

Mood in Hungarian

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Abstract

The paper builds on Dik (1997) and Hengeveld (2004), who treat mood as the form or expression of a semantic area covering illocution and parts of modality. It also builds on a typological approach of illocution, implicational relations which hold between different kinds of illocution, and the way illocutions may be modified (Hengeveld et al. forthcoming). Data from Hungarian and their interpretations (key reference: Kenesei et al. 1998) is confronted with these approaches. This leads to a systematic and typologically adequate description of mood in Hungarian. The discussions reveal that Hungarian distinguishes three moods, Indicative, Subjunctive, and Conditional, and three basic illocutions: Declarative, Interrogative and Behavioural. Furthermore, factuality plays a role in the distribution of the Subjunctive mood.

1. Introduction

The term mood is used in language descriptions for the morphological category that covers the grammatical reflections of a large semantic area. This area can be subdivided into two smaller ones: the first concerns the area of illocution, the second the area of modality. This subdivision is warranted on semantic grounds: the category of illocution is concerned with identifying sentences as instances of specific types of speech act, whereas the category of modality is concerned with the modification of the content of speech acts. Apart from these semantic differences, there are also formal reasons to distinguish between the two areas. In the expression of illocution the morphological category of mood has to compete with word order and intonation as markers of particular sub-distinctions, whereas modality is expressed by mood markers only.¹ A fourth parameter relevant to the discussion of mood in Hungarian is that of Factuality, i.e. the quality of the communicated content being actual (opposed to virtual) or based on fact. I will argue in this paper that the relations between the four parameters Mood, Illocution, Modality, and Factuality are the following:

Figure 1: The parameters defining 'Mood' in Hungarian

Mood	Indicative		Subjunctive	Conditional
Illocution	Declarative	Interrogative	Behavioural	
Modality				Condition
Factuality	Factual		Non-factual	

¹ This distinction is from Dik (1997: 241) and Hengeveld (2004).

2. General information about Hungarian

Hungarian (Uralic, Finno-Ugric) is spoken by about 10.2 million people in Hungary and about 12.7 million in the Carpathian Basin. Hungarian is also found as a minority language throughout most of Western and East Central Europe, as well as in North America, South America, Australia, South Africa, and Israel.² This study is based on Hungarian spoken inside Hungary.³

Hungarian is generally classified as an SOV language. The adjective and the genitive precede the noun (A-N Gen-N), and the language has postpositions. Constituent order in Hungarian is, however, relatively free. All 24 permutations of, for instance, a clause consisting of a Verb, Subject, Object, and Indirect Object or some other constituent yield grammatical utterances. The pragmatic context in which these clauses are used dictates part of the order of constituents. Clauses generally have the constituent specifying the pragmatic function of topic in initial position, followed by the element with the function of focus, and then the verb. Schematically:

- (1) Topic, Focus, Verb, other elements

Morphologically, Hungarian can be characterized as an agglutinative language (with vowel harmony). It has a rich case system of about 17 cases and synthetic forms for various verbal and nominal categories. There is almost a one-to-one relation between lexical and grammatical elements and the morphemes in a word. Derivational morphemes immediately follow the stem; inflectional (aspectual) morphemes may precede the stem, and all other inflectional morphemes follow the stem or the derivational morphemes. Schematically:

- (2) ASP-stem-DER-INFL

3. The verbal categories⁴

Verbal agreement. In Hungarian there is agreement between the Verb and the Subject (person and number) and the Object (definiteness). The different types of agreement are fused into one suffix, i.e. they do not correspond to distinct morphemes. The suffix *-ok* in (3a) corresponds to the first person singular subject and the indefinite object (a newspaper), whereas the suffix *-om* in (3b) corresponds to the first person singular subject and the definite object (the newspaper).⁵ There is one exception in the paradigm, i.e. there is a suffix which marks a first person singular subject together with a second person (singular or plural) object as in (3c).

- (3) a. *Újság-ot* *olvas-ok.*
Newspaper-ACC read-1SG.INDEF
'I read a newspaper.'

² I refer to Fenyvesi ed. (2005) for references about the distribution of Hungarian speakers around the world and grammatical variation between Hungarian spoken inside Hungary and Hungarian spoken outside Hungary.

³ See Kenesei, Vago & Fenyvesi (1998) for a comprehensive description of the Hungarian language.

⁴ I refer to Törkenczy (1997) for a detailed morpho-phonological description of the Hungarian verbal system. The description also includes vowel harmony (the set of vowels per affix available from which a choice is made) and various kinds of assimilation. An example of all forms of a verb is given in Appendix 1.

⁵ There is a massive amount of literature on the (in)definiteness conjugations in Hungarian. For a comprehensive discussion of the distribution of the two conjugations, I refer to De Groot (forthcoming).

- b. *Az újság-ot olvas-om.*
 The newspaper-ACC read-1SG.DEF
 'I read the newspaper.'
- c. *Lát-lak.*
 See-1SG.subj.2SG/PL.obj
 'I see you.'

Tense. Hungarian distinguishes between three tenses: Present, Past, and Future. Present and Past are marked on the verb (zero marking and overt marking, respectively), whereas Future takes a periphrastic form with the auxiliary element *fog*.⁶

- (4) a. Present
Pali javít-Ø-ja az öreg órá-t.
 Paul repair-PRES.3SG.DEF the old clock-ACC
 'Paul repairs the old clock.'
- b. Past
Pali javít-ott-a az öreg órá-t.
 Paul repair-PAST.3SG.DEF the old clock-ACC
 'Paul repaired the old clock.'
- c. Future
Pali javít-ani fog-ja az öreg órá-t.
 Paul repair-INF FUT.3SG.DEF the old clock-ACC
 'Paul will be repairing the old clock.'

Aspect. Hungarian distinguishes between Imperfective and Perfective aspect.⁷ When Imperfective aspect is used, reference can be made to a point in time within the temporal structure of the event. This is not possible when the Perfective aspect applies. For that reason, example (5a) but not (5b) and (5c) combines with a phrase of the type *When I called, ...*, because such a phrase specifies a point of time. The Imperfective form of a verb is zero marked, whereas the Perfective takes a morpheme which either attaches to the verb as a prefix or follows the verb as a free morpheme. The position of the perfective morpheme depends on the focus of the clause. When there is no emphatic focus as in (5b), the morpheme occurs as a prefix to the verbal stem. When there is an emphatic focus as in (5c), the morpheme takes the position following the verb.

- (5) a. *Pali Ø-javította az öreg órá-t.*
 Paul IPFV-he_repaired the old clock-ACC
 'Paul repaired the old clock.'
- b. *Pali meg-javította az öreg órá-t.*
 Paul PFV-he_repaired the old clock-ACC
 'Paul repaired the old clock.'
- c. *Pali az öreg órá-t javította meg.*
 Paul the old clock-ACC he_repaired PFV
 'Paul repaired THE OLD CLOCK.'

Progressive aspect arises in Hungarian when primary sentence stress (indicated by ') is assigned to the verb. In those cases where the verb selects a prefix, this element will be placed after the verb similar to the construction in (5c).

⁶ See Csató (1994) for a description of Tense and Actionality in Hungarian.

⁷ In the sense of Comrie (1976).

- (6) *Mari 'szállt le a villamos-ról, amikor láttam.*
 Mary stepped down the tram-ABL when I.saw.her
 'Mary was getting off the tram, when I saw her.'

In the examples used in this paper, I will treat Imperfective Aspect, Present Tense, and Indefinite Conjugation as default, i.e. I will not gloss these categories in the examples.

4. Mood: basic illocutions

The basic illocution of a sentence can be defined as the conversational use conventionally associated with the formal properties of that sentence (cf. Sadock & Zwicky 1985:155), which together constitute a sentence type.⁸ By their very nature, basic illocutions are restricted to independent sentences and quotations. The most frequently attested basic illocutions in languages of the world are Declarative, Interrogative and Imperative (Sadock & Zwicky 1985). The declarative sentence in (7) is conventionally associated with an assertion, the interrogative in (8) with a question, and the imperative in (9) with a command. Grammars of Hungarian generally recognize these three types of illocution. I will, however, show that Hungarian does not distinguish a separate illocution of Imperative, but rather a more general illocution of Behavioural. The three illocutions in Hungarian – if the interrogative is a yes-no question – are marked in a different prosodic way, i.e. each illocution combines with a unique intonation contour of the clause. Interrogatives which contain a question word have the same intonation as declaratives. In addition, the Behavioural is always marked by means of the affix *-j* or alternative forms.⁹

- (7) Declarative
A lányok filmet láttak.
 the girls film.ACC they.saw
 'The girls saw a movie.'
- (8) Interrogative
Hódmezővásárhely Magyarországon fekszik?
 Hódmezővásárhely Hungary.in lies
 'Is Hódmezővásárhely situated in Hungary?'
- (9) Behavioural
Men-j-etek haza!
 Go-SBJV-2PLhome
 'Go home!'

Apart from these most frequently attested basic illocutions there are several others that occur with some frequency (cf. Sadock & Zwicky 1985). Among these are, for instance, Prohibitive, Hortative, and Optative, conventionally associated with prohibitions, exhortations, and wishes. Below we will see that Hungarian Behavioural allows for a Hortative interpretation.

⁸ For the description of basic illocutions in Hungarian I will use the distinctions put forward by Hengeveld et al. (forthcoming).

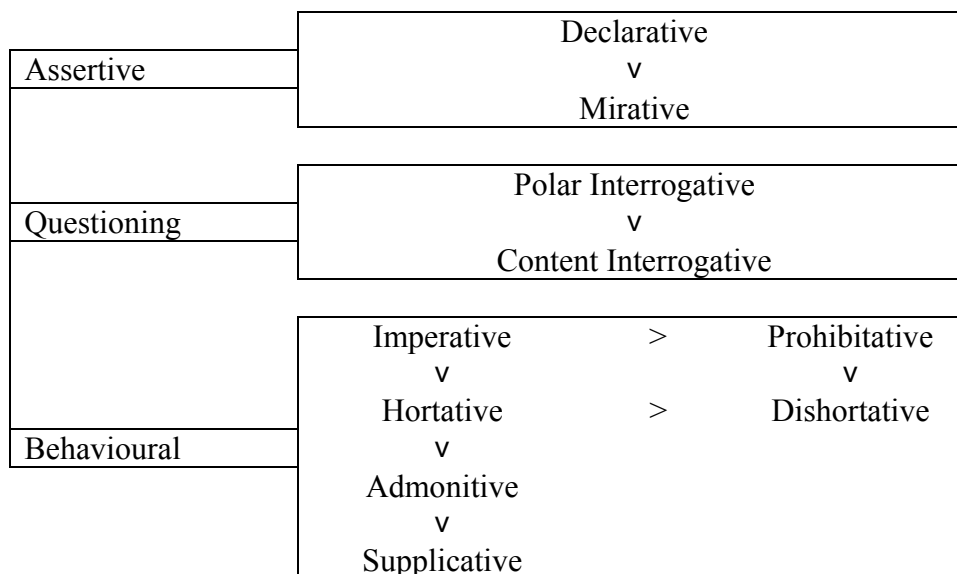
⁹ There is morpho-phonological variation in the marking of the Subjunctive. The standard marker is *-j*. Verbal stems ending in *-t*, *s*, *sz*, and *z* often show alternations where the *-t* disappears and a sibilant replaces the *-j*. I refer to Törkenczy 1997 for a detailed description of the distribution of forms used in the Subjunctive.

Basic Illocutions may be modified. Markers of illocutionary modification do not identify sentences as speech acts of certain types, but rather mark much more general communicative strategies on the part of the Speaker: they reinforce or mitigate the force of the speech act (Hengeveld 2004). Examples of the modification of the Polar Interrogative illocution and Behavioural illocution in Hungarian will be discussed in sections 4.2.1 and 4.3.1, respectively.

Hengeveld et al. (forthcoming) argue on the basis a sample of 23 languages spoken in Brazil that basic illocutions can be grouped together in the following fashion. Illocutions can be divided in term of their communicative use: propositional or behavioural. The first type encompasses assertion and questioning. By using an assertive or questioning illocution, the Speaker wishes to assert some proposition to an Addressee or inform about some proposition from an Addressee. By using the Behavioural illocution, the Speaker wishes to influence the Addressee as to his behaviour in a certain way.

Assertive types are Declarative and Mirative. Questioning types are Polar Interrogative (Yes-No Question) and Content Interrogative (question word question). Behavioural types are Imperative, Hortative (exhortation), Prohibitive, Dishortative, Admonitive (warning), and Supplicative (request for permission). Figure 1 summarizes the different types and their implicational relations indicated by the arrow heads > and v: if a language has the Supplicative it will also have the Admonitive, the Hortative and the Imperative, or if a language has the Prohibitive it will also have the Imperative.¹⁰

Figure 2. Typology of basic illocutions and their implicational relations



¹⁰ None of the 23 languages in the sample have an Optative. For that reason the Optative is not represented in the figure. I assume that the Optative would call for a fourth category. I will not enter this discussion, because Hungarian does not distinguish an Optative illocution.

4.1 Assertive

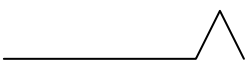
Hungarian does not morpho-syntactically mark Declarative mood, as can be seen in example (7) above. There is no distinct form to express Mirative as, for instance, in Albanian, hence there is just one basic assertive illocution, that of the Declarative.¹¹

4.2 Questioning

Hungarian distinguishes between both types of Interrogatives: Polar Interrogatives (4.2.1) and Content Interrogatives (4.2.2).¹² The different types can be defined in the following fashion:

- (10) a. *Polar Interrogative*
By using the Polar Interrogative, A Speaker requests an Addressee to tell whether a certain proposition is true or false.
- b. *Content Interrogative*
By using the Content Interrogative, a Speaker requests an Addressee to identify or specify some part of a predication.

4.2.1 *Polar Interrogative*. Polar Interrogatives or Yes-No questions in Hungarian are marked by a specific low-high-low intonation pattern, where the penultimate syllable is high and the last one low.

- (11) 
Szegeden voltál?
Szeged.in you.were
'Were you in Szeged?'

Polar Interrogatives do not impose restrictions on the order of constituents. The order of the two constituents in (11) is not fixed, the alternative order would yield a grammatical utterance as well. The intonation patterns would be the same as in (11), where the high pitch would coincide with the penultimate syllable *-ed-* in *Szeg-ed-en*. There would be, however, a different pragmatic meaning. In (11) emphasis is on the location *Szeged*. In the utterance with the alternative order of constituents, the emphasis would be on *voltál* 'were you'.

In Polar Interrogatives the free morpheme *vajon* or the enclitic *-e* may be used.¹³ These forms express some kind of doubt, desire, or uncertainty on the part of the Speaker. They do not create sub-types of illocutions, but they modify the content of Polar Interrogatives, hence they belong to the area of modality and not illocution. Here are some examples.

- (12) a. *Jön-e Imre holnap?*
come-MOD Imre tomorrow
'Will Imre come tomorrow (or not)?'

¹¹ Kenesei et al. (1998: 25) give some examples of exclamation. They cannot be considered to be expressions of a distinct speech act. Albanian has both the Declarative and the Admirative mood. The latter one is used to express surprise, doubt, irony or sarcasm on the part of the speaker (Newmark et al. 1982: 76).

¹² In De Groot (2005) I labelled the different types as General Question and Special Question, respectively. I refer to this publication for a comprehensive description of the typology of question words in Hungarian.

¹³ According to Hungarian orthography there is a hyphen between the clitic and the verb.

- b. *Vajon jön(-e) Imre holnap?*
 MOD come(-MOD) Imre tomorrow
 ‘Will Imre come tomorrow?’

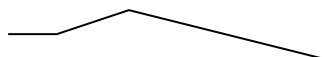
The intonation pattern characteristic of Polar Interrogatives applies in examples such as (12) too. The use of the modal elements does not change the intonation pattern.

The modal question markers are used obligatorily in the complement clause of verbs of wondering, as in (13a) or if one of the modal distinctions is expressed on the matrix level, as in (13b):

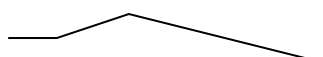
- (13) a. *Gondolgozom, hogy jön-e Imre holnap.*
 I.wonder that come-MOD Imre tomorrow
 ‘I wonder whether Imre will come tomorrow.’
 b. *Nem tudom, hogy jön-e Imre holnap.*
 not I.know that come-MOD Imre tomorrow
 ‘I don’t know whether Imre will come tomorrow.’

Embedded Polar Interrogatives do not take the characteristic intonation pattern as main clauses do.

4.2.2 *Content Interrogative.* Content Interrogatives in Hungarian contain a question word and they take the same intonation pattern as Declaratives. The question word immediately precedes the verb, i.e. is in the focus position in the clause. The intonation pattern takes the following form:

- (14) 
János mikor volt úszni?
 John when was swim
 ‘When was John off for a swim?’

A Declarative utterance specifying the time that János was off swimming, i.e. *ma* ‘today’ takes the same intonation as (14). Compare:

- (15) 
János ma volt úszni.
 John today was swim
 ‘John was off for a swim TODAY’

Hungarian is actually one of the few languages in the world where interrogative clauses of the type as in (14) does not have a rising intonation towards or at the end of the utterance. The formal marking of a Content Interrogative in Hungarian is thus the presence of a question word. A survey of the question words in Hungarian is presented in appendix 2.

4.3 Behavioural illocution

The intonation pattern of the clause used with the Behavioural illocution is the same as that of the Declarative. The affix *-j* or alternative forms mark the Behavioural.¹⁴ The full paradigm is as follows:

(16)	Öl-j-ek	kill-SBJV-1SG.INDEF	‘Let me kill.’
	Öl-j-él	kill-SBJV-2SG.INDEF	‘Kill!’
	Öl-j-ön	kill-SBJV-3SG.INDEF	‘Kill!’, ‘Let him/her kill.’
	Öl-j-ünk	kill-SBJV-1PL.INDEF	‘Let us kill.’
	Öl-j-etek	kill-SBJV-2PL.INDEF	‘Kill!’
	Öl-j-enek	kill-SBJV-3PL.INDEF	‘Kill!’, ‘Let them kill.’
	Öl-j-em	kill-SBJV-1SG.DEF	‘Let me kill it.’
	Öl-j-ed	kill-SBJV-2SG.DEF	‘Kill it!’
	Öl-j-e	kill-SBJV-3SG.DEF	‘Kill it!’, ‘Let him/her kill it’
	Öl-j-ük	kill-SBJV-1PL.DEF	‘Let us kill it.’
	Öl-j-étek	kill-SBJV-2PL.DEF	‘Kill it!’
	Öl-j-ék	kill-SBJV-3PL.DEF	‘Kill it!’, ‘Let them kill it.’
	Öl-j-elek	kill-SBJV-SG.subj.2SG/PL.obj	‘Let me kill you.’

The interpretation of the Behavioural may be most of the subtypes given in Table 2, and it may also enter the area of modality. The following sections discuss the different interpretations. It will become clear that none of the interpretations could be claimed to be the expression of one of the subtypes of the Behavioural illocution as a distinct illocution in Hungarian. Given the implicational relations between the subtypes of illocutions one may wonder whether the same implicational relations may hold between possible interpretations of the Behavioural in a language. I will demonstrate so for Hungarian.

4.3.1 Imperative. The interpretation of Imperative arises when a Speaker commands an Addressee to perform some action. The Addressee may be singular or plural, and the Addressee may be addressed informally and formally (polite form), in Hungarian reflected by using the second or third person, respectively. In other words, four of the six forms in the paradigm may be used as an Imperative:

(17)	Second pers. sing.	<i>várj(ál)</i>	‘Wait!’ [informal singular]
	Third pers. sing.	<i>várjon</i>	‘Wait!’ [polite singular]
	Second pers. pl.	<i>várjatok</i>	‘Wait!’ [informal plural]
	Third pers. pl.	<i>várjanak</i>	‘Wait!’ [polite plural]
	Second pers. sing.	<i>vár(ja)d Pált</i>	‘Wait for Paul!’ [informal singular]
	Third pers. sing.	<i>várja Pált</i>	‘Wait for Paul!’ [polite singular]
	Second pers. pl.	<i>várjátok Pált</i>	‘Wait for Paul!’ [informal plural]
	Third pers. pl.	<i>várják Pált</i>	‘Wait for Paul!’ [polite plural]

¹⁴ Kenesei et al. (1998: 24) also recognizes that the term ‘Imperative’ for the use of *-j* in Hungarian is inappropriate; it is rather a Subjunctive: “Technically speaking, it is here that (literal) third and first person imperative forms belong, thus providing an argument for their more appropriate classification as a form of subjunctive.”

When the Imperative is used, the perfectivizing prefix is standard as a default and is placed after the verb. For instance:

- (18) *Zsuzsá-t vár-j-ad meg az állomáson!*
 Zsuzsa-ACC wait-SBJV-2SG.DEF PFV the station.at
 ‘Go to meet Zsuzsa at the station!’

The Imperative in Hungarian may be modified, i.e. it may be reinforced. Kenesei et al. (1998: 21f) mention that an Imperative may become a ‘threat’ if the verbal prefix is placed in its otherwise usual preverbal location. The intonation is rising instead of the fall normal for Imperatives. Compare (19) with (18):

- (19) *Zsuzsá-t meg-vár-j-ad az állomáson!*
 Zsuzsa-ACC PFV-wait-SBJV-2SG.DEF the station.at
 ‘Go to meet Zsuzsa at the station, or ...!’

4.3.2 *Hortative*. The interpretation of Hortative occurs in all person distinctions in the verbal paradigm. Consider:

- (20) a. *Hol vár-j-átok őket?*
 Where wait-SBJV-2PL.DEF 3PL-ACC
 ‘Where do you (pl) wait for them?’
 b. *Men-j-ünk tovább.*
 Go-SBJV-1PLfurther
 ‘Let’s go on.’
 c. *Válassz, melyikkel öl-j-elek meg!*
 choose.SBJV.2SG which.with kill-SBJV.1SG.2SG/PL PFV
 ‘Choose the one I kill you with.’

4.3.3 *Prohibitive*. Utterances used as an Imperative together with a negation yield a Prohibitive interpretation as in:

- (21) *Ne men-j el.*
 Neg go-SBJV.2SG PFV
 ‘Do not go away!’

Note that the negative element in (21) differs from the negative element in Declarative sentences, namely *ne* instead of *nem*. The shorter form is used in all utterances where the Subjunctive is used, i.e. the verb is marked by the affix *-j* or alternative forms. In other words, the negative form being different from the negative form in the Declarative cannot be taken to be a marker of a Prohibitive, but rather as the marker of negative uses of the Behavioural. This can be seen in the use of the negative form within the context of the Hortative interpretation, which yields a Dishortative interpretation, as demonstrated in the following section.

4.3.4 *Dishortative*. The utterance in example (22) is used in the following context: *Egy katona nem mondhatja, inkább én haljak meg, csakhogy téged, kedves ellenség, meg ne öljelek.* ‘A soldier can’t say that, rather I die (SBJV), so that, you, dear enemy, I do not kill (SBJV).’

- (22) *Téged, kedves ellenség, meg ne öl-j-elek.*
 you.ACC dear enemy PFV neg kill-SBJV-1SG.2SG/PL
 ‘You, dear enemy, I do not kill.’

The Hortative use of the Behavioural together with negation yield the Dishortative interpretation in (22).

4.3.5. *Admonitive.* There are no clear examples of the Behavioural with the interpretation of an Admonitive. This would then constitute a counter example against the idea that the implicational relations between the subtypes of illocutions also apply to the interpretations, because the Supplicative interpretation does occur in Hungarian, as can be seen in the following section.

4.3.6 *Supplicative.* With the form *hadd* it is possible to express a request for permission. *Hadd* is actually the form which corresponds to the second person definite conjugation of the Subjunctive form of the verb *hagy* ‘let’. The lexical verb in constructions with *hadd* ‘let’ is inflected with the *-j* affix and a personal ending. For example:

- (23) a. *Hadd men-j-ek a moziba!*
 Let.SBJV.2SG.DEF go-SBJV-1SG the movie.ILL
 ‘Please let me go to the movies.’
 b. *Hadd beszél-j-enek tovább!*
 Let.SBJV.2SG.DEF talk-SBJV-3PL further
 ‘Please let them speak further.’

The analysis of constructions with *hadd* ‘let’ as a Supplicative accounts for the fact that the construction only allows first and third person and not second person, since the Supplicative is a request for permission to the Addressee (i.e. second person) about somebody else.

The question arises whether *hadd* should be considered the expression of the Supplicative? If that were the case, it would be a counter-example against the implicational hierarchy proposed by Hengeveld et al. (forthcoming) as in Figure 2, because other categories higher in the hierarchy would not be marked as separate illocutions. The expressions in (23), however, could be analysed differently, namely that *hadd* is a matrix verb and the rest of the clause its complement. The reason for assuming this is the fact that *hadd* is marked for a definite object. Example (23a) could thus be paraphrased as: “You let it that I go to the movies!”, because an object clause counts as definite in Hungarian. Under this interpretation, the use of the *-j* affix on the lexical verb would be standard as we will see in section 5 below: the Subjunctive mood is used in complement clauses, where the matrix verb expresses some force, wish etc. I conclude that *hadd* is not an element which exclusively marks Supplicative illocution, and consequently that Supplicative should not be distinguished as a separate illocution in Hungarian.

5. Mood: modalities

Basic illocutions such as Interrogative and Behavioural should be distinguished from modalities such as Dubitative, Necessitive and Volitive. Consider, for instance, the difference between Interrogative and Dubitative. The basic difference between the two is that sentences with Interrogative basic illocution constitute questions, whereas sentences which contain a Dubitative modality report doubt. Thus, a speaker may execute an Assertive speech act using

a Declarative sentence, within which he presents his doubts, rather than execute a question as such. An example illustrating this combination is given in (13a). A similar difference holds between the basic illocution Behavioural and modalities such as Necessitive and Volitive, as in some examples under (25). The examples with the affix *-j* in (24) and (25) correlate with different types of modality.¹⁵

(24) In main clauses

- a. Wish
Él-j-en *a* *királynő!*
 Live-SBJV-3SG the queen
 ‘Long live the queen!’
- b. Dubitative
Mit *csinál-j-ak?*
 What.ACC do-SBJV-1SG
 ‘What shall I do?’

(25) In complement clauses

- a. Indirect speech
Éva *Feri-nek* *mondta,* *hogy* *vezes-s-en*
Éva *Feri-DAT* said that drive-SBJV-3SG
lassabban.
 slower
 ‘Eva told Feri that he should drive slower.’
- b. Complements of performative verbs¹⁶
Kíván-om *hogy* *gyere.*
 Wish-1SG.DEF that come.SBJV.2SG
 ‘I wish that you would come.’
- c. Purpose
Iskolába *jár,* *hogy*
 school.to go.3SG that
nyelveket *tanuljon.*
 languages.ACC learn.SBJV.3SG
 ‘He attends school to learn languages.’
- d. Complements of deontic verbs
Kell, hogy dolgozzunk.
 Must that work.SBJV.1PL
 ‘It is necessary that we work.’
- e. Complements of adjectives
Fontos, *hogy ezt* *ne* *felejtssd* *el.*
 important that this.ACC not forget.SBJV.2SG PFV
 ‘It is important that you do not forget this.’

Note that the application of the affix *-j* in complement clauses cannot be considered the expression of some illocution, because the domain of illocution is the main clause. An overall characterization of the use of the affix *-j* as the Subjunctive in Hungarian does justice to the

¹⁵ See note 9 concerning alternative forms of the general form *-j*.

¹⁶ Verbs such as: *kér* ‘request’, *akar* ‘want’, *ajánl* ‘recommend’, *tanácsol* ‘advise’, *(meg)parancsol* ‘command’, *kíván* ‘wish’, *(el)vár* ‘expect’.

different uses: the expression of the Behavioural illocution, several modal distinctions, and the verbal form in various dependent clauses. There is more evidence supporting this view, namely, the position of the verbal prefix in complement clauses. It will take the preverbal position and not the post verbal position as in main clauses. Compare:

- (26) a. *Nem menj el!*
 not go-SBJV.2SG PFV
 ‘Do not go away!’
- b. *Apám nem akarja, hogy el-men-j-ek.*
 my.father not want.3SG.DEF that PFV-go-SBJV.1SG
 ‘My father does not want me to go away.’

6. Mood: Conditional

Hungarian distinguishes a Conditional mood. The conditional is marked by the affix *-n* on the verbal stem.

- (27) *Bár / Ha / Bár-ha tud-ná-nak olvas-ni !*
 Though / if know-COND-3PL read-INF
 ‘If they could read!’

The conditional is used in both the protasis and apodosis. Consider:

- (28) a. *Ha megtalál-n-ám Feri-t, (akkor) elmen-n-énk moziba.*
 if find-COND-1SG.DEF Feri-ACC then go-COND-1PL movies.to
 ‘If I could find Feri, we’d go to the movies.’
- b. *Jó len-ne, ha több-et lát-n-ám.*
 good be-COND if more-ACC see-COND-1SG
 ‘It would be good, if I could see him/her/it more.’

It is not compulsory to use the conditional mood in sentences such as (28a). Both the protasis and apodosis allow the present tense and future tense, independently of each other:

- (29) a. *Ha meg-talál-om Feri-t, (akkor) elmegyünk moziba.*
 if find-1SG.DEF Feri-ACC then go.1PL movies.to
 ‘If I find Feri, we’ll go to the movies.’
- b. *Ha meg fogom találni Feri-t, (akkor) elmegyünk moziba.*
- c. *Ha megtalálom Feri-t, (akkor) el fogunk menni moziba.*
- d. *Ha meg fogom találni Feri-t, (akkor) el fogunk menni moziba.*

The conditional mood may also be used to formulate polite requests, as in:

- (30) *Ad-n-ál egy pohár vizet?*
 Give-COND-2SG a glass water-ACC
 ‘Would you give me a glass of water.’

Past tense conditionals form counterfactuals, as can be seen in the following examples:

- (31) a. Ha megtalál-t-am volna Feri-t, (akkor)
 if find-PAST-1SG COND Feri-ACC then
 elmen-t-ünk volna moziba.
 Go-PAST-1PL COND movies.to
 'If I had found Feri, we would have gone to the movies.'
- b. Jó lett volna, ha több-et
 good be.PAST COND if more-ACC
 lát-t-am volna.
 See-PAST.1SG COND
 'It would have been good, if I had seen more.'

The form *volna* in past conditionals is the third person indefinite conditional of the verb *van* 'be'.

7. Conclusion

The description of mood in Hungarian can be best given on the basis of the idea that mood is the form or expression of a large semantic area consisting of illocution and parts of the domain of modality. A significant difference between the expression of illocution on the one hand and modality on the other is that word order and intonation may be relevant to the expression of illocution, but not to modality. Morphological expressions – taking the same form – may be relevant to both illocution and modality. Apart from Mood, Illocution and Modality as parameters I argue that a fourth parameter, that of Factuality, is required to account for other uses of the affix *-j* on verbs. The following figure summarizes the different values of the parameters:

Figure 1: The parameters defining 'Mood' in Hungarian

Mood	Indicative		Subjunctive	Conditional
Illocution	Declarative	Interrogative	Behavioural	
Modality				Condition
Factuality	Factual		Non-factual	

Figure 1 shows that both Declarative and Interrogative illocution take the Indicative form and that the communicated content is actual or based on fact. The third type of basic illocution distinguished is the Behavioural, which finds its expression in the Subjunctive mood. The Subjunctive is also used in non-factual utterances. The modal distinctions in those cases are not specified in the figure, apart from the Conditional, which is related to the third mood, the Conditional.

New in the paper is the explicit claim that Hungarian does not distinguish the Imperative or Hortative, but the Behavioural illocution. The morphological form which corresponds to the Behavioural, i.e. the affix *-j*, allows for a great number of interpretations for which in some other languages distinct illocutions must be posited. These interpretations are Imperative, Hortative, Prohibitive, Dishortative, and Supplicative. Contrary to what can be

predicted on the basis of a sample of languages, Hungarian does not allow for the Admonitive interpretation of the Behavioural.

Abbreviations

ABL	= ablative
ACC	= accusative
DAT	= dative
DEF	= definite conjugation
COND	= conditional
IMP	= imperative
INDEF	= indefinite conjugation
MOD	= (some kind of) modality
PFV	= perfective
PL	= plural
PRES	= present
SBJV	= subjunctive

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Appendix 1. Verbal paradigm

All forms of *öl* 'kill' (imperfective). The Perfective form is: *megöl* 'kill'. The lexical entry of verbs in Hungarian is the form of third person singular, present tense, indicative. This form is actually the stem of the verb.

'Indefinite' refers to the conjugation which is used when the object counts as indefinite, and 'definite' to the conjugation which is used when the object counts as definite. The forms which do not fall under one of these headings are the forms which are used when the subject is first person singular and the object second person singular or plural.

	Present		Past		Future	
	indefinite	definite	indefinite	definite	indefinite	definite
INDICATIVE	ölök	ölöm	öltem	öltem	ölni fogok	ölni fogom
	ölsz	ölöd	öltél	ölted	ölni fogsz	ölni fogod
	öl	öli	ölt	ölte	ölni fog	ölni fogja
	ölünk	öljük	öltünk	öltük	ölni fogunk	ölni fogjuk
	öltök	ölitek	öltetek	öltétek	ölni foktok	ölni fogjátok
	ölnek	ölik	öltek	ölték	ölni foknak	ölni fogják
	ölelek		öltelek		ölni foglak	
SUBJUNCTIVE	öljek	öljem				
	öljél	öljed				
	öljön	ölje				
	öljünk	öljük				
	öljétek	öljétek				
	öljelek					
CONDITIONAL	ölnék	ölném	öltem volna	öltem volna		
	ölnél	ölnéd	öltél volna	ölted volna		
	ölne	ölné	ölt volna	ölte volna		
	ölnénk	ölnénk	öltünk volna	öltük volna		
	ölnétek	ölnétek	öltetek volna	öltétek volna		
	ölnének	ölnék	öltek volna	ölték volna		
		ölnélek		öltelek volna		

Appendix 2. Question words in Hungarian

Reference	<i>ki</i> <i>mi</i> <i>melyik</i> <i>kié</i>	who what which whose
Modification	<i>milyen</i> <i>miféle</i> <i>mifajta</i> <i>mekkorra</i>	what what kind what kind what size
Quantification	<i>hány</i> <i>mennyi</i> <i>hányadik</i> <i>hányad</i>	how many how much how many-eth what fraction
Manner	<i>hogy(an)</i>	how
Depictive	<i>miként</i>	as what
Space	<i>hol</i> <i>hova/hová</i> <i>honnan</i>	where where to where from
Time	<i>mikor</i>	when
Cause	<i>miért</i>	why