Variations of independent (insubordinate) clauses with metalinguistic function in Hungarian

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Independent (insubordinate) clauses

„the independent use of constructions exhibiting prima facie characteristics of subordinate clauses" (Evans – Watanabe 2016: 2, cf. Evans 2007)

„insubordinate" clause (missing main clause) (Evans 2007)

3 basic functions:

- Modal: express speaker attitudes

- Interactional/interpersonal: manage speaker/hearer interactions

- Discursive: organize the discourse

A) syntactically and pragmatically independent, own illocutionary force: **stand-alone** independent clauses (performative, own illocutionary force, independent form context)

B) syntactically independent: <u>elaborative</u> (discourse-connective) independent clauses (independent from co-text)

(Sansiñena 2015, D'Hertefelt 2018, Kaltenböck 2016, 2019)

Independent (insubordinate) clauses

2 main types of independent clauses:

▶ Complement insubordination: introduced by 'that' (*that, dass, que*, etc.)

(1) **Hogy** *gyűlölöm*   *én ezt*   *a jószívűt!*

that   hate.IND.PRS.SG1   I   this.ACC the kind-hearted.ACC

'**How (much)** I hate this kind-hearted [person]!' (MNSz2, doc #1457, lit)

▶ Conditional insubordination: introduced by conditional subordinators, 'if' (*if, wenn, als,* etc.)

ha 'if' ~ *hogyha* 'if', *amennyiben* 'if, in case'

Protasis: **if** X (subordinate clause) [+ apodosis: (**then**) Y (main clause)]

(2) MARA *Te meg jobban teszed, ha meghúzod magad, és egy szót sem szólsz, érted?!*

Ha még   egyszer   meglátlak   Béni   közelében!

If   PRT   once   VPFX.see.IND.PRS.SG1   Béni   near

'MARA You'd do better if you shut up and don't say a word, understand?! **If I see you near Béni again!'** (MNSz2, #90948270, literature)

Independent clauses with metalinguistic (metapragmatic) functions

Metalinguistic/metapragmatic function: ELABORATIVE INDEPENDENT CLAUSES!!!

these constructions "are used to make comments or to provide explanations on the content of certain stretches of discourse" (Lastres-López 2020: 75)

Brinton (2014): *if you choose/like/prefer/want/wish* – can have metalinguistic meaning (without their „apodosis": *call it X*)

(3) *As an exercise, try taking your series' main characters and standing them at the edge of the abyss, face to face with the ultimate power of evil, the devil,* ***if you like*** (2011 COCA: A CAD)

(4) *they think it's a unique approach. It's not totally, but you could call it a huge subsidy* ***if you want.*** *You could call it a clever way of getting through the process.* (2006 COCA: NEWS)

(both cited by Brinton 2014: 271)

Metalinguistic-metapragmatic functions

Laczkó (2021): internet-mediated discourse

1. reflection on direct language activity ('talk', 'write down', 'read'),
2. reflection on the direction and function of attention ('listen!', 'watch!'),
3. reflection on the participant's mental activity ('think', 'understand', 'know'),
4. reference to other discourses, quotations, self-citations: reflection on indirect linguistic activity ('friends told me', 'I read it in several places'),
5. reflection on the development of the discourse ('the question is', 'let my story begin'),
6. reflection on the way of the language use formulation ('talk ugly', 'in short'),
7. reflection on the vehicle ('is there anyone else?', 'I've got here'),
8. speech acts ('thank you', 'I bet that').

Examples: metalinguistic function

Complement insubordination:

(5) *Ariadném,*   ***hogy***   ***finoman***   ***fejezzem***   ***ki***   ***magam,***

         that   midly   express   VPFX   myself.Acc

az azóta eltelt több mint két hétben fokozta az iramot. (MNSz2, #2477864, doc#114, lit)

'Ariadne, **to put it mildly**, has picked up the pace in the more than two weeks since then'

Conditional insubordination:

(6) *Veszek egy pisztolyt. Végül is –*   ***ha már***   ***itt***   ***tartunk –,***

         if   already   here   be.Ind.Prs.Pl1

veszélyeztetett lennék, mert az újságírókat biztos sokan veszélyeztetik (MNSz2, #133906500,doc#1045, press)

'I'll buy a gun. After all, **speaking of which**, I would be at risk, because journalists are certainly endangered by many people'

Method, material

▶ Corpus analyzes are performed on the 1.5 billion word database of MNSz2 (Hungarian Gigaword Corpus) in six subcorpora (written and spoken press, literature, official, scientific, personal: internet forums & social media).

1. Independent clauses starting with *Hogy/hogy* 'that' and *Ha/ha* 'if' in the random sample of 500 hits containing any form (both finite and non-finite versions) of the following verbs of saying: *mond* 'to say', *beszél* 'to speak', *kérdez* 'to ask', *válaszol* 'to reply', *felel* 'to answer', *összefoglal* 'to summarize', *fogalmaz* 'to formulate'.

2. Using a special CQL query – with the help of Bálint Sass – (based on the hypothesis that most insubordinate sentences are usually short in Hungarian), we search for metalinguistic **conditional** insubordinate clauses – containing 4, 5 or 6 words after the conjunctions – in the whole material of MNSz2.

Questions

- In what **formal variants** do the insubordinate clauses appear? What are the **mandatory** and **optional** elements (e.g. verb mode, particles)? What are the most typical **formulaic uses**?

- In which **positions** are these independent clauses used (are they more frequent at the end of the statement, cf. Kaltenböck – Keizer 2022: 679)?

Questions

3. What are the **non-insubordinated** formal and functional **variants** (3) of the independent clauses (4) containing the given verb of saying, and what frequency distribution do they show compared to each other?

(7) A ' 99-es koncepciót, **ha röviden akarok fogalmazni,**

if briefly want.Ind.Prs.Sg1 compose.inf

akkor úgy tudom jellemezni a magam

then so know.Ind.Prs.Sg1 characterize.inf the myself

számára és hangosan,

for and loudly

hogy a kérdésfeltevések befejezetlen koncepciója. (MNSz2, #54009629,doc#901, official)

'The concept of '99, **if I want to put it briefly, [then] I can describe it to myself and out loud** as an unfinished concept of questioning.'

Questions

(8) *A Villám géppuskák befagytak a nagy orosz télben, ezek sohasem mondtak csődöt.*

Ha fennkölten akarok *fogalmazni:*

if   loftily   want.Ind.Prs.Sg1   compose.Inf

a háborúkat egyszerű fegyverekkel és tiszta célokkal szokták megnyerni. (MNSz2, #29188405,doc#529, literature)

'The Villám machine guns froze up in the big Russian winter, [but] these never failed. **If I want to put it exaltedly,** they win the wars with plain weapons and clear aims'

3 usages of *hogy*

Homoform in today's Hungarian language:

1. Complement: 'that'

(9) *Látom,* **hogy** *jössz.* 'I see you coming'

2. Enhancing particle, synonymous with *mennyire, milyen, mekkora* 'how' (no longer interrogative pronouns)

(10) *Látom, hogy* **hogy** *meglepődtél.* 'I can see how surprised you are'

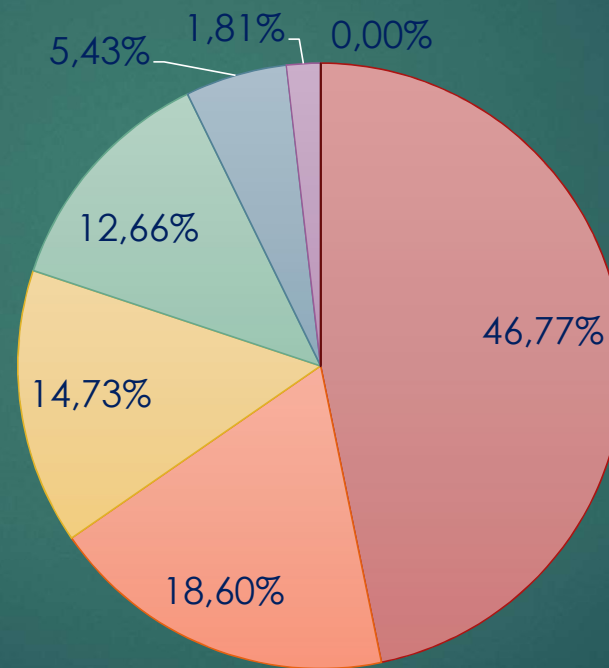3. Interrogative pronoun (short form, longer form: *hogyan*)

(11) **Hogy***(an) lepődtél meg?* 'How were you surprised?'

Examination 1

Results: verbs of saying after *Ha/ha* 'if' and *Hogy/hogy* 'that' + 5 words

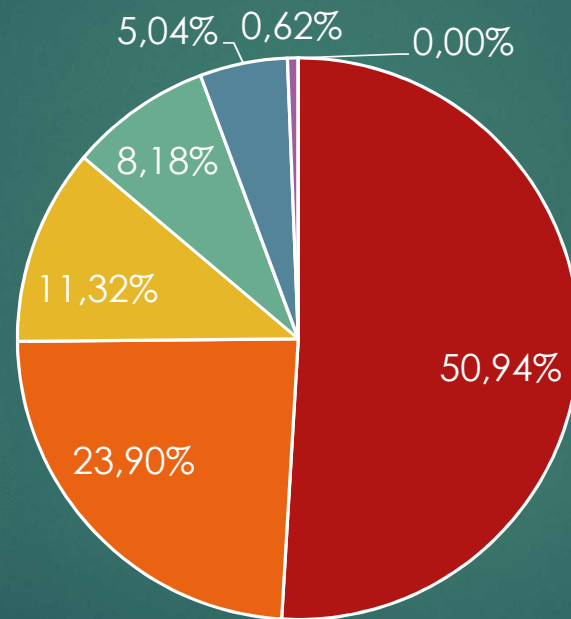|	*Ha/ha* + 5	total hits	total hits in random-500	*Hogy/hogy* + 5	total hits	total hits in random-500
'formulate'	*fogalmaz-*	2434	**181**	*fogalmaz-*	6463	**81**
'ask'	*kérdez-*	5651	**72**	*kérdez-*	8677	**0**
'speak'	*beszél-*	12972	**57**	*beszél-*	43440	**8**
'summarize'	*összefoglal-*	441	**49**	*összefoglal-*	849	**18**
'say'	*mond-*	51108	**21**	*mond-*	119180	**37**
'reply'	*válaszol-*	4514	**7**	*válaszol-*	11016	**13**
'answer'	*felel-*	1846	**0**	*felel-*	6453	**1**
Total			**387**			**159**

Results: verbs of saying (roots) after *Ha/ha* 'if' + 5 words

Legend: fogalmaz- • kérdez- • beszél- • összefoglal- • mond- • válaszol- • felel-

'formulate, ask, speak, summarize, say, reply, answer'

Pie chart values: 5,43% • 1,81% • 0,00% • 12,66% • 46,77% • 14,73% • 18,60%

Results: verbs of saying (roots) after *Hogy/hogy* 'if' + 5 words

5,04% 0,62% 0,00%

8,18%

11,32%

50,94%

23,90%

■ fogalmaz- ■ mond- ■ összefoglal- ■ válaszol- ■ beszél- ■ felel- ■ kérdez-
'formulate, say, summarize, reply, speak, answer, ask'

Most frequent cases: *FOGALMAZ-* 'formulate'

FOGALMAZ-:

- ***ha szabad így/úgy fogalmaznom (66 hits, 36,5%)*** 'if I may put it this way'

- ***ha lehet így fogalmazni*** 'if you can put it that way'

- ***ha megengedi, hogy így fogalmazzak*** 'if you allow me to put it that way'

- ***ha finomabban/puritánul/szlengben stb. fogalmazok/fogalmaznék/fogalmazunk/fogalmazzuk*** 'if more refined/puritanical/slangy, etc. I formulate/I would formulate/we formulate/we formulate'

- ***Ha (nagyon) humorosan/röviden/keményen stb. akarnék/akarok fogalmazni/meg akarjuk fogalmazni*** ' If I/we (really) want to express it humorously, briefly, harshly, etc.'

…

- ***Hogy így/udvariasan/idézőjelben stb. fogalmazzak*** 'To put it this way/politely/in quotation marks, etc.'

Most frequent cases: *KÉRDEZ-* 'ask'

KÉRDEZ-: 72 hits

▶ ***ha (meg) szabad(na) (ilyet) kérdeznem*** 'if I may ask (this)'

▶ ***ha meg lehet kérdezni*** 'if I may ask'

▶ ***ha engem kérdez(el)/-tek*** 'if you ask me'

▶ ***ha a véleményemet kérdezed*** 'if you ask my opinion'

▶ ***ha már így kérdezed*** 'if you ask (it) like that'

▶ ***ha kérdezik*** 'if you ask (me)'

No valid hits for *hogy*-clauses.

Positions

RP = right periphery

(12) *Megállja. Nem engedi magát begerjedni,* **hogy finoman fogalmazzak.** (MNSz2, #288132203,doc#1689, fiction-literature) 'It stops. He doesn't let himself in, **to put it mildly.'**

LP = left periphery

(13) *az uniós tagság elnyerését követően* **is – hogy úgy fogalmazzak** – *egyéni úton jár* (MNSz2, #343844821,doc#2138, official) 'even after gaining EU membership – **to put it that way** – it follows an individual path'

Positions of metalinguistic independent clauses

		Ha/ha 'if' RP (hits)	RP (% of all valid hits)	Hogy/hogy 'hogy' RP (hits)	RP (% of all valid hits)
'formulate'	fogalmaz-	64	**35,36%**	45	**55,55%**
'ask'	kérdez-	28	**38,88%**	0	0%
'speak'	beszél-	10	17,54%	5	**62,50%**
'summarize'	összefoglal-	2	4,08%	2	11,11%
'say'	mond-	10	**47,62%**	7	18,92%
'reply'	válaszol-	1	14,28%	2	15,38%
'answer'	felel-	0	0%	0	0%
		115		**61**	

Examination 2

Ha + 4 words + pm: **29,41%**

(14) ***Ha már a beatnél tartunk...*** A hétvégén a MAMF-on a Flug csinált egy qrvajó kis koncertet. (MNSz2, #266206464, personal)

' Speaking of the beat... At the weekend at MAMF, Flug did a f.king great little concert.'

Ha + 5 words + pm: **23,26%**

(15) *Gondolom a Széll Kálmánt a keleti nyitás jegyében rakták a Moszkva helyére.* ***Ha már agyatlan tahóságról van szó.*** (MNSz2, #363982982, personal)

'I think Kálmán Széll was put in the place of Moskva as part of the opening to the east. When it comes to mindless jerkiness.'

Ha + 6 words + pm: **20,83%**

(16) ***Ha már a mocsári hibikről van szó...*** *Tavaly kaptam sárga magokat, 6db-ból 2 növény élte meg a kiültetést.* (MNSz2, #320231612, personal)

' Speaking of swamp hibiscuses... I got yellow seeds last year, 2 out of 6 plants survived planting.'

Examination 3

Non-insubordinate variants

NIS:

(17) KIRÁLY LÁSZLÓ (MDF): (…) *Vajda úr egy olyan javaslatot adott, amely javaslat úgy gondolom,* **ha rosszul akarnék fogalmazni,** *akkor azt mondanám, hogy nem ideillő lenne.* (MNSz2, #52002576,doc#901, official)

'(…) Mr. Vajda gave a proposal that I think, **if I wanted to put it wrong,** I would say that it would be inappropriate.'

(18) Most meg, **ha kicsit tréfásan akarnám fogalmazni,** azt mondom, hogy helyet cseréltek a gazdával (MNSz2, #865403266, spoken press)

' Now, **if I wanted to put it a little jokingly,** I would say that they changed places with the owner'

Summary

▶ The verb *fogalmaz-* stands out among all verbs in terms of insubordinate realizations in both types of conjunctions/insubordination (complement vs. conditional).

▶ Among Laczkó's (2021) metalinguistic categories, expressions related to language formation and language activity appeared, primarily: the discourse theme we highlight, where are we in the discourse (this is explained in the case of the 1st study by the fact that we analyzed verbs of communication, so it was expected that related categories would appear).

▶ RP vs. LP: the reason for the distribution of LP positions: *hogy-* 'that' insubordination prefers RP, *ha* 'if' don't, which is understandable, since conditional clauses typically precede their possible main clause in complex sentences (apodosis + protasis).

Insubordinate or not?

▶ Independent *hogy* 'that'-clauses are more typical in formal and informal spoken language, the conditional type is also widespread in written language use

▶ Genre **matters**: there are difference between the two conjunction types, and type (complement or conditional) **matters** not (in)subordination!

▶ In the case of *hogy* 'that'-sentences their metalinguistic main clauses do **not** appear (e.g. ???**hogy finoman fogalmazzak, *azt mondanám*** 'to put it delicately, I would say').

Thank you for your attention!

Acknowledgements

References

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MNSz2 = Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár 2. [Hungarian Gigaword Corpus] https://clara.nytud.hu/mnsz2-dev/