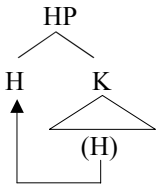
Chapter 7

Conclusions

In this thesis I have argued for an approach to multiple operator constructions in Hungarian within a radically derivational model which heavily restricts the role of pre-fabricated functional A-bar projections and which holds that it is the verb in this language that carries and projects the relevant operator features in the course of structure building. In so doing, I adopted a 'substitution' view of head movement (cf. 1), which is able to circumvent the complications related to head movement *qua* adjunction as conceived in standard checking theory of head movement. NegP / FocP / WhP are seen as the product of cyclic verb raising and projection of unsaturated features to be checked, both when projected singly and when projected together. This view accounts straightforwardly for interdependent head and operator movement to the same projection.

(1)



I entertained an approach to movement operations such that there is no economy preference of either overtness or covertness of movement. This is made possible by developments within the minimalist programme leading to a picture where the overt or covert status of movements is exhaustively determined by formal features involved in checking. This view predicts the availability of optionally overt or covert movement precisely in those marked cases where the overt/covert status of the operation fails to be dictated by formal checking properties. I showed that Hungarian realizes this option in two unrelated construction types: Quantifier Raising and wide scope focusing in focused embedded interrogatives.

In particular, I argued in Chapter 2 that in the domain of multiple foci constructions we need to differentiate two distinct syntactic patterns associated with two distinct interpretations. One interpretation, referred to as complex focus, following Krifka (1991), is yielded by patterns where the primary focus operator raises overtly to a preverbal position, and further (secondary) foci raise to the same position in covert syntax, creating a complex focus operator (cf. 2). The other interpretation is one where one focus is situated in the background of another focus. These true instances of multiple foci were analysed as involving recursion of focus projections. As for the overt/covert status of focus movements here, the primary focus raises overtly, while secondary foci raise only in covert syntax (cf. 3). This movement pattern was accounted for in terms of cyclic verb raising projecting positions for focus movement: the verb carries only one uninterpretable [foc] feature, which must not be checked (by overt movement of a focus operator) unless there are no further focus operators in the clause to be checked.

(2) a. JÁNOS hívta meg egy sörre PÉTERT,
J.-nom invited-3sg Pref a beer-to P.-acc
és nem PÉTER (hívta meg egy sörre) SANYIT
and not P.-nom invited-3sg Pref a beer-to S.-acc
'JOHN treated PETER to a beer,
and it's not the case that PETER treated ALEX to a beer'

b. $[_{FP}$ JÁNOS V [. . . PÉTERT . . .]]

(3) a. JÁNOS evett meg CSAK KÉT SÜTEMÉNYT
J.-nom ate-3sg Pref only two cookies-acc
'It was John who ate only two cookies'

b. $[_{FP}$ JÁNOS V $[_{FP}$ t_V [. . . CSAK KÉT SÜTEMÉNYT . . .]]]

I also showed that Szabolcsi's (1997) PredOp class of operators (e.g. *ötnél kevesebb fiú* 'less than five boys') form a proper subclass of focus, which led to the elimination of unwanted complications related to PredOpP. I argued that this class of operators are focused by default in Hungarian.

In Chapter 3, I examined movement of quantifiers with special emphasis on sentences involving movement of more than one quantifier, concentrating on their scopal interaction. Presenting a critique of Beghelli and Stowell's (1994/1995) feature checking (i.e. functional projection) based treatment of quantifier scope, I defended an approach to the differential scopal behaviour of quantifier classes according to which (a) Quantifier Raising (QR) applies to a proper subclass of true quantifiers (increasing essentially quantificational quantifiers, in Szabolcsi's (1997) sense), (b) while other quantifiers undergo A-movement and A-reconstruction for scope (the latter restricted by quantificational interveners), but do not QR, and (c) a third class of NPs (bare numeral indefinites) take scope via existential closure (involving unselective binding of a choice function variable, following Reinhart 1995). (4) illustrates the three classes of NPs.

(4) a. every boy, more than five boys, at least five boys
b. exactly five boys, less than five boys; a boy, five boys
c. a boy, five boys

I demonstrated that contra Szabolcsi (1997), Hungarian does not furnish overt evidence for Beghelli and Stowell's treatment; in fact, it creates significant complications for that approach. I showed that fronting of quantifiers like distributive universals (cf. 5a) cannot be reduced either to topicalisation or to focusing, and that QR in Hungarian appears to be optionally overt or covert in the face of the facts (cf. 5b).

(5) a. Minden könyvet KÉT fiú olvasott el
every book-acc two boy-nom read-3sg Pref
'TWO boys read every book'
every > two
b. KÉT fiú olvasott el minden könyvet
two boy-nom read-3sg Pref every book-acc
'TWO boys read every book'
every > two / two > every

In the domain of negative quantifiers I argued in favour of the following claims in Chapter 4. First, the unary negative operator, i.e. the negation particle (*nem*) is to be analysed as a specifier element, rather than a head (that is, Hungarian negation is 'heavy' and not 'light'); furthermore, when co-occurring with preverbal focus, it occupies either an outer or an inner specifier position in a multiple specifier projection co-projected by [foc] and [neg], cf. (6) below.

(6) a. $[_{ZP}$ focus $[_{ZP}$ *nem* $[_{Z}$ V] . . .
b. $[_{ZP}$ *nem* $[_{ZP}$ focus $[_{Z}$ V] . . .

Second, negative quantifiers are to be properly factored into two morphosyntactic classes: those with a *sem* particle and those without one. It is this *sem* particle that carries a [neg] feature, and as it was argued in Chapter 5, this [neg] feature is to be seen as underspecified and hence either to be deleted or to be valued in a checking configuration, adopting Chomsky's (2000, 2001) mechanism. (This can be seen as a reformulation of Ladusaw's (1992) seminal idea that [neg] is interpreted as logical negation only in a certain syntactic context.) Third, I argued that negative quantifiers of Hungarian are focusable, but not invariably focused even when preverbal. It was suggested that the fact that negative quantifiers can occupy both a preverbal and a postverbal position is due to one of three movements applying. Either the negative quantifier moves to check [neg], or it is focused (or both), or it is raised *qua* universal quantifier.

I presented an extensive discussion of the quantificationality of negative quantifiers in Hungarian, and suggested that this is a typologically hybrid class: they can be interpreted either as existentially or as universally quantified (this is in line with a prediction of Giannakidou's (2000) work on Negative Concord). I argued

that this is due to the option of whether or not there is a universal quantifier (potentially identifiable with the *se-* morpheme of the paradigm) in their interpretation. In the former case, they behave as universally quantified NPs, moving up optionally (cf. 7). In the latter case, they are Heimian bare indefinites, i.e. predicate expressions. Then, they are either existentially closed in the scope of negation, or they are moved to focus (cf. 8). In this latter position, they are interpreted as extreme (most general, therefore most likely) elements on a scale for which the negated property does not hold, hence by virtue of scalar implicature the property fails to hold for all less general/less likely elements as well. This is a treatment akin to recent views expressed in Krifka (1995) and Lahiri (1995, 1998).

(7) a. (Senki) nem jött el (senki)
nobody-nom not came-3sg Pref nobody-nom
'Nobody came along'
everybody > not

b. (Senki) sehova sem jött el (senki)
nobody-nom nowere-to SEM came-3sg Pref (nobody-nom)
'Nobody came along to any place'
everybody > every place > not

(8) a. Nem találtam semmit
not found-1sg nothing-acc
'I didn't find anything'
not > something

b. SEMMIT nem találtam
nothing-acc not found-1sg
'I didn't find anything'

In Chapter 6 I examined the empirical domain of multiple *wh*-movement. I argued first that Boskovic's (1997b, 1998, 2000a,b) analysis of superiority violating multiple *wh*-fronting for Serbo-Croatian in terms of focus-movement does not extend to Hungarian. Lipták's (2001) arguments to syntactically dissociate the locus of [wh]-checking from that of [foc]-checking were shown to be inconclusive. I demonstrated that the wide-spread view of Hungarian Slavic-type fronting in terms of treating non-last fronted *wh*-items as universal quantifiers (cf. É.Kiss 1994, 2002) is untenable.

I argued for the simple assumptions that Hungarian *wh*-pronouns carry a strong [wh] feature, and that they may or may mot be focused in principle. A central tenet of my account is that [wh] of *wh*-pronouns can be satisfied either via movement to the local domain of a [wh]-bearing head, or by combination with a choice function variable. This has provided a uniform account of the rather complex picture of syntactic options available for *wh*-operators in a multiple question: the Slavic and the English pattern, as well as a third pattern where the secondary *wh*-element is in a lower A-bar position than the primary one.

(9) a. [WH_1 [WH_2 V [. . .]]] Slavic pattern
b. [WH_1 V [. . . WH_2 . . .] English pattern
c. [WH_1 V [t_V [. . . WH_2 . . .]]]

Optionalities in this domain were accounted for in terms of the two different mechanisms of checking a strong feature, as well as by the co-existence of choice function application and covert movement in the grammar. Finally, answerhood conditions of the different syntactic patterns were shown to fall out directly, in strong confirmation of the proposed analysis.

In general terms, in the present study the descriptive burden is shifted from stipulated lexical properties of formal features and functional heads, as well as from a proliferation of process/operation types as much as possible to the interaction of general principles governing structure building and movement in the computational system, within a restrictive minimalist framework.