

Dual-mechanism approach to Hungarian morphology

Introduction

Over the past couple of decades, linguistics has contributed greatly to our understanding of the relationship between words and rules, as well as to the question of how different speakers/hearers (e.g. children, aphasics, adult native speakers) use/process affixed word forms. One popular approach to the processing of morphologically complex word forms is provided by *dual-mechanism models*. This paper is grounded in those theories, and it aims to outline corresponding implications for the learning and teaching of L2 Hungarian (Hungarian as a second/foreign language) morphology – as far as inflection and derivation are concerned.

At present, there can be distinguished three main approaches to morphological processing: 1) no-rules models, 2) rule-based models, and 3) dual-mechanism models. According to the first approach, a kind of mapping relationship (based on orthography, phonology and semantics) links the different word forms without an explicit representation of the morphological structure of the inflected word. In the second approach, all inflected word forms are thought to be formed by morphophonological rules, listing a great number of minor rules but avoiding ready word form memorization as much as possible. Finally, advocates of the third model hold that morphologically complex word forms can be processed both through full-form storage (declarative memory) and by rules (decomposing or parsing inflected word forms into their constituents) (Clahsen 2004).

The latter model has been supported by data from language learning (for a review see Wray 1999, 2002), suggesting that all learners – besides applying grammar rules – to a smaller or greater extent make use of learning ‘chunks’, i.e. ready-made word forms which can be multi-morpheme or multiword units of vocabulary. Learners may or may not analyze these chunks, depending on a number of variables such as linguistic competence, learner type/learning style, communicational needs/task, input/instruction etc.

In Hungarian, a morphologically complex agglutinative language, the (dual) morphological processing of inflected and derived word forms has only been researched to a limited degree (e.g. MacWhinney 1975, Lukács–Pléh 1999, Lukács 2001). When it comes to L2 Hungarian, we have even less – virtually no – information on how adult learners of L2 Hungarian process (learn/acquire, store and retrieve) word forms involving inflection and/or derivation. This paper, therefore, following

in the footsteps of dual-mechanism morphology, pinpoints areas in Hungarian morphology where learners are likely to use either the full-form-storage-mode (memory and rote learning) or the rule-based-mode (analysis and creative complex word formation) in their learning and using of multi-morpheme word forms, as predicted on the basis of the corresponding literature.

Words and rules

As it has been mentioned above, advocates of dual-mechanism morphology hold that morphologically complex word forms can be processed either with the help of rules, whereby the speaker/hearer decomposes the word from into its morphological constituents (procedural system, or analytical mode: AM), or by a direct lexical access to the word form stored as a ‘big word’ (declarative memory, or holistic mode: HM). The question is what can be accounted for the operation of the first or the second mode of processing, or what determines how the two mechanisms interact with each other. The theory that has been most widely accepted is that regular, productive, compositional/transparent complex word forms tend to be processed analytically (built and decomposed), with the help of a procedural system (rules), while irregular, non-productive, non-compositional/opaque complex word forms are stored and retrieved holistically (full form storage in declarative memory) (words)¹ (Pléh–Lukács²).

Focusing on the Hungarian context, we shall now take a closer look at the Hungarian literature as regards the buildup of the Hungarian lexicon. Komlósy’s lexical-functional model (Komlósy 1992), for example, puts forward a similar idea to the one above. In his explanation of the organization of the lexicon, Komlósy suggests that the lexicon is not a mere list of separate lexical entries (morphemes and stems) but a system operated by rules, i.e. “grammar within grammar” (Komlósy 1992: xvi., translated by the author). The lexicon’s job is not only to list items but also to “provide ready-made word forms for syntax” (Komlósy 1992: 18., translated by the author)³. Komlósy’s ideas are represented in *Figure 1*.

According to the model, the lexicon includes, on the one hand, lexical items (stable list of words), on the other hand, redundancy rules (non-productive word

¹ See the English past tense (Pinker 1999).

² www.cogsci.bme.hu/csaba/docs/magyar/evolucios%20pszich/plehszabaly.doc

³ A similar view is held by Kiefer, who says that it is best to regard morphology as a module included in the lexicon, involving a list of items as well as rules. Morphologically complex word forms may be either semantically compositional units built freely through productive word formation, or can be lexicalized items (Kiefer 1998:188.).

building) and generative rules (productive word building)⁴ (Komlósy 1992: xvi-xvii.). In the lexicon the phonological, syntactic and semantic parameters of the lexical items are also recorded, as well as all information as regards the adjuncts of the item (for more details see Komlósy 1992: 17-73.).

Although Komlósy is primarily interested in productive word forms, he claims that 1) non-productively built and 2) semantically non-compositional (opaque) multi-morpheme word forms must be listed *a priori*, i.e. as ready-made units in the lexicon. These are lexicalized items: the parameters of the item can not be predicted/accounted for on the mere basis of their constituents. It follows then that lexicalized items can not be freely formed with the help of productive morphosyntactic rules, and their sound forms and meanings can not be composed with phonological and semantic rules; the item as such – along with its morphosyntactic, phonological and semantic parameters – is listed in full form, as a unit, in the lexicon (Komlósy 1992: 184.).

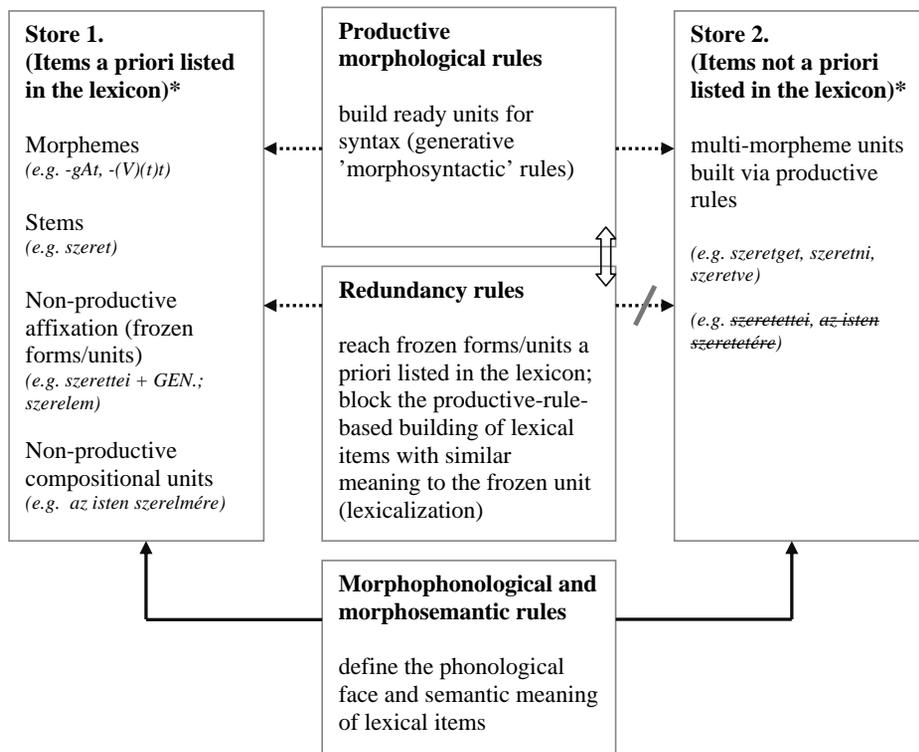
In the first case (non-productive word building) *lexical blocking* takes place. This means that when from a lexical item (e.g. the N(oun) ‘cipő’, ‘shoe’), through productive word building a multi-morpheme form (potential word e.g.: *cipő+s; shoe + productive N→N DER. -(V)s, ‘shoemaker’)⁵ could be built, the meaning of which is identical with the meaning of an item already recorded in the lexicon (existing word form: cip+ész; shoe + nonproductive N→N DER. -Ász, ‘shoemaker’), the redundancy rule connected to the item blocks (prevents) the operation of the productive word formation (Komlósy 1992: 53.). More simply, this lexical prohibition (Kiefer 1998:233.) means that an already existing word form prevents the formation of another variant.

The blocking effect, on the one hand, concerns nonproductive word buildings: derivations from dependent (or *phantom*) stems (e.g. the verb *u-gat*, ‘bark’)⁶ and derivations with nonproductive endings (e.g. the verb *vi+sel*, ‘wear’). The blocking effect, on the other hand, involves word forms (with both the suffixed stem and the suffix being productive) which do not correspond with any productive compositional

⁴ *Productivity* is still an open question in descriptive Hungarian morphology. In this paper, we shall consider those word forms productively built that involve *independently existing stems* (as opposed to *bé-get* etc.), *compositionality in meaning* (as opposed to multi-morpheme words where the meaning of the complex word form can not be composed from the separate meanings of the constituents as in *beszél-get* etc.), and *rule-based formation* (as opposed to analogy – as in the case of the endings -mÁny (e.g. *gyárt-mány*) or -An (*szökk-en*), for example) (Kiefer 1998:260-261.).

⁵ As in *asztal+os* (*table+N→N DER.*; *carpenter*), *üveg+es* (*glass+N→N DER.*; *glazier*), *fény+es* (*photo+N→N DER.*; *photographer*), *posta+s* (*mail/post+N→N DER.*; *postman*) etc.

⁶ Word building based on analogy may occur as, for instance, in the case of the ending -An (e.g. *robban*, ‘blast’, *csobban* ‘splash’, *villan*, ‘flash’ etc.) – analogy is not a productive way of word formation (Kiefer 1998:260).

Figure 1: *Komlósy's model of the Hungarian lexicon (after Komlósy 1992)** **Components of the lexical item:**

- *phonological representation* (sound form, information needed for the formation of sound form variants)
- *syntactic representation* (parameters defining possible ways of putting the lexical item into the sentence: e.g. part of speech, adjuncts – number of adjuncts, morphosyntactic and morphosemantic parameters etc.)
- *semantic representation* (a formula describing the meaning of the item)

rule. It may occur that the suffixation is not regular (e.g. *tan+ít*; N+ADJ→V DER. *-ít*, 'teach'), or that the meaning of the unit can not be construed on the basis of the meanings of the constituents. In the latter case the multi-morpheme unit becomes lexicalized with an additional or modified meaning (e.g. *újság*, 'newspaper' ≠ *új* 'new' + *-sÁg* '-NESS'; *szóval* 'so' ≠ *szó* 'word' + *-vAl* 'with'). Finally in the case of parallel word formation (e.g. the synonymous *-Z* and *-(V)l* N→V DER. suffixes), phonology (e.g. the verbs *buli+zik* 'party' and *reggeli+zik* 'have lunch'; **buli+l*, **reggeli+l*), homonymity (e.g. V *dob+ol* 'play the drums' vs. N *dob+oz* 'box'), semantic specialization (e.g. *ok+oz* 'cause sg. to happen' vs. *ok+ol* 'blame

sy. for sg.’), and frequency and conventionalization (e.g. *ebédel* > *ebédezik* ‘have lunch’; *vacsorázik* > *vacsorál* ‘have dinner’) may impose a blocking effect (Kiefer 1998:233).

In the second case (word forms with non-compositional meanings) *idiomatization* takes place. Any multi-morpheme sequence may be considered idiomatic which can not be composed (and interpreted) solely depending on productive rules and on the parameters of the separate constituents of the sequence as they are listed in the lexicon. It is typical of idiomatic formations that restrictions are imposed on the exchangeability or substitutability of their constituents. Since there is a unique semantic relationship between the constituents – the given arrangement of the constituents yields the meaning of the construction –, the selectional constraints of the sequence impose strong limitations on lexical variability. In this respect it is not only idioms and phrasemes that can be considered idiomatic, but also certain verbs with verbal particles/converbs, carrying unique, non-compositional meanings (e.g. *ki+mond*, ‘out’+‘say’; ‘utter/speak one’s mind’ vs. *be+mond*, ‘in’+‘say’; ‘announce’), no article NP adjuncts and fixed expressions (e.g. *döntést hoz*, ‘decision’ ‘bring’, i.e. ‘make a decision’; *jó napot kívánok* ‘good’ ‘day’ ‘I wish’, i.e. ‘Good morning’; *elnézést kérek* ‘pardon’ ‘ask for/request’, i.e. ‘Excuse me/I beg your pardon’).

Although Komlósy does not mention inflected⁷ and compound⁸ word forms, it can be well assumed that productive and transparent (compositional) inflected and compound word forms are associated with generative rules⁹ (e.g. *mondattal* ‘with-(a)sentence’; *házában* ‘in-his/her/its-house’; *cipőbolt* ‘shoe-shop’), while non-productive and opaque (non-compositional) word forms¹⁰ are stored in the lexicon as ready-made lexical items, or *big words* (e.g. *szóval* ‘with a word’ i.e. ‘so’; *valójában* ‘in its reality’ i.e. ‘in fact’; *könyvesbolt* ‘bookshop’; *lakcím* ‘live address’ i.e. ‘home address’; *tudniillik* ‘it is proper to know’ i.e. ‘because/that is/namely’).

This theoretical model for the organization of the Hungarian lexicon supports the dual-mechanism approach since it suggests that there are two ways multi-morpheme word forms can be processed: a rule-based one (productive morphological

⁷ It is because a *typical* inflectional suffix “does not result in a new word, (...) does not cause change in category, absolutely productive, the word on which it is attached does not become lexicalized” (Kiefer 1998: 195.). *Non-typical* inflectional suffixes may do all this, resulting in new lexemes.

⁸ Derived and compound word forms are very similar in terms of their lexical buildup (Kiefer 1998: 267.).

⁹ “A new compound word form can very easily become lexicalized even in the case of productive compounds, (...) and thus its meaning will not be construable from the meanings of the members of the compound” (translated by the author) (Kiefer 1998: 269.).

¹⁰ Here belong inflected lexicalized word forms, as well as exocentric compound words, inflected compound words, phantom-stem-compounds, and closed-class-compounds, which do not yield productive compound-formation samples (Kiefer 1998: 262.).

rules) and a memory-based one (stable word list and redundancy rules). Regularly and compositionally built complex word forms involving independent stems and productive endings are tied to analytical procedures (creative rule application), while irregularly built, and/or non-compositional word forms, involving dependent stems and/or non-productive endings are associated with full-form storage in the lexicon (memory-based).

Beyond word forms associated with lexical blocking and idiomatization, Komlósy allows for a loophole for further complex word forms (and multiword units) to be stored as full form items in the lexicon. On the whole, he says, it depends on the “share of the workload between the components” [i.e. lexicon and syntax] whether a given sequence is worth storing as a lexical item in the lexicon or if it is more economical to be built via rules (Komlósy 1992:18., translated by the author). At this point, we shall turn to the question what external factors may entice the full form lexical storage of certain multi-morpheme word forms.

The lexicon and language use

“Empirical studies suggest that structural differences between built and frozen forms correspond to differences in the way they are mentally represented and processed by the speaker-hearer and acquired by children” (Clahsen 2004:8.): the first system may be rooted in temporal lobe structures of the brain, while the latter in frontal brain structures (Ullman 2001). More and more studies concerning the psycholinguistic reality of language use, however, put forward the idea that certain other multi-morpheme/word units – beyond the difference between lexically-based (frozen) and rule-based (built) word forms – may be associated with holistic mental representation and processing.

Typologically different languages as well as various morphological operations have been empirically researched from the perspective of the dual-mechanism approach (for a review see Clahsen 2004). Although further evidence is needed to generalize the findings, the studies suggest, on the one hand, that dual-mechanism operations extend to a range of typologically different languages even if their morphological properties are different. On the other hand, the studies also show that alternative non-morphological factors (e.g. frequency distribution) play an important role in the mental representation and processing of complex word forms (Clahsen 2004).

In Hungarian psycholinguistics, Pléh and Lukács have pinpointed frequency distribution as a non-morphological factor responsible for the mental processing of complex word forms. In first language acquisition, they have found evidence for two systems working in parallel in children: a lexically-based declarative mode storing separate items (blocking: *don't apply the rule here*) and a rule-based procedural mode.

During language acquisition, certain individual exceptions associated with high type frequency distribution become subject to procedural-combinatorial operations, which generalize over categories (e.g. N(oun)s or V(erb)s), treating all members within the category equally, until the right balance is established between the two complimentary systems (Pléh–Lukács). In their nonce-word experiments with adult native speakers, Pléh and Lukács have found that their subjects inflected irregular, exceptional, small-class items by using general rules (procedural model), but if the nonce-word showed resemblance (similarity-cluster) to a concrete existing exception (e.g. nonce-word: *denyér*, existing word: *kenyér* ‘bread’), they applied analogy based on resemblance (*kenyeret*→*denyeret*) rather than the general rule (to nouns ending in ‘r’ connect the accusative –(V)T without a linking V(owel); as in *ember-t*, *fegyver-t* etc.). If, however, the nonce-word was represented as not being part of the Hungarian language system (as a foreign word or as a NAME), the subjects applied the general rule in every case. Analogy based on similarity, however, only showed significant results in other than the NAME context if the nonce-word resembled an existing word with high frequency distribution (*ibid*). This shows that resemblance plays a crucial role in the mental processing of complex word forms, but also that frequency distribution is a significant variable: if the analogy-sample is rare, the general rule is applied.

Motivated by psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic findings, Wray puts forward even more daring ideas in her dynamic integrated *formulaic language* model (Wray 2002). She supposes that the analytic/holistic processing of complex multi-morpheme forms (which she calls *formulaic sequences*) may depend on factors which go well beyond formal descriptors like morphological concepts or frequency distributions. According to Wray’s hypothesis, any sequence may be stored and retrieved in full form (without real time de/composing through generative rules) which the speaker-hearer’s psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic reality prompts to be processed holistically.

Similarly to advocates of the declarative-procedural model (e.g. Ullman 2001), dual processing (e.g. Clahsen 2004), and lexicalist-constructivist approaches (e.g. Kálmán–Trón–Varasdi 2002, Komlósy 1992, Sinclair 1991), Wray holds that language processing is the result of a fine interplay between the analytic (creative) and the holistic (formulaic) mode. The creative mode enables the speaker-hearer to compose and interpret novel utterances (it provides “the freedom to produce or to decode the unexpected”), while the formulaic mode benefits the speaker-hearer by providing a shortcut to the processing of conventional, routine-like utterances (it offers “economy of effort when dealing with the expected”) (Wray–Perkins 2000:11.). To put it another way, in conventional, re-occurring, schematized speech situations speakers commonly prefer the formulaic mode, while in non-conventional or unusual contexts the grammar proper comes into the foreground (Wray 1999: 228.).

To prove her point, Wray argues that the fact that each speech community has a preferred way of saying something, prioritizing certain morpheme/word-strings over other grammatically acceptable ways (e.g. to say sorry we use *bocsánat* ‘sorry’ or *elnézést* ‘excuse me’, and not *bocsánatot* or *megbocsátást* ‘forgive me’), as well as the fact that native speakers’ competence not only includes the ability to judge the grammaticality of a word/sentence but also the idiomaticity of an utterance (‘we just say it that way’), indicate that frequent and conventionalized but syntactically regular and semantically transparent sequences might also be stored holistically in the lexicon (Wray–Perkins 2000:10–11.). This knowledge is linked to a conventionalization/institutionalization process of certain morpheme/word strings in language use. Once a string of linguistic items proves useful to convey an idea or to achieve an interactional goal, it starts to be used more and more frequently. The more frequently it is used, the more formulaic it is regarded by the speakers. This means that its components become glued together: the full sequence loses its literal meaning derived from the separate items in favor of a salient meaning of the whole sequence in communication, and it starts to be treated as a single unit. The process for a sequence to become formulaic is further supported by the benefits of holistic storage: retrieving a sequence as a whole from long-term memory requires less processing effort on the speaker-hearer’s part than producing it from scratch with the help of grammar rules¹¹ (Wray 2000:15–16.).

According to Wray and Perkins, “formulaic sequences are more than simply a linguistic unit (...) they are a tool that can be put to many uses” (Wray–Perkins 2000:9.). They propose that there are two major roles of formulaic language in all speakers. As a compensatory device it saves effort in processing and, in social interaction, it serves as a tool to achieve interactional functions (*ibid*). The two major roles break down into further functions (*Figure 2*).

As Wray and Perkins propose, this categorization by function is “to account for the uses to which the individual puts formulaic language, and, specifically, what determines the choice, for that person, of a holistic or an analytic processing strategy at any given moment” (Wray–Perkins 2000:11.). Wray also puts forward a distributed lexicon model to explain how the different linguistic and communicative components fit together in speakers (*Figure 3*). It is important to note that the model is a dynamic

¹¹ Evidence for this is lent by the fact that once a sequence becomes treated as a single lexical unit, its composition gets overlooked, and the string very often suffers phonological and morpho-syntactic reduction: e.g. *Napot!* ‘Morning!’, *Köszí* ‘Thanks’, *Nemtom and Mittomén* ‘Dunno’, *Asszem; Aszonta; Aszongyahogy; Szal; Lécci; Micsinász* ‘Whatchadoin’ etc. Similar sequences may also become “irregular/frozen”, i.e. unproductive/archaic: e.g. *nagyjából* ‘by and large’, or metaphoric (semantically opaque): *természetesen* ‘of course’.

Figure 2: The functions of formulaic sequences (Wray 2000: 478., Figure 1.)

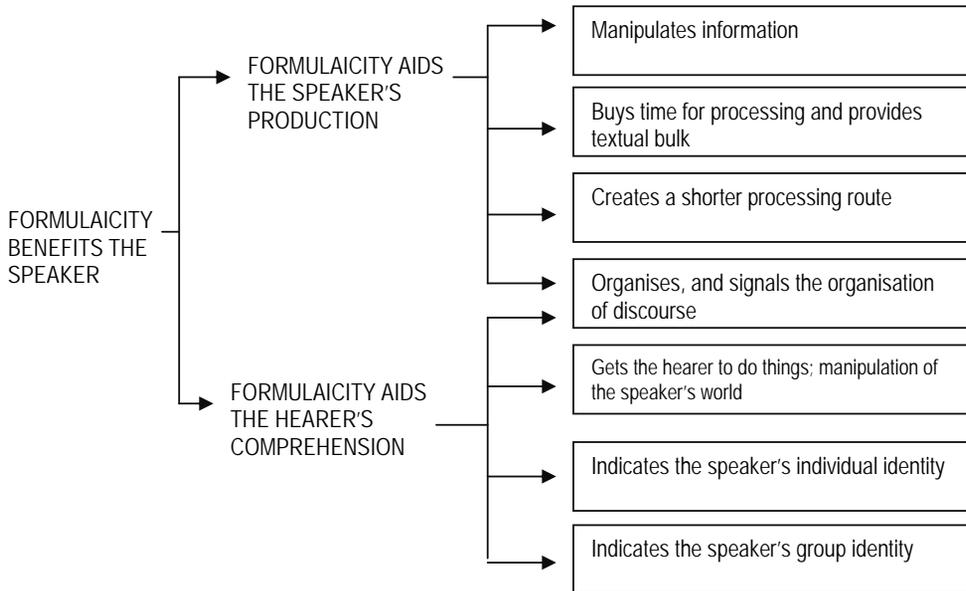


Figure 3: After Wray's model of the Heteromorphic Distributed Lexicon (Wray 2002:263., Figure 14. – examples by the author)

	LEXICON 1	LEXICON 2	LEXICON 3	LEXICON 4	LEXICON 5
	Grammatical items	Referential items	Interactional (routine) items	Memorized items	Reflexive items
<i>Formulaic word strings</i>	<i>azért, hogy</i> 'in order to'	<i>vki ad vmit vkinek</i> 'NP give NP to NP'	<i>Jó napot kívánok</i> 'Good morning'	<i>sayings, proverbs</i>	<i>a ...-ba!</i> 'what the...!'
<i>Formulaic words</i>	<i>ezért</i> 'so'	<i>ügynök</i> 'agent'	<i>rendben</i> 'alright'	<i>acronyms, mosaic words</i>	<i>istenem!</i> 'my god!'
<i>Morphemes</i>	<i>-ás</i> '-ness'	<i>ül</i> 'sit'	<i>hoppá!</i> 'oops!'		<i>kuss!</i> 'shut up!'

one, allowing for certain sequences to be available for the speaker-hearer both as wholes and as strings generated by the rules of grammar (Wray 2002:263.).

The model incorporates lexically-based frozen multi-morpheme/word units (the results of non-productive, non-compositional, idiomatic morphological, semantic and syntactic operations as detailed above) and frequent formations (based on corpus data), but also indicates that these parameters are only sufficient but not necessary conditions for a string of linguistic items to be processed holistically. In

Wray's model, the share of the workload between the procedural (rule-based) and the declarative (lexically-based) system only partly depends on formal-semantic parameters of language; more importantly, it is motivated by the given speaker-hearer's psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic drives and goals at any given point of time. The speaker-hearer's use of formulaic sequences is, on the one hand, motivated by his/her psycholinguistic reality of language processing: frequently used holistically stored and retrieved strings offer both the speaker and the hearer the benefit of short-cut processing (encoding and decoding). On the other hand, the individual's use of formulaic sequences is prompted by his/her sociolinguistic reality of communication: when for (a) speaker(s) a particular string of lexical items proves especially useful to achieve a certain communicational function, it is conventionalized by frequent use and is typically associated with a socio-interactional function (Wray-Perkins 2000:12-19.).

Thus, the model of formulaicity suggests that the split between the two mechanisms (full-form storage in the lexicon/memory, and de/composition from the constituents through rules) is not only subject to morphological/syntactic procedures but also bound to the individual¹². To sum up, according to Wray's model, the choice between the holistic and the analytic processing of multi-morpheme/word formations – beyond constraints encoded in linguistic systems – depend on the individual's economy of effort in language processing and on his/her socio-interactional goals. Multi-morpheme/word strings which are frequently used by the speaker-hearer for the communication of certain ideas are worth storing in full form in the lexicon. This, naturally, makes it difficult to identify rule-based and lexically-based complex formations, and also raises problems as regards the implementation of the model into linguistic theory, or language teaching.

The lexicon and L2 Hungarian learning

The (dual) processing of morphologically complex word forms by learners of L2 Hungarian has not been researched yet. In lack of any empirical data, we can only hypothesize what complex word forms are processed in which way by learners. What motivates a learner to build and decompose a complex word form by applying grammatical rules, or to store and access it in full form relying on the lexicon? First

¹² Note that Wray also allows for tendencies between different types of speakers as, for example, children acquiring their first language, adult native speakers, speakers with language disorders, or young and adult language learners.

of all, it is important to note that variables other than the ones discussed previously have to be taken into account. The context of adult language learning provides different conditions for language processing from those in adult native speakers, aphasics, or children. To mention just a few, we have the obvious differences as defined by age; limited (growing) linguistic, pragma-linguistic, sociolinguistic and metaphoric competence; proficiency in one or more languages already, transfers, interferences; learning vs. acquisition; limited and structured input, formal instruction, explicit rule learning; motivation, language environment, learner type, learning style etc.

Practicing teachers of L2 Hungarian all know that learners – especially beginners – learn a range of complex word forms (and even sequences as big as a sentence) without being aware of the inner morpho-syntactic structure. Even at the beginning of their studies, students need to be able to produce and understand certain utterances to achieve basic socio-interactional goals. Their non-native competence, however, most probably does not include the given inflectional and derivational endings, or the corresponding phonological, morphological and syntactic rules. That is what prompts them to learn complex forms like *köszön-öm* (thank you), *szív-es-en* (my pleasure), *viszont-lát-ás-ra* (goodbye), *éh-es* (hungry), *fárad-t* (tired), *el-ad-ó* (shop keeper/for sale), *nem tud-om* (I don't know), *nem ért-em* (I don't understand), *csak kicsi-t beszél-ek magyar-ul* (I only speak a little Hungarian) etc. in full form, without any grammatical analysis. Moreover, the use of conventionalized sequences (e.g. *Légy szíves/Legyen szíves* 'please'; *igazából* 'in fact') plays a crucial role in pragmatic appropriateness and native-like idiomaticity. There are students who show a keen interest in idiomatic language use (*how do you say that?*), or just simply love learning 'expressions', while others prefer to build their own sentences from scratch, and want to find out the morphological buildup of word forms. It might also happen that in one instance a student stores and retrieves a complex word form holistically, and in another situation, the same student processes the same sequence analytically.

Several questions arise here. Can/Do holistically learnt complex word forms start to be associated with analytic processing once the rule is learnt? If so: does it happen all the time after that? And vice versa: can/do analytically treated complex word forms start to be associated with holistic processing once they are used frequently, for example? What factors/variables prompt the choice in processing of such word forms in learners? Can/does grammatical information (productive rules) embedded in holistically treated complex word forms inform the learner's analytic system? And finally, what do interlanguage forms (false segmentation, false building, the contexts of mistakes etc.) tell us about the learner's mental representation and processing of complex word forms? We do not know how learners of L2 Hun-

garian approach Hungarian morphology. To better understand how learners of L2 Hungarian process morphologically complex word forms in Hungarian, we need to research the topic.

Conclusions

The findings of empirical psycho- and neurolinguistic studies on the dual processing of complex word forms can be interpreted in different ways as regards language theory. As Clahsen sums up, “although dual-mechanism morphology can be construed in terms of an opposition between rules and entries, the basic distinction between built and stored elements can also be expressed in alternative all-rules models of morphology” (Clahsen 2004:8). Pléh and Lukács, on the other hand, conclude that differences found between rule-based and lexically-based processing might finally boil down to the classical distinction between two types of knowledge: “knowing what” and “knowing how” (Pléh–Lukács). The conclusion they draw in reference to language we can also accept as a dilemma in language learning. What we see as uniquely human in language or admire as brilliantly creative in language learning, the skillful use of category-dependent rules, is in fact further from awareness than exceptional individual formations, which can be brought more easily to the level of consciousness, and which are more overt as a result of blocking mechanisms. Here, let me close this paper in the hope that once L2 Hungarian learners’ approach to complex word forms in Hungarian is researched, the field will be able to pay considerable contribution to language processing theory.

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