transcriptions, such cases of upstep can be marked by putting the symbol [↑] before the tonetic accent mark of the upstepped contour. For instance, in (6), the contour beginning with the syllable *öt-* is upstepped, and upstepping in this position is a way of separating one postverbal constituent (*az ötvenedik évfordulóra* 'for the 50th anniversary') from the preceding one (*egy énekest* 'a singer.ACC'), cf. 4.1 below.

(6) *Meghívnak   egy énekest   az ötvenedik   évfordulóra.*
    PREF.call.3PL a singer.ACC the fiftieth   anniversary.SUB [9]
    'They are inviting a singer for the 50th anniversary.'

ˈ*Meghívnak egy* ˈ*énekest az* ↑ˈ*ötvenedik* ˋ*évfordulóra.*│ [10]
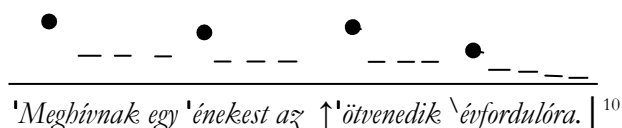
2.4 Summary of the intonational transcription symbols used in this paper

Before proceding to the next section, let us survey the graphic symbols that we have introduced for transcribing the intonation of Hungarian declarative sentences.

(7) *Summary of the Intonational Transcription Symbols*
    ˋxxx   *Full Fall*   (terminal contour)
    ˅xxx   *Fall-Rise*   (terminal contour)
    ´xxx   *Rise*   (terminal contour)
    ‾xxx   *High Monotone*   (terminal contour)

---

[9] The gloss PREF stands for any untranslatable Hungarian verbal prefix (e.g. *meg-*), see fn. 3.

[10] Upstep is different from pitch reset at the beginning of a new IP because it follows a scalar contour and is not preceded by a pause. So the presence of upstep does not indicate the beginning of a new IP.

↪xxx   *Descent*   (terminal contour)
'xxx   *Half Fall*   (scalar contour)
| *End of IP*
↑   *Upstep*

3   The basic syntax of Hungarian sentences

3.1   Structural positions

The comment is the obligatory part of the prototypical Hungarian sentence, which is preceded by optional structural positions for *Topic* (T) and/or *Sentence Adverbial* (SAdv) constituents. Sentence adverbials may stand before or after or between topics, but are external to the comment.

Within the comment of positive Hungarian sentences we distinguish the following structural positions: *Distributive* (Dist) position, *Positive Degree/Manner Adverb* (PDMA) position, *Focus* (F) position, *Verb Modifier* (VMod) position, *Verb* (V) position, and *Postverbal* (PostV) position. All of these positions are optional, apart from the V position, which is obligatory in a prototypical Hungarian sentence. 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 before the verb. If the F or the VMod position is present, the constituent in it is accented, and the verb in the V position is accentless.

All these positions are summed up in (8), where positions that are optional and repeatable are marked with the Kleene star: T*, Dist*, PostV*; positions that are optional and non-repeatable are in parentheses: (F), (PDNA), (VMod); and the V position, which is obligatory and non-repeatable, has neither a Kleene star nor parentheses.

(8)   *Structural Positions in the Hungarian Sentence*[11]

Sentence		
	Comment	
T*	Dist* $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} (F) \\ (PDMA)\ (VMod) \end{array} \right\}$	V PostV*

Notes: 1. Before the comment there may be SAdv* as well; these may occur before or after or between T constituents.
2. Within the comment, F and VMod are mutually exclusive.

The structural positions presented here have been established on the basis of É. Kiss (2002), but – in contrast to É. Kiss (2002) – we consider them as positions following one another linearly in a flat structure.

---

[11] These are the structural positions in positive declarative sentences. In negative declaratives the preverbal part of the comment is partly different, see 4.3.

In this paper we use the general term *major constituent* for any word or word string that fills a structural position. Major constituents will be referred to by the name of the structural position they occupy, e.g. a major constituent filling a PostV position will be labelled as a PostV constituent. A structural position is only recognised in a particular sentence if it is filled. All the structural positions that have been mentioned so far will be illustrated in (9a) and (9b) below. First, however, we must clarify two senses of the term *focus*.

3.2   Broad-focus sentences versus narrow-focus sentences

The term *focus* is used in different senses in the literature. When it is simply used to refer to that part of the spoken sentence which conveys new information, it can be called *information focus* (É. Kiss 1998). This is opposed to the *background*, i.e. given (or presupposed) information. Information focus is typically signalled by prosodic means: the content words within the new part of the sentence are marked with accents, whereas those in the given part are unaccented.[12]

However, focushood can be marked not only prosodically but also structurally. In this case the term *focus* refers to a constituent that occupies a particular syntactically defined position, where it receives structural (and typically also prosodic) highlighting. In Hungarian this is the Focus position (F position). The F position must be followed by an unaccented verb, and so the Verb Modifier, if there is one, which otherwise precedes the Verb, occurs in Postverbal position (PostV position), see (9a) below (*küldött* 'sent.3SG' *fel* 'up'). The major constituent in the F position "is more than merely non-presupposed information; it expresses exhaustive identification from among a set of alternatives" (É. Kiss (2002: 77). Therefore É. Kiss (1998) calls it *identificational focus*. However, not every Hungarian sentence has an F position and so not every Hungarian sentence has identificational focus. For instance, in (9b) there is no F position and the Verb Modifier precedes the Verb (*fel-* 'up' *-küldött* '3SG').

In sentences with F position, the new information is typically narrowed down to the constituent which is in the F position (i.e. information focus and identificational focus coincide), and the other major constituents are typically "given" (even though some of the postverbal ones may also be "new"). By contrast, in sentences with no F position there is no identificational focus and the new information (informational focus) is potentially co-extensive with the entire comment or the entire sentence (even though less typically it can be restricted to a postverbal constituent). Therefore, following Genzel et al. (2015), we shall refer to sentences with F position as *narrow-focus sentences*, see (9a), and sentences without F position as *broad-focus* sentences, see (9b).[13]

Here and in later examples the major constituents in F position will be bold-faced in the structural analyses.

---

[12] Information is given (a) if it is recoverable from the linguistic context, i.e. it has been mentioned in, or implied by, the previous discourse, or (b) if it is visible or known in the speech situation. Information is new when it is additional to that already supplied by the linguistic context or the situation.

[13] For more on Hungarian focus, see also Kenesei & Vogel (1998), Hunyadi (2002), Szendrői (2003), Sneed (2004), etc.

(9)   a.   *Narrow-focus Sentence:*

[$_T$ *Izabella*][$_{SAdv}$ *állítólag*][$_{Com}$ [$_{Dist}$ *mindenkit*   ][$_F$ **a   padlásszobába**]
     Isabella   allegedly   everybody.ACC   the   attic.ILL
[$_V$ *küldött*   ][$_{PostV}$ *fel*][$_{PostV}$ *udvariasan*]].
     sent.3SG   up   politely
'Allegedly it is to the attic that Isabella sent everybody up politely.'[14]

   b.   *Broad-focus Sentence:*

 [$_T$ *Izabella*][$_{SAdv}$ *állítólag*][$_{Com}$[$_{Dist}$ *mindenkit*   ][$_{PDMA}$ *udvariasan*]
      Isabella   allegedly   everybody.ACC   politely
[$_{VMod}$ *fel-*][$_V$ *-küldött*   ] [$_{PostV}$ *a   padlásszobába*]].[15]
         up   sent.3SG   the   attic.ILL
'Allegedly Isabella sent everybody up to the attic politely.'

In the next two sections we shall deal with the intonation of the major constituents in the structural positions shown in (9a, b), with the exception of sentence adverbials. Sentence adverbials form a rather heterogeneous group, with no fixed position relative to the topics, and although they often have topic-like intonation, their intonational behaviour can be idiosyncratic. The examination of their intonation therefore is beyond the scope of the present study.[16]

4   The intonation of comments in simple Hungarian declarative sentences

4.1   General intonation rules for comments in Hungarian declaratives

Since the grammatical type of a sentence is largely revealed by the intonation of its comment (especially its terminal contour), we shall first deal with the intonation of comments in declarative sentences. For ease of presentation, the examples in this section will be topicless declaratives, i.e. declarative sentences consisting of a comment alone.[17]

As the examples in this section are coextensive with comments, the labelled brackets [$_{Com}$. . .] will be omitted from the structural analyses. From now on we shall not be using pitch diagrams any more. Instead, we will be using the graphic intonational transcription symbols presented in Section 2.

---

[14]   Usually, the most appropriate English counterparts of Hungarian narrow-focus sentences are cleft constructions, e.g. *It is to the attic that Isabella sent everybody up.*

[15]   In (9b) there are hyphens after *fel* and before *küldött*. These hyphens indicate that – although the verbal prefix (*fel*) and the verb (*küldött*) are separated from each other in the structural analysis because they are in different structural positions – in Hungarian orthography they are written together as *felküldött*. In (9a) the prefix follows the verb, and so they are not written together and do not need the hyphens (*küldött fel*). In this paper we shall always use hyphens between a prefix in VMod position and an immediately following verb.

[16]   According to É. Kiss et al. (1998: 29), place and time adverbials before the comment can be interpreted both as sentence adverbials and as topics. In this paper we shall treat them as topics.

[17]   É. Kiss (2002: 14–20) distinguishes *real topicless sentences* like (i) [$_{Com}$ *Felkelt a nap*]. 'Up rose the sun.', where there is no topic, and *apparent topicless sentences* like (ii), [$_T$ *pro*][$_{Com}$ *Behozták a kutyát*]. '(They) brought in the dog.', where there is an invisible topic *pro*, whose properties are determined by the verbal inflection. However, from the point of view of intonation an invisible topic is no topic, and so we shall regard sentences like (ii) as topicless sentences, too.

When declarative sentences are used as statements and have attitudinally neutral intonation, their comments typically have a Full Fall as their terminal contour. In addition, all the content word constituents carrying new information within the comment normally begin with an accented syllable and have a Half Fall, apart from the Verb, which is accentless when preceded by a VMod or F constituent, cf. (10), where the accentless verb *vitték* 'took.3PL' is preceded by the accented prefix *el* 'away' in VMod position.

(10) [VMod *El-*][V *-vitték*][PostV *a vendégeket*][PostV *a borfesztiválra*].
       away   took.3PL   the guests.ACC   the wine.festival.SUB
       'They took the guests to the wine festival.'
       ꞌ*Elvitték a* ꞌ*vendégeket a* ﹨*borfesztiválra.* |

The intonation of (10) is attitudinally neutral: it lacks any identifiable attitude other than the one inherently present in making an unemotional objective statement. However, the intonation of declaratives can have various kinds of attitudinal variants, of which here we mention only one: (11). Here the scalar contours are the same as in (10) but the terminal contour is a Fall-Rise.

(11) ꞌ*Elvitték a* ꞌ*vendégeket a* ⱽ*borfesztiválra.* |

The meanings of (10) and (11) are cognitively identical, but they differ in the attitudes that their intonations convey. In (11) the intonation signals some kind of conflict between the sentence and the context, see Varga (2002: 36). It may express the speaker's reservation (partial agreement, partial disagreement) over his interlocutor's previous remark, which could be for instance that the people mentioned did not treat their guests nicely 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.'

In the rest of this paper we shall concentrate on attitudinally neutral intonation. As we could see in connection with (10), we can set up the following default rule:

(12) *Default Intonation Rule for Declarative Comments*
      In the comment of a simple Hungarian declarative sentence the last accented syllable initiates a Full Fall and any accented syllable other than the last one initiates a Half Fall.

Since the Half Fall does not have an IP boundary at its end, a consequence of applying (12) is that the major constituents of the comment are not in separate IPs. For instance, the comments of (13a, b) will be realised in a single IP, although they consist of five major constituents each. In (13a) these constituents are: Dist (*mindenkit*), PDMA (*udvariasan*), VMod (*fel-*), V (*-küldött*), PostV (*a padlásszobába*), and in (13b) they are: Dist (*mindenkit*), F (*a padlásszobába*), V (*küldött*), PostV (*fel*), PostV (*udvariasan*).

(13) a. [$_{\text{Dist}}$ *Mindenkit*   ][$_{\text{PDMA}}$ *udvariasan*][$_{\text{VMod}}$ *fel-*][$_{\text{V}}$ *-küldött*   ]
           everybody.ACC   politely   up   sent.3SG
           [$_{\text{PostV}}$ *a   padlásszobába*].
                  the   attic.ILL
           'S/he sent everybody up to the attic politely.'
           '*Mindenkit* '*udvariasan* '*felküldött a* *padlásszobába.* |

      b. [$_{\text{Dist}}$ *Mindenkit*   ][$_{\text{F}}$ ***a   padlásszobába***][$_{\text{V}}$ *küldött*   ][$_{\text{PostV}}$ *fel*]
           everybody.ACC   the attic.ILL   sent.3SG   up
           [$_{\text{PostV}}$ *udvariasan*].
                  politely.
           'It was to the attic that s/he sent everybody up politely.'
           '*Mindenkit a* *padlásszobába küldött fel udvariasan.* |

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

(14)   *Upstep Rule within Declarative Comments (Optional)*
       If the comment of a simple Hungarian declarative sentence contains a string XY, where both X and Y are accented PostV constituents, and Y has more than one accent, then there is optional upstep on the first accented syllable of Y.
       Melodic condition: The last accented syllable of X initiates a Half Fall, and the syllable to be upstepped in Y initiates a Half Fall or a Full Fall.

This possibility is illustrated by (15), in which *az ötvenedik évfordulóra* 'for the 50th anniversary' is a PostV constituent with more than one accent, following another PostV constituent *egy énekest* 'a singer.ACC'.

(15)   [$_{\text{VMod}}$ *Meg-*][$_{\text{V}}$ *-hívnak*   ][$_{\text{PostV}}$ *egy énekest*   ][$_{\text{PostV}}$ *az   ötvenedik   évfordulóra.*   ]
            PREF   call.3PL   a   singer.ACC   the fiftieth   anniversary.SUB
       'They are inviting a singer for the 50th anniversary.'
       '*Meghívnak egy* '*énekest az* (↑)'*ötvenedik* *évfordulóra.* | [18]

Finally, in addition to the default intonation rule presented in (12), we need to recognise a special intonation rule for declaratives, (16), which can override (12).

(16)   *Rising Rule for Declarative Comments (Optional)*
       If the comment of a simple Hungarian declarative sentence contains a string XY, where X is a major constituent with more than one accent and Y is a major constituent with at least one accent, then the default Half Fall initiated by the last accented syllable of X can be replaced by a Rise.

This rule is illustrated in (17) and (18). In (17) X is a Dist constituent (*minden muzsikust*), in (18) it is a PostV constituent (*az ötvenedik évfordulóra*).

---

   [18] Round brackets around a symbol indicate optionality of the phenomenon represented by the symbol.

(17)   [_{Dist} *Minden muzsikust*   ][_{VMod} *fel-*][_V *-küldtek*   ][_{PostV} *a padlásszobába*].
         every   musician.ACC   up   sent.3PL   the   attic.ILL
         'They sent every musician up to the attic.'
         ˈ*Minden* ˎˈ*muzsikust* ˈ*felküldtek a* ˎ*padlásszobába.* |
         ˈ*Minden* ˊ*muzsikust* | ˈ*felküldtek a* ˎ*padlásszobába.* |

(18)   [_{VMod} *Meg-*][_V *-hívnak*   ][_{PostV} *az ötvenedik évfordulóra*   ][_{PostV} *egy énekest*   ].
         PREF   call. 3PL   the fiftieth   anniversary.SUB   a   singer.ACC
         'They are inviting a singer for the 50th anniversary.'
         ˈ*Meghívnak az* ˈ*ötvenedik* ˈ*évfordulóra egy* ˎ*énekest.* |
         ˈ*Meghívnak az* ˈ*ötvenedik* ˊ*évfordulóra* | *egy* ˎ*énekest.* |

4.2   The intonation of the comment in positive declarative sentences

4.2.1 *Positions for verbs and verb modifiers*

Now we are ready to discuss the intonation of the major structural positions of declarative comments in detail. The first comment constituent we deal with is the *Verb*. A prototypical broad-focus sentence can consist of an accented verb, see e.g. (19).

(19)   [_V *Dolgozik*].
        works
        'S/he is working.'
        ˎ*Dolgozik.* |

The comment of a broad-focus sentence can have a special position immediately before the Verb: the VMod position, which is the default position for the *Verb Modifier*. Verb Modifiers can be, among others, (a) verbal prefixes, (b) determinerless common nouns, and (c) predicative adjectives, see (20). When the Verb Modifier is in VMod position, it is accented and the Verb is unaccented. When the Verb is a copulative verb in 3rd person (singular or plural), Present Tense, it appears in its zero form, see (20b.iv) and (20c.ii).

(20)   *Verb Modifiers*
      a. *Verbal prefixes:*
         i.   [_{VMod} *Meg-*][_V *-eszi*].   ii.   [_{VMod} *El-*][_V *-megy*].
             PREF   eats   away   goes
             'S/he eats it.'   'S/he goes away.'
             ˎ*Megeszi.* | ˎ*Elmegy.* |
      b. *Determinerless common nouns:*
         i.   [_{VMod} *Autót*][_V *vett*   ].   ii.   [_{VMod} *Moziba*   ][_V *megy*].
             car.ACC   bought.3SG   cinema.ILL   goes
             'S/he bought a car.'   'S/he's going to the cinema.'
             ˎ*Autót vett.* | ˎ*Moziba megy.* |
        iii.   [_{VMod} *Katona*][_V *vagy*   ].   iv.   [_{VMod} *Katona*][_V *Ø*].
              soldier   are.2SG   soldier   is
             'You are a soldier.'   'S/he is a soldier.'
             ˎ*Katona vagy.* | ˎ*Katona.* |

   c. *Predicative adjectives:*
     i. [$_{\text{VMod}}$ *Boldogok*][$_{\text{V}}$ *voltak*].   ii. [$_{\text{VMod}}$ *Boldogok*][$_{\text{V}}$ Ø].
         happy.PL   were.3PL   happy.PL are.3PL
         'They were happy.'   'They are happy.'
         Boldogok voltak. | *Boldogok.* |

One kind of Verb Modifier, viz. *verbal prefixes* which refer to direction (e.g. *be* 'in', *ki* 'out', *fel* 'up', *le* 'down', *össze* 'together', *szét* 'apart', etc.), can be involved in expressing aspectual differences (É. Kiss 2012: 63). When such a verbal prefix is in the VMod position, i.e. immediately before the Verb, it typically expresses perfective aspect: the activity has been completed, see (21).

(21)   [$_{\text{VMod}}$ *Fel-*][$_{\text{V}}$ *-mentek*][$_{\text{PostV}}$ *a   lépcsőn*].
         up   went.3PL   the   stairs.SUP
     'They went up the stairs.'
     '*Felmentek a* *lépcsőn.* |

It can happen, however, that the directional verbal prefix is in PostV position, even though there is no F position, 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 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 (22).

(22)   [$_{\text{V}}$ *Mentek*][$_{\text{PostV}}$ *fel*][$_{\text{PostV}}$ *a   lépcsőn*].
        went.3PL   up   the stairs.SUP
     'They were going up the stairs.'
     '*Mentek* '*fel a* *lépcsőn.* |

Alternatively, the verbal prefix and the other PostV constituents can be unaccented and then the sentence calls for an existential interpretation: 'until a certain point of time the activity described has happened at least once', see (23).

(23)   [$_{\text{V}}$ *Mentek*][$_{\text{PostV}}$ *fel*][$_{\text{PostV}}$ *a   lépcsőn*].
        went.3PL   up   the stairs.SUP
     'It has happened at least once until now that they went up the stairs.'
     Mentek fel a lépcsőn. |

4.2.2 The postverbal position

Postverbal (PostV) constituents are in the PostV position. Normally these are accented if they convey new information (i.e. if they are information foci), and unaccented if they convey given information, but this basic correspondence between new information and accent on the one hand, and between given information and lack of accent on the other, can sometimes be overridden by other considerations. For instance in (22) and (23) above the accentuation of the PostV constituent is aspectually motivated.

In (24) there is one PostV constituent, in (25a, b) there are two. In (25a) we can see the work of the Upstep Rule (14), (25b) shows the effect of the Rising Rule (16). In these examples the PostV constituents convey new information and are consequently accented. If any of the PostV contituents convey given information, they carry no accent, but we do not show these possibilities.

(24)   [_V *Dolgozik*][_{PostV} *a*   *kertben*   ].
        works   the garden.INE
        'S/he is working in the garden.'
        'Dolgozik a ˋkertben. |

(25)   a.   [_{VMod} *Meg-*][_V *-hívnak*][_{PostV} *egy énekest*   ][_{PostV} *az ötvenedik évfordulóra*   ].
            PREF   call.3PL   a singer.ACC   the fiftieth anniversary.SUB
            'They are inviting a singer to the 50th anniversary.'
            'Meghívnak egy 'énekest az ↑'ötvenedik ˋévfordulóra. |
       b.   [_{VMod} *Meg-*][_V *-hívnak*][_{PostV} *az ötvenedik évfordulóra*   ][_{PostV} *egy énekest*   ].
            PREF   call.3PL   the fiftieth anniversary.SUB   a singer.ACC
            'They are inviting a singer to the 50th anniversary.'
            'Meghívnak az 'ötvenedik ´évfordulóra | *egy ˋénekest.* |

4.2.3 The focus position

As an alternative to the VMod position, there can be an F position immediately before the Verb. This accommodates an F constituent, which is an identificational focus, and the sentence containing it is a narrow-focus sentence. Occasionally there can be more than one candidate for the F position but only one of them is actually able to appear there.

     The F constituent typically conveys new information and "expresses exhaustive identification from among a set of alternatives" (É. Kiss 2002: 77). If this set of alternatives is an open set, then the F constituent has a simple identifying function, see the response to the bracketed question in (26a). But if the set of alternatives is closed, the F constituent is not only identifying but also contrastive, see the response to the question in (26b). Since intonationally the responses in (26a) and (26b) are identical, we can only decide which of them contains a contrastive focus if we know the contexts in which they are used.

(26)   a.   (*Hol halt meg Dante?* 'Where did Dante die?')
            [_T *Dante*][_{Com} [_F ***Ravennában***][_V *halt*   ][_{PostV} *meg*   ]].
               Dante   Ravenna.INE   died.3SG   PREF
            'Dante died in Ravenna.'
            Dante ˋRavennában halt meg. |
       b.   (*Dante Firenzében vagy Ravennában halt meg?* 'Did Dante die in Florence or Ravenna?')
            [_T *Dante*][_{Com} [_F ***Ravennában***][_V *halt*   ][_{PostV} *meg*   ]].
               Dante   Ravenna.INE   died.3SG   PREF
            'Dante died in Ravenna.'
            Dante ˋRavennában halt meg. |

     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 be in F position, while the latter will appear in PostV position. This happens in (26a, b), where the prefix *meg*, which in broad-focus sentences occupies the VMod position immediately before the verb, is now a PostV constituent.

     The identificational focus is accented. This accent is a kind of eliminative stress (see Kálmán & Nádasdy 1994: 396), which causes obligatory deaccentuation of the Verb

(even if it conveys new information). Besides, all those PostV constituents that represent given information are normally unaccented, too, while those that represent new information keep their accent. The accent may also be preserved on PostV constituents even when they convey given information, but the speaker is using a special narrative, explanative, complaining style (Kálmán & Nádasdy 1994: 462–463).

From now on, in the narrow-focus examples we shall first show the sentences with unaccented PostV constituents, and then with accented PostV constituents. The former variants are more typical than the latter, but the latter are also possible and in fact quite common.

Members of certain syntactico-semantic categories inherently act as narrow focus and tend to occupy the F position, unless it is occupied by another focussed constituent. The categories which inherently favour the F position in declarative sentences are: *csak-phrases*, e.g. *csak Izabella* 'only Isabella', *csak egyszer* 'only once', see (27)*; negative existential quantifiers*, e.g. *kevés* 'few', *legfeljebb n* 'at most n', see (28)*; negative adverbs of frequency, degree, manner*, e.g. *ritkán* 'rarely', *nehezen* 'with difficulty', *rosszul* 'badly', *hibásan* 'wrongly', see (29).[19, 20]

(27)   [_F **Csak Izabella**] [_V *vette*   ][_{PostV} *meg*][_{PostV} *az újságot*   ].
         only Isabella   bought.3SG   PREF   the newspaper.ACC
       'It was only Isabella who bought the newspaper.'
       Csak ˋIzabella vette meg az újságot.|
       Csak 'Izabella vette (')meg az ˋújságot.|

(28)   [_F **Kevés diák**   ][_V *hozta*   ][_{PostV} *be*][_{PostV} *a könyvet*   ].
         few   student brought.3SG   in   the book.ACC
       'Few students brought in the book.'
       ˋKevés diák hozta be a könyvet.|
       'Kevés diák hozta (')be a ˋkönyvet.|

(29)   [_F **Nehezen**   ][_V *adta*   ][_{PostV} *el*] [_{PostV} *a házat*   ].
         with difficulty   sold.3SG   PREF   the house.ACC
       'S/he sold the house with difficulty.' = 'S/he had difficulty in selling the house.'
       ˋNehezen adta el a házat.|
       'Nehezen adta (')el a ˋházat.|

4.2.4 The distributive position

The kind of structural position which occurs at the beginning of the comment is the optional and repeatable Distributive (Dist) position. This 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', e.g. *Péter is* Peter too', and *még … is* 'even …', *még Péter is* 'even Peter', see (30)–(32). It can

---

[19]   See É. Kiss (2002: 89–93, 106). According to Surányi (2002a: 44–48) the second and third sets of words, viz. *negative existential quantifiers* and *negative adverbs of frequency, degree and manner*, should not be regarded as inherent foci because they occur postverbally after negated verbs, and so the term *default foci* is more appropriate for them. Truly inherent foci, like *csak-phrases*, do not occur after a negated verb.

[20]   The F position is inherently favoured by *wh*-phrases, too, e.g. *ki* 'who', *mi* 'what', *hol* 'where', *melyik város* 'which city', but since these occur in interrogative sentences, we do not deal with them here.

also be filled by *positive universal frequency adverbs* such as *mindig* 'always'; *állandóan* 'constantly', see (31) and (32). While (30) is a broad-focus sentence and so the prefix *meg* 'PREF' appears in VMod position immediately before the V, sentences (31) and (32) have an F constituent in them and so the prefix (*vissza* 'back' or *fel* 'up') is in PostV position. While in (30) there is one Dist constituent, in (31) and (32) there are two. A Dist constituent is normally accented, while the VMod+V combination, the V, and even the F+V combination immediately after the Dist constituent may be accentless when they convey given information, or when the speaker puts special emotional emphasis on the Dist constituent. These variants will not be shown.

(30) [Dist *Mindenkit*][VMod *meg-*][V *-hívtak*].
      everybody.ACC   PREF   called.3PL
    'They invited everybody.'
    'Mindenkit \meghívtak.|

(31) [Dist *Péter is*][Dist *mindig*][F **csak egy könyvet**][V *hoz*][PostV *vissza*].
      Peter also   always   only one book.ACC   brings   back
    'Peter, too, always brings only one book back.'
    'Péter is 'mindig csak \egy könyvet hoz vissza.|
    'Péter is 'mindig csak 'egy könyvet hoz \vissza.|

(32) [Dist *Mindenkit*][Dist *állandóan*][F **a padlásszobába**][V *küldtek*][PostV *fel*].
      everybody.ACC   constantly   the attic.ILL   sent.3PL   up
    'They sent everybody up to the attic constantly.'
    'Mindenkit 'állandóan a \padlásszobába küldtek fel.|
    'Mindenkit 'állandóan a 'padlásszobába küldtek \fel.|

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', and by *positive (but not universal) frequency adverbs* such as *gyakran* 'often', *sűrűn* 'frequently', *sokszor* 'many times', see (33a). As opposed to the previous groups of Dist constituents, these can take not only the Dist position, as shown in (33a), but also the F position, as shown in (33b).

(33) a. [Dist *Mindenkit*][Dist*gyakran*][VMod *meg-*][V *-hívtak*].
        everybody.ACC   often   PREF   called.3PL
        'They often invited everybody.'
        'Mindenkit 'gyakran \meghívtak.|
    b. [Dist *Mindenkit*][F**gyakran**][V *hívtak*][PostV *meg*].
        everybody.ACC   often   called.3PL   PREF
        'Everybody was invited often.'
        'Mindenkit \gyakran hívtak meg.|
        'Mindenkit 'gyakran hívtak \meg.|

An accented Dist constituent occupies the Dist position by default and takes scope over the rest of the comment. However, it can also appear in a PostV position (i.e. as a PostV constituent), while still retaining its accent and its wide scope over the comment. This is known as *Stylistic Postposing* (cf. É. Kiss 2002: 121). So (34) and (35) have the same meaning: 'It is true for all persons that they were invited'.

(34)   [_{Dist} *Mindenkit*   ][_{VMod} *meg-*][_V *-hívtak*   ].
          everybody.ACC   PREF   called.3PL
       'They invited everybody.'
       '*Mindenkit* `\`meghívtak.*|

(35)   [_{VMod} *Meg-*][_V *-hívtak*   ][_{PostV} *mindenkit*   ].
          PREF   called.3PL   everybody.ACC
       'They invited everybody.'
       '*Meghívtak* `\`mindenkit.*|

Similarly, when the sentence has an F constituent, the accented Dist constituent will have wide scope (i.e. scope over the F constituent) not only when it is in the Dist position, as in (36), but also when it is in a PostV position, as in (37). This is why (36) and (37) have identical meanings.

(36)   [_{Dist} *Mindig*][_F **Izabellát**   ][_V *hívják*   ][_{PostV} *be*].
          always   Isabella.ACC   call. 3PL   in
       'It is always Isabella whom they call in.'
       '*Mindig* `\`Izabellát hívják be.*|
        '*Mindig* '*Izabellát hívják* `\`be.*|

(37)   [_F **Izabellát**   ][_V *hívják*   ][_{PostV} *be*][_{PostV} *mindig*].
          Isabella.ACC   call.3PL   in   always
       'It is 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 (38). That is to say, (38) has a different meaning from (36) and (37).[21]

(38)   [_F **Izabellát**   ][_V *hívják*   ][_{PostV} *be*][_{PostV} *mindig*].
          Isabella.ACC   call.3PL   in   always
       'It is Isabella whom they always call in.'
       `\`*Izabellát hívják be mindig.*|

4.2.5 The PDMA position

After the Dist position, the next structural position within the comment that we postulate when discussing Hungarian sentence intonation is the Positive Degree/Manner Adverb (or PDMA) position. This occurs after a Dist constituent (if there is one), and immediately before the VMod, or immediately before the Verb (if there is no VMod constituent), but not before an F constituent. This is the default position for positive degree adverbs and positive manner adverbs. *Positive (universal or non-universal) degree adverbs* are adverbs like *teljesen* 'completely', *egészen* 'totally', *nagyon* 'very much' (and other adverbs when used in a similar sense to *nagyon*, e.g. *rettenetesen* 'terribly', *borzasztóan* 'horribly', *hihetetlenül* 'incredibly', *jól* 'well' = 'very much', *állatira* 'in an animal-like way' = 'very

---

[21] For the difference between accented and unaccented universal quantifiers in PostV position, see Hunyadi (2002: 119).

much'). These typically occur in the PDMA position but never occur in F position, see (39a, b).

(39) a. [$_{Dist}$ *Mindig*][$_{PDMA}$ *nagyon*   ][$_{VMod}$ *el-*][$_V$ *-fárad*   ].
          always   very much   PREF   gets tired
      'S/he always gets very tired.'
       '*Mindig* '*nagyon* `\` *elfárad.*|
    b. *[$_{Dist}$ *Mindig*][$_F$ **nagyon**   ][$_V$ *fárad*   ][$_{PostV}$ *el*   ].
          always   very much   gets tired   PREF
      'S/he always gets very tired.'
      * '*Mindig* `\`*nagyon* *fárad el.*|
      * '*Mindig* '*nagyon* *fárad* `\`*el.*|

     Positive manner adverbs, e.g. *tökéletesen* 'perfectly', *udvariasan* 'politely', *jól* 'well' = 'in a satisfactory manner', *boldogan* 'happily', *gyorsan* 'rapidly', *könnyen* 'easily', *remeküil* 'splendidly', etc. also typically occupy the PDMA position but can occur in F position, too, see (40a, b).

(40) a. [$_{Dist}$ *Mindig*][$_{PDMA}$ *gyorsan*][$_{VMod}$ *fel-*][$_V$ *-kel*   ].
         always   rapidly   up   rises
      'S/he always gets up rapidly.'
      '*Mindig* '*gyorsan* `\` *felkel.*
    b. [$_{Dist}$ *Mindig*][$_F$ **gyorsan**][$_V$ *kel*   ][$_{PostV}$ *fel*].
         always   happily   rises   up
      'It is always with happiness that s/he gets up.'
      '*Mindig* `\`*boldogan* *kel fel.*|
      '*Mindig* '*boldogan* *kel* `\`*fel.*|

     A PDMA constituent is normally accented, while the VMod+V combination or the V immediately after the PDMA constituent may lose their accent if they convey given information or when the speaker wants to emphasise the PDMA constituent for emotional reasons. In (39a) and (40a) the varieties with unaccented parts after the PDMA constituent have not been shown.

4.3   The intonation of comments in negative declarative sentences

Sentences (or rather comments) can be made negative in different ways. Let us start our 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. When there is a Neg position there is no VMod position, and so any VMod constituent will appear in a PostV position, see (41) and (42).

     If there is no F constituent before the preverbal Neg particle, then the Neg particle is accented and the verb after it is unaccented (even when it conveys new information), while the PostV constituents are unaccented when they express given information, and

accented when they are new or when the special narrative style (mentioned in 4.2.3) is being used, see (41).[22]

(41) [$_{Neg}$ *Nem*][$_V$ *olvasták*   ][$_{PostV}$ *el*][$_{PostV}$ *a   levelet*   ].
          not   read.PAST.3PL   PREF   the letter.ACC
       'They didn't read the letter.'
       Nem olvasták el a levelet.|
       '*Nem olvasták (*'*)el a* *levelet.*|

If the preverbal Neg particle is after an F constituent, the Neg particle will be unaccented, just like the verb after it, while the PostV constituents again may be accented or unaccented, see (42).

(42) [$_F$ **A   levelet**   ][$_{Neg}$ *nem*] [$_V$ *olvasták*   ][$_{PostV}$ *el*].
          the letter.ACC   not   read. PAST.3PL   PREF
       'It was 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. The negative particle *nem* is accented, and the F constituent immediately after it can be accented (when conveying new information) or unaccented (when conveying given information), cf. (43).

(43) [$_{Neg}$ *Nem*][$_F$ **a   levelet**   ][$_V$ *olvasták*   ][$_{PostV}$ *el*].
          not   the letter.ACC   read. PAST.3PL   PREF
       'It was not the letter that they read.'
       Nem a levelet olvasták el. |
       '*Nem a levelet olvasták* *el.* |
       '*Nem a* *levelet olvasták el.* |
       '*Nem a* '*levelet olvasták* *el.* |

The negative particle *nem* can also be immediately before a Dist constituent but in this case it is not regarded as being in a separate Neg position. According to É. Kiss (2002: 134-135), it is left-adjoined to the Dist constituent, if there is a separate F constituent, as in (44).

(44) [$_{Dist}$ *Nem mindenki*][$_F$ **a   levelet**][$_V$ *olvasta*   ][$_{PostV}$ *el*].
          not everybody   the letter.ACC   read. PAST.3SG   PREF
       'For not everybody was it the letter that he read.'
       Nem mindenki a levelet olvasta el. |
       '*Nem mindenki a* *levelet olvasta el.* |
       '*Nem mindenki a* '*levelet olvasta* *el.* |

---

[22] The verb, too, can be accented after *nem*, if it is contrasted with another verb, or if the sentence is uttered in the special narrative, explanative, complaining style mentioned in 4.2.3, e.g. (*Nem állhatom őt,*) *mert* '*nem* *dolgozik.* = '(I can't stand him) because he doesn't work'. That the negative particle and the verb can each receive an accent in stylistically marked realizations is noted in Surányi (2002b:114–115) as an argument against taking the two to be merged in a single syntactic head.

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 (45):

(45) [F **Nem mindenki**][V *olvasta*   ][PostV *el*   ][PostV *a   levelet*   ].
         not   everybody read. PAST.3SG   PREF   the letter.ACC
      'Not 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. These are analysed as Dist constituents, with the extra requirement that they should not be directly followed by a VMod constituent.

In a broad-focus sentence the *se-phrase* can immediately precede the pre-verbal verb-negating negative particle, see *senki* 'nobody' in (46). Alternatively, it can stand in PostV position after a negated verb, see *senki* in (47). The latter arrangement is a result of Stylistic Postposing.[23] The meanings of (46) and (47) are identical. The *se-phrase* is accented in both positions. In (46) all constituents following the initial *se-phrase* can be accentless.

(46) [Dist *Senki*   ][Neg *nem*][V *olvasta*   ][PostV *el*] PostV *a   levelet*   ].
         nobody   not   read.PAST.3SG   PREF   the   letter.ACC
      'Nobody read the letter.'
      `'Senki ( ')nem olvasta ( ')el a `\`levelet.` |
      `\`Senki nem olvasta el a levelet.` |

(47) [Neg *Nem*][V *olvasta*   ][PostV *el*][PostV *a   levelet*   ][PostV *senki*].
         not   read.PAST.3SG   PREF   the letter.ACC   nobody
      'Nobody read the letter.'
      `'Nem olvasta ( ')el a ( ')levelet `\`senki.` |

When an F constituent is negated by the negative particle, a *se-phrase* can be before the negative particle, as in (48). As an alternative, the *se-phrase* can be stylistically postposed to PostV position, as in (49). In the latter case the accented *se-phrase* preserves its wide scope over the F constituent. The *se-phrase* is accented in both positions. The meanings of (48) and (49) are identical.

(48) [Dist *Senki*   ][Neg *nem*][F **a   levelet**   ][V *olvasta*   ][PostV *el*   ].
         nobody   not   the letter.ACC   read.PAST.3SG   PREF
      'It was true of nobody that it was the letter that they read.'
      `'Senki ( ')nem a `\`levelet olvasta el.` |
      `'Senki ( ')nem a 'levelet olvasta `\`el.` |

---

[23] Stylistic Postposing was explained in connection with examples (34) and (35) above.

(49) [_Neg *Nem*][_F ***a   levelet***][_V *olvasta*   ][_PostV *el*][_PostV *senki*].
            not   the letter.ACC   read.PAST.3SG   PREF   nobody
      'It was true of nobody that it was the letter that they read.'
      '*Nem a (*'*)levelet olvasta el \senki.* |

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 scope, see (50):

(50) [_F ***A   levelet***][_Neg *nem*][_V *olvasta*   ][_PostV *el*] [_PostV *senki*].
            the letter.ACC   not   read.PAST.3SG   PREF   nobody
      'It was the letter that was not read by anybody.'
      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 a noun phrase (e.g. *Péter sem* 'neither Peter', literally: 'Peter neither'), or to a *se*-phrase (e.g. *senki sem*, literally: 'nobody neither'). The particle *sem* is unaccented.

When the *sem*-phrase appears in a PostV position (i.e. when it is subjected to Stylistic Postposing), the negative particle *nem* is present before the verb, and at least the negative particle *nem* and the *sem*-phrase are accented, see (51). However, when the *sem*-phrase does not undergo Stylistic Postposing, the negative particle *nem* is missing, and only the *sem*-phrase is obligatorily accented, see (52). (51) means the same as (52).

(51) [_Neg *Nem*][_V *olvasta*   ][_PostV *el*][_PostV *a   levelet*   ][_PostV *Péter sem*   ].
            not   read.PAST.3SG   PREF   the letter.ACC   Peter neither
      'Peter didn't read the letter, either.' = 'The letter was not read by Peter, either.'
      '*Nem olvasta (*'*)el a (*'*)levelet \Péter sem.* |

(52) [_Dist *Péter sem*   ][_V *olvasta*   ][_PostV *el*][_PostV *a   levelet*   ].
            Peter neither   read.PAST.3SG   PREF   the letter.ACC
      '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.* |

(53) and (54) exemplify the same regularity, but this time the *sem*-phrase is *senki sem*. In (53) this phrase is stylistically postposed and the verb is negated. In (54) the *sem*-phrase is not postposed and the verb is not negated. (53) and (54) have the same meaning.

(53) [_Neg *Nem*][_V *olvasta*   ][_PostV *el*][_PostV *a   levelet*   ][_PostV *senki   sem*   ].
            not   read.PAST.3SG   PREF   the letter.ACC   nobody neither
      'Nobody read the letter.' = 'The letter was not read by anybody, either.'
      '*Nem olvasta (*'*)el a (*'*)levelet \senki sem.* |

(54) [_Dist *Senki   sem*   ][_V *olvasta*   ][_PostV *el*][_PostV *a   levelet*   ].
            nobody neither   read.PAST.3SG   PREF   the letter.ACC
      'Nobody read the letter.' = 'The letter was not read by anybody, either.'
      \Senki sem olvasta el a levelet. |
      '*Senki sem olvasta (*'*)el a \levelet.* |

5 The intonation of topics in simple Hungarian declarative sentences

5.1 General intonation rules for topics in Hungarian declaratives

After examining the intonation of the major constituents in the comment, we shall now turn to the intonation of Topic (T) constituents in simple Hungarian declarative sentences. We shall first present the general intonational rules which can characterise any kind of topic, including non-contrastive (see 5.2) and contrastive topics (see 5.3), irrespective of whether the topic is directly followed by the comment or another topic.

The default rule for topic intonation, which can be used in any kind of Hungarian sentence (not only in declaratives), is (55).

(55) *Default Intonation Rule for Declarative Topics*
Any accented syllable within any T constituent can take the Half Fall.

Since a Half Fall is scalar and does not have an IP-boundary at its end, the result of applying (55) is that a topic does not constitute a separate IP but forms an IP with the next constituent (i.e. another topic or the initial constituent of the comment). In this case some separation between a topic and the next constituent can still be achieved by establishing upstep on the first accent of the next constituent. This is the job of the post-topic upstep rule, given in (56).

(56) *Post-Topic Upstep Rules for Declaratives (Optional)*
A: If a simple Hungarian declarative sentence contains a string XY, where X is an accented T constituent, and Y is a T constituent with more than one accent, then there is optional upstep on the first accented syllable of Y.
B: If a simple Hungarian declarative sentence contains a string XY, where X is an accented T constituent, and Y is (a) a Dist constituent, or (b) an F constituent, then there is optional upstep on the first (or, in the case of an F constituent, on the specially highlighted) accented syllable of Y.
Melodic condition: The last accented syllable of X initiates a Half Fall, and the syllable to be upstepped in Y initiates a Half Fall or a Full Fall.

In addition to (55) and (56), we need to recognise an optional rising rule for topics in declaratives, (57).

(57) *Rising Rule for Declarative Topics (Optional)*
If, in a simple Hungarian declarative sentence, a T constituent has more than one accented syllable, then the default Half Fall initiated by the last accented syllable of this constituent can be replaced by a Rise.[24]

---

[24] As has been pointed out in 2.2, the Rise can always be replaced by a High Monotone (and the High Monotone by a Descent), causing only an attitudinal change.

The results of applying rules (56) and (57) are illustrated in (58) and (59). In (58) the upsteppable post-topic constituent is a second topic, with more than one accent: *a Balaton hőmérséklete* 'the temperature of Lake Balaton', and so the post-topic upstep rule (56A) can be applied to it. In addition, the intonational solution in (58.ii) shows the effect of the rising rule (57). In (59a) the topic is followed by a Dist constituent *mindenkit* 'everybody.ACC', and in (59b) it is followed by an F constituent *a padlásszobába* 'to the attic', and so the post-topic upstep rule (56B) can be applied in both (59a) and (59b).

(58)   [ₜ*Júniusban*][ₜ *a   Balaton   hőmérséklete*   ][Com [ᵥ *emelkedik*]].
        June.INE   the Balaton   temperature.3SG.POSS   increases
        'In June the temperature of Lake Balaton increases.'
        i. '*Júniusban a (↑)'Balaton 'hőmérséklete `emelkedik.* |
        ii. '*Júniusban a (↑)'Balaton ⁄hőmérséklete* | `emelkedik.* |

(59)   a.   [ₜ *Izabella*][Com[Dist *mindenkit*   ][PDMA *udvariasan*][VMod*fel-*] [ᵥ *-küldött*]
            Isabella   everybody.ACC   politely   up   sent.3SG
            [PostV *a   padlásszobába*]].
                  the   attic.ILL
            'Isabella sent everybody up to the attic politely.'
            '*Izabella (↑)'mindenkit 'udvariasan 'felküldött a `padlásszobába.* |
        b.   [ₜ *Izabella*][Com[ᵥ **a padlásszobába**][ᵥ *küldött*][PostV fel] [Dist *mindenkit*   ]].
            Isabella   the attic.ILL   sent.3SG   up   everybody.ACC
            'It was to the attic that Isabella sent everybody up.'
            '*Izabella a (↑)`padlásszobába küldött fel mindenkit.* |

When there are two or more monoaccentual T constituents next to one another, the speaker may optionally merge them into one big T constituent with more than one accent, and apply rule (57) to it. This possibility is illustrated in (60a.i.) and (60b.i.), whereas (60a.ii.) and (60b.ii.) show the default solution.

(60)   a.   [ₜ*A   gyerekek*][ₜ *a   szünetet*   ][Com [ᵥ *a   nagymamánál*][ᵥ *töltötték*]].
            the children   the holiday.ACC   the grandma.ADE spent.3PL
            'The children spent the holidays with Grandma.'
            i. *A 'gyerekek a ⁄szünetet* | *a `nagymamánál töltötték.* |
            ii. *A 'gyerekek a 'szünetet a `nagymamánál töltötték.* |
        b.   [ₜ*A   szünetet*   ][ₜa   *gyerekek*] [Com [ᵥ *a   nagymamánál*][ᵥ *töltötték*]].
            the holiday.ACC   the children   the grandma.ADE spent.3PL
            'The children spent the holidays with Grandma.'
            i. *A 'szünetet a ⁄gyerekek* | *a `nagymamánál töltötték.* |
            ii. *A 'szünetet a 'gyerekek a `nagymamánál töltötték.* |

5.2 The intonation of non-contrastive topics in Hungarian declaratives

5.2.1 *Non-contrastive topics*

According to É. Kiss (2002: 8–11), non-contrastive topics (a) are noun phrases or postpositional phrases[25] which refer to specific definite individuals, e.g. *Éva férje* 'Eve's husband' in (61a), or specific indefinite individuals, e.g. *egy ismerősöm* 'an acquaintance of mine' in (61b), or generic kinds, e.g. *egy kisgyerek* 'a small child' in (61c), and these individuals or kinds are known, or at least assumed to exist, by the speaker and hearer.

(61) a. [T *Éva férje*   ][Com *nyugdíjba   ment   *].
          Eve husband.3SG.POSS   pension.ILL went.3SG
          'Eve's husband has retired.'

     b. [T *Egy ismerősöm*   ][Com *kivándorolt   *].
          an acquaintance.1SG.POSS   emigrated.3SG
          'An acquaintance of mine has emigrated.'

     c. [T *Egy kisgyerek*   ][Com *könnyen sír   *].
          a   small.child   easily   cries
          'A small child cries easily.'

5.2.2 *Intonation of non-contrastive given (= NCG) topics in declarative sentences*

When the non-contrastive topic refers to an individual or kind that has already been mentioned or alluded to in the discourse, or identified by the situation, we shall call it Non-Contrastive Given (= NCG) topic. NCG topics need a special intonation rule, (62).

(62) *Special Intonation Rule for Non-Contrastive Given (= NCG) Topics in Declaratives*
      If a simple Hungarian declarative sentence contains an NCG topic, then, regardless of whether the NCG topic has one or more than one potentially accentable syllable,
      (i) it can be accentless,
      (ii) or it can have a Rise on its last accent.

     If (61a) and (61c) above are used as responses to the bracketed questions in (63) and (64), then their topics (*Éva férje* 'Eve's husband' and *egy kisgyerek* 'a small child') are NCG topics. The examples marked (i) contain accentless topics, those marked (ii) have a Rise on the last accent of their topics, those marked (iii) have topics with the default intonation.

(63) (*Mit tudsz Éva férjéről?* 'What do you know about Eve's husband?')
      [T *Éva férje*   ][Com *nyugdíjba   ment   *].
        Eve husband.3SG.POSS   pension.ILL went.3SG
      'Eve's husband has retired.'
      i. *Éva férje* `\nyugdíjba ment.` |
      ii. '*Éva* ´*férje* | `\nyugdíjba ment.` |
      iii. '*Éva* '*férje* `\nyugdíjba ment.` |

(64)   (*Miért sír Tomi állandóan?* 'Why is Tommy always crying?')
    [T *Egy kisgyerek*   ][Com *könnyen sír*].[26]
      a   small.child   easily   cries
    'A small child cries easily.'
     i. *Egy kisgyerek* `\`könnyen sír.* |
     ii. *Egy* `/`*kisgyerek* | `\`*könnyen sír.* |
     iii. *Egy* '*kisgyerek* `\`*könnyen sír.* |

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 (65), normally carry given information (i.e. are NCG topics), and are accentless.

(65)   [T *Ezt*   ][T *én*][Com *sohasem mondtam*].
     this.ACC   I   never   said.1SG
    'This I never said.'
    Ezt én `\`*sohasem mondtam.* |

5.2.3 Intonation of non-contrastive new (= NCN) topics in declarative sentences

Non-Contrastive New (= NCN) topics are topics which, though referring to individuals that are known or assumed by the speaker and hearer to exist, convey new information, because they are mentioned for the first time in a particular discourse and are not identified by the situation.

NCN topics require no special intonation rule, their intonational realisations will be provided by the general rules given in (55)–(57).

Let us consider (61b) again, which we repeat here for the reader's convenience as (66). Let us furthermore suppose that it is the first sentence of a conversation, or that it is an answer to the question *Mi újság?* 'What's new?', or that it is a sentence which has been introduced by *Találd ki, mi történt!* 'Guess what's happened.' In these circumstances sentence (66) conveys new information all along, and its topic (*egy ismerősöm* 'an acquaintance of mine') is also new: it is an NCN topic. Rules (56A, B) are inapplicable, because what follows the topic is not another topic with more than one accent, and neither is it a Dist constituent or an F constituent. But Rule (57) is also inapplicable because the T constituent here has only one accent. So only the default intonation rule (55) is available.

(66)   [T *Egy ismerősöm*   ][Com *kivándorolt*   ].
     an acquaintance.1SG.POSS   emigrated.3SG
    'An acquaintance of mine has emigrated.'
    Egy '*ismerősöm* `\`*kivándorolt.* |

In another example, (67), when it is uttered in similar circumstances to (66), the NCN topic (*Ferdinánd egyik fia* 'one of Ferdinand's sons') has more than one accent. The example marked (i) displays the effect of rule (57), while that marked (ii) has the default intonation.

---

[26] In (64) the phrase *egy kisgyerek* 'a small child' has not been uttered in the previous discourse, it still counts as given information in this situation because little Tommy is known to be a small child.

(67) [_T *Ferdinánd   egyik   fia*   ][_{Com} *kivándorolt*   ].
      Ferdinand one   son.3SG.POSS   emigrated.3SG
      'One of Ferdinand's sons has emigrated.'
      i. '*Ferdinánd* (')*egyik* ⁄*fia* |ˋ*kivándorolt.* |
      ii. '*Ferdinánd* (')*egyik* '*fia* ˋ*kivándorolt.* |

5.3   The intonation of contrastive topics in Hungarian declaratives

A contrastive topic is contrasted with the corresponding topic (and the following comment is contrasted with the corresponding comment) of a parallel sentence, which need not be explicitly present. It is irrelevant whether a contrastive topic is given or new in the discourse. The special intonation rule that can affect contrastive topics is (68).

(68) *Special Intonation Rule for Contrastive Topics in Declaratives*
      In a simple Hungarian declarative sentence, a contrastive topic can have a Rise on its last accent, regardless of whether it has one or more than one accented syllable.

Noun phrases or postpositional phrases, which – as we have seen in 5.2.1 – can be non-contrastive topics, often occur as contrastive topics, see (69) and (70). In these the bracketed sentences provide the contexts, and the unbracketed sentences have the contrastive topics *Monika* 'Monica' and *Monika barátja* 'Monica's friend', respectively. Examples marked (i) show the effect of rule (68), those marked (ii) are the default solutions.

(69) (*Izabella utálja   a   káposztát.*   ) *De* [_T *Monika*][_{Com} *szereti*].
       Isabella hates   the   cabbage.ACC   but   Monica   loves
      '(Isabella hates cabbage.) But Monica loves it.'
      i. (*Izabella utálja a káposztát.*) *De* ⁄*Monika* |ˋ*szereti.* |
      ii. (*Izabella utálja a káposztát.*) *De* '*Monika* ˋ*szereti.* |

(70) (*Izabella utálja   a   káposztát.*   ) *De* [_T *Monika barátja*   ][_{Com} *szereti*].
       Isabella hates   the   cabbage.ACC   but   Monica friend.3SG.POSS   loves
      '(Isabella hates cabbage.) But Monica's friend loves it.'
      i. (*Izabella utálja a káposztát.*) *De* '*Monika* ⁄*barátja* |ˋ*szereti.* |
      ii. (*Izabella utálja a káposztát.*) *De* '*Monika* '*barátja* ˋ*szereti.* |

In addition, contrastive topics can also be non-specific phrases containing determinerless common nouns (71), predicative adjectives (72), adverbs (e.g. verbal prefixes) (73), and even quantifiers (74), cf. É. Kiss, et al. (1998: 24–25), É. Kiss (2002: 22–25).[27] Again, examples marked (i) show the effect of Rule (68), while those marked (ii) show the default solutions.

---

[27] Further works on Hungarian contrastive topics include Gyuris & Mády (2014).

(71)   [ᴛ *Ceruzával*][Com *tudok   rajzolni*]. (*Szénnel   nem.*)
          pencil.INS   can.1SG draw.INF   charcoal.INS not
        'With a pencil, I can draw. (With charcoal, I cannot.)'
        i. ⌐*Ceruzával*|*tudok rajzolni.* | (*Szénnel nem.*)
        ii. '*Ceruzával* *tudok rajzolni.* | (*Szénnel nem.*)

(72)   [ᴛ *Gyönyörű*][Com *nem vagyok*]. (*De gazdag igen.*)
          beautiful   not am   but rich   yes
        'Beautiful, I am not. (But rich, I am.)'
        i. ⌐*Gyönyörű* |*nem vagyok.* | (*De gazdag igen.*)
        ii. '*Gyönyörű* *nem vagyok.* | (*De gazdag igen.*)

(73)   [ᴛ *Fel*][Com *taxival   megyek*]. (*Le   gyalog.*)
          up   taxi.INS go.1SG   down on.foot
        'Up, I go by taxi. (Down, I go on foot.)'
        i. ⌐*Fel* |*taxival megyek.* | (*Le gyalog.*)
        ii. '*Fel* *taxival megyek.* | (*Le gyalog.*)

(74)   [ᴛ *Mindenkit   *][Com *nem hívtam   meg*]. (*De   a   nyelvészeket   igen.*)
          everybody.ACC   not called.1SG PREF   but the linguists.ACC yes
        'Everybody, I did not invite. (But the linguists, I did.)'
        i. ⌐*Mindenkit* |*nem hívtam meg.* | (*De a nyelvészeket igen.*)
        ii. '*Mindenkit* *nem hívtam meg.* | (*De a nyelvészeket igen.*)

     When personal pronouns are used as contrastive topics, (i) they can be accentless,
or (ii) they can receive accent and have a rising terminal contour, or (iii) they can receive
accent and have a Half Fall (the default solution), see (75).

(75)   (*Izabella utálja a   káposztát.   ) De* [ᴛ *mi*][Com *szeretjük*].
          Isabella hates the cabbage.ACC but   we   love.1PL
        '(Isabella hates cabbage.) But we love it.'
        i. (*Izabella utálja a káposztát.*) *De mi* *szeretjük.* |
        ii. (*Izabella utálja a káposztát.*) *De* ⌐*mi* |*szeretjük.* |
        iii. (*Izabella utálja a káposztát.*) *De* '*mi* *szeretjük.* |

     As a summary of Section 5, we can say that in a declarative sentence, i.e. in a
sentence whose comment ends in a Full Fall, all the accents in all the topic constituents
can initiate a Half Fall. In addition, accented topics in such a sentence can take a Rise in
cases recapitulated in (76).

(76)   *Topics with a Rise in Declarative Sentences (Summary)*
        If a simple Hungarian declarative sentence contains a string XY, where X is a T
        constituent and Y is either another T constituent or a comment constituent,
        then X can have a rising terminal contour on its last accent
        (a) if X is contrastive, regardless of whether X has one or more than one
        accented syllable,
        (b) if X conveys non-contrastive given information, regardless of whether X has
        one or more than one accented syllable,

(c) if X conveys non-contrastive new information and contains more than one accent

6 Conclusion

In this paper we first described the essential concepts and features of the intonation of simple declarative sentences in Hungarian. We concentrated on those aspects of intonation that are grammatically and informationally significant and treated attitudinal intonation only sparingly. We also offered graphic symbols whereby the intonational facts of Hungarian declarative sentences can be transcribed and which we have actually used in the rest of the paper to show the intonation of example sentences.

We presented the Topic–Comment dichotomy of the Hungarian sentence, and distinguished narrow-focus sentences (sentences with an F position) and broad-focus sentences (sentences with no F position).

Then we offered a detailed description of the intonational peculiarities of comments in positive and negative simple Hungarian declarative sentences. First we set up some general intonational rules, such as the Default Intonation Rule for Declarative Comments (12), the Upstep Rule within Declarative Comments (14), and the Rising Rule for Declarative Comments (16). Then we went on to discuss the intonational features of each of the structural positions within the comment.

After this, a detailed analysis of topic intonation in simple Hungarian declarative sentences followed. This began with establishing the Default Intonation Rule for Declarative Topics (55), the Post-Topic Upstep Rules for Declaratives (56A, B), and the Rising Rule for Declarative Topics (57), and continued with a discussion of the intonation of non-contrastive given (NCG), non-contrastive new (NCN), and contrastive topics.

Certain rules that have been suggested separately for comments and topics can now be conflated. We propose that Rules (12) and (55) be combined into (77):

(77) *Default Intonation Rule for Hungarian Declarative Sentences*
In a simple Hungarian declarative sentence the last accented syllable of the comment initiates a Full Fall, and all other accented syllables in the comment and in the topic(s) can initiate a Half Fall.

Similarly, Rules (14) and (56) can be conflated into (78):

(78) *Combined Upstep Rules for Hungarian Declarative Sentences (Optional)*
A: If a simple Hungarian declarative sentence contains a string XY, where both X and Y are accented T constituents or accented PostV constituents, and Y has more than one accent, then there is optional upstep on the first accented syllable of Y.
B: If a simple Hungarian declarative sentence contains a string XY, where X is an accented T constituent and Y is (a) a Dist constituent, or (b) an F constituent, then there is optional upstep on the first (or in the case of Y being an F constituent, on the specially highlighted) accented syllable of Y.
Melodic condition: The last accented syllable of X initiates a Half Fall, and the syllable to be upstepped in Y initiates a Half Fall or a Full Fall.

Finally, Rules (16) and (57) can be combined into (79):

(79)   *Rising Rule for Hungarian Declarative Sentences (Optional)*
       If a simple Hungarian declarative sentence contains a string XY, where X is a
       constituent with more than one accented syllable, and Y is some accented part
       of the sentence, then the last accented syllable of X can initiate a Rise (instead
       of the default Half Fall).

The intonational solutions generated by our rules are well-formed but they do not
cover many of the attitudinal variations. At the same time, some statements in this paper
are valid not only for declarative sentences but also for some other sentence types, which
are not discussed here. For instance, there is remarkable similarity between the intonation
of declaratives, and the intonation of imperatives and ordinary *wh*-interrogatives.
However, there are also sentence types whose intonation differs strongly from that of
declaratives, the most conspicuous example being the intonation of ordinary yes-no
interrogatives. Many aspects of non-declarative intonation have been examined in
Hungarian linguistics and some analyses are available in English, too (e.g. Varga 1983,
2002, Gósy & Tekken 1994, Fónagy 1998, Grice et al. 2000, Olaszy 2002, Mycock 2010,
Gyuris & Mády 2013), but a detailed review and discussion of the intonation of non-
declarative sentence types is left for future work.

References

Beckman, Mary E., Hirschberg, Julia & Shattock-Hufnagel, Stefanie. 2005. The original ToBI system
        and the evolution of the ToBI framework. In Jun, Sun-Ah (ed.), *Prosodic Typology. The phonology
        of intonation and phrasing.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 9–54.
É. Kiss, Katalin. 1987. *Configurationality in Hungarian.* Dordrecht: Reidel & Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
É. Kiss, Katalin. 1998. Identificational focus versus information focus. *Language* 74. 245–273.
É. Kiss, Katalin. 2002. *The Syntax of Hungarian.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
É. Kiss, Katalin, Kiefer, Ferenc & Siptár, Péter. 1998. *Új magyar nyelvtan.* [= New Hungarian
        Grammar.] Budapest: Osiris Kiadó.
Fónagy, Iván. 1998. Intonation in Hungarian. In Hirst, D. & Di Cristo, A. (eds.), *Intonation Systems: A
        Survey of Twenty Languages.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 328–344.
Genzel, Susanne, Ishihara, Shinichiro & Surányi, Balázs. 2015. The prosodic expression of focus,
        contrast and givenness: A production study of Hungarian. *Lingua* 165. 183–204.
Gósy, Mária & Tekken, Jaques. 1994. Question marking in Hungarian: timing and height of pitch
        peaks. *Journal of Phonetics* 22. 269–281.
Grice, Martine, Ladd, D. Robert & Arvaniti, Amalia. 2000. On the place of phrase accents in
        intonational phonology. *Phonology* 17. 143–185.
Gyuris, Beáta & Mády, Katalin. 2013. Approaching the prosody of Hungarian wh-exclamatives. In
        Szigetvári, P. (ed.), *VLLXX: Papers Presented to László Varga on his 70th Birthday.* Budapest: Tinta
        Könyvkiadó. 333–349.
Gyuris, Beáta & Mády, Katalin. 2014. Contrastive topics between syntax and pragmatics in Hungarian:
        an experimental analysis. *Proceedings from the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society 46.* 147–
        162.
Hunyadi, László. 2002. *Hungarian Sentence Prosody and Universal Grammar.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter
        Lang.
Kálmán, László & Nádasdy, Ádám. 1994. A hangsúly. [= Stress.] In Kiefer, F. (ed.), *Strukturális magyar
        nyelvtan, vol. 2. Fonológia.* [= A Structural Grammar of Hungarian, Vol. 2: Phonology.] Budapest:
        Akadémiai Kiadó. 393–467.

Kenesei, István & Vogel, Irene. 1989. Prosodic phonology in Hungarian. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 39. 149–193.

Kenesei, István & Vogel, Irene. 1998. A fókusz fonológiai szerkezete. [= The phonological structure of focus.] *Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok* XIX. 79–119.

Kornai, András & Kálmán, László. 1988. Hungarian sentence intonation. In van der Hulst, H. & Smith, N. (eds.), *Autosegmental Studies in Pitch Accent*. Dordrect: Foris. 183–195.

Mády, Katalin & Kleber, Felicitas. 2010. Variation of pitch accent patterns in Hungarian. In *5th Speech Prosody Conference*. Chicago, 924–927. Available at:
http://speechprosody2010.illinois.edu/papers/100924.pdf.

Mycock, Louise. 2010. Multiple-clause constituent questions: intonation and variation in Hungarian. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 57. 268–287.

Olaszy, Gábor. 2002. The most important prosodic patterns of Hungarian. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 49. 277–306.

Radford, Andrew, Atkinson, Martin, Britain, David, Clahsen, Harald & Spencer, Andrew. 2009. *Linguistics. An Introduction*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosenthall, Sam. 1992. The Intonation of Simple Sentences in Hungarian. In Laurel Smith, S., et al. (eds.) *Papers from the Third Annual Meeting of the Formal Linguistics Society of Midamerica*. Bloomington, Indiana: UILS. 297–310.

Sneed, Elisa. 2004. Structural focus and prosodic focus in Hungarian. *Proceedings from the Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society 40*. 381–395.

Surányi, Balázs. 2002a. *Multiple Operator Movements in Hungarian*. Utrecht: LOT.

Surányi, Balázs. 2002b. Negation and the negativity of n-words in Hungarian. In Kenesei I. & Siptár, P. (eds.) *Approaches to Hungarian Vol. 8*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 107–132.

Surányi, Balázs, Ishihara, Shinichiro & Schubö, Fabian. 2012. Syntax–prosody mapping, topic-comment structure and stress-focus correspondence in Hungarian. In Elordieta, G. & Prieto, P. (eds.), *Prosody and Meaning (Interface Explorations 25)*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. 35–71.

Szendrői, Kriszta. 2003. A stress-based approach to the syntax of Hungarian focus. *The Linguistic Review* 20. 37–78.

Tench, Paul. 1996. *The Intonation Systems of English*. London: Cassell.

Varga, László. 1983. Hungarian sentence prosody: an outline. *Folia Linguistica* 17. 117–151.

Varga, László. 2002. *Stress and Intonation: Evidence from Hungarian*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Varga, László. 2008. The calling contour in Hungarian and English. *Phonology* 25. 469–497.

Varga, László. 2010. Boundary tones and the lack of intermediate phrase in Hungarian. *The Even Yearbook* 9. 1–27. Available at: http://seas3.elte.hu/delg/publications/even.

Warren, Paul. 2016. *Uptalk: The Phenomenon of Rising Intonation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wells, John. C. 2006. *English Intonation: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

László Varga
Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary
laszlovarga44@gmail.com