

OLSVAY Csaba

Focus and negation in Hungarian: some problems and the idea of VP-movement**1 Introduction****1.1 Goals**

the interaction between the postverbal focus, negation and the negative quantifier
(scope relations, the linear position of the verb)

- 2.1 FocP DistP NegP FocP
- 2.2 DistP NegP FocP
- 2.3 FocP DistP NegP
- 3.3 FocP NegP FocP

- NonNeutral Phrase (NNP) selected by Foc separates operator series
- VP-movement to Spec, NNP triggered by Morphosyntactic Licensing Condition

1.2 Previous theories**-- É.Kiss, 07, 08**

- FocP, NegP: obl. *dominate* a NNP
- V-movement to the head of NNP
- distr. quantifier: left / right adjunction (no DistP)
- free PF-linearization in the postverbal field
- focus – V: phonological word formation (PF-restriction)

>> NNP in the structural hierarchy

- (1) a. Kit nem hívtál meg?
whom not invited-SG2 PV
'Who didn't you invite?'
- b. Nem Jánost hívtam meg.
not John-ACC invited-SG1 PV
'It was not John who I invited.'
- (2) a. Ki látott csak egy filmet?
who saw only one film-ACC
'Who saw only one film?'
- b. *Ki csak egy filmet látott?
who only one film-ACC saw

(1a): FocP > NegP > NNP

(1b): NegP > FocP > NNP

*(2b): FocP > FocP > NNP

(2a): FocP > **NNP** > FocP > NNP (economy?)

(3) [_{FocP} Kit [_{NegP} nem [_{NNP} hívtál_i [_{PredP} meg hívtál_i]]]] (Str.: (1a), ÉKK)

(4) [_{FocP1} Ki [_{NNP1} látott_i [_{FocP2} csak egy filmet látott_i [_{NNP2} látott_i [_{PredP} látott_i]]]]]] (Str.: (2a), ÉKK)

-- Brody–Szabolcsi, 01, 03

--- Ref > Dist > Foc operator series

--- *one* operator series above AgrS

--- Foc: non-recursive in the *highest* series

--- spell-out position of V: in AgrS => preverbal operators: in the highest series

Ref* > Dist* > Foc > AgrS > Ref* > Dist* > Foc* > T > Ref* > Dist* > Foc* > AgrO > . . .

--- VP-remnant: right-daughter (struct. Comp) / left-daughter (struct. Spec) of Dist
(Overt Syntax Theory (Kayne, 98), Mirror Theory (Brody, 00))

>> Foc in the op. series: lowest op. head, non-recursive

2 Problems

2.1 Wide scope focus, distr. negative quantifier and narrow scope focus

(5) EZÉRT nem olvasott el csak két cikket senki sem a vizsgára.
therefore not read(PAST) PV only two paper-ACC nobody NEG the exam-SUBL
'That was why nobody read only two papers for the exam.'

focus op. > nobody (∀) > not > only two p. (É.Kiss, 08)

(6) TEGNAP nem táncolt csak egy lánnyal 'semelyik fiú.
yesterday not danced only one girl-with none boy
'It was yesterday that none of the boys danced with only one girl.'

focus op. > none (of the) b. (∀) > not > only one g.

(6): FocP > NegP > **NNP** > FocP > NNP (ÉKK)

(7) [_{FocP1} Tegnap [_{NegP} [_{NegP} nem [_{NNP1} táncolt_i [_{FocP2} csak egy lánnyal táncolt_i [_{NNP2} táncolt_i]]]] semelyik fiú]] (Str.: (6), ÉKK)

2.2 Distr. negative quantifier and narrow scope focus

(8) Semelyik fiú sem csak egy lánnyal táncolt.
none boy NEG only one girl-with danced
'None of the boys danced with only one girl.'

none (of the) b. (∀) > not > only one g.

distr. negative quantifiers: É.Kiss, 02, 08, Surányi, 02a,b, 06, Puskas, 00, Olsvay, 98, 06
sem nem → *sem* phonological deletion (É.Kiss, 92)

Problem with NNP (É.Kiss, 07, 08):

(8): NegP > FocP > NNP (ÉKK)

(8) extended by a higher FocP:

-- higher FocP without NNP?

FocP > NegP > FocP > NNP but: *(9a,b)!

-- higher FocP and NNP?

FocP > NNP > NegP > FocP > NNP but: *(10a,b)!
 /*(9a,b) if Neg blocks V-movement /

(9) a. *TEGNAP semelyik fiú sem csak egy lánnyal táncolt.
yesterday none boy NEG only one girl-with danced

b. *TEGNAP nem csak egy lánnyal táncolt 'semelyik fiú.
yesterday not only one girl-with danced none boy

(10) a. *TEGNAP táncolt semelyik fiú sem csak egy lánnyal.
yesterday danced none boy NEG only one girl-with

b. *TEGNAP táncolt nem csak egy lánnyal 'semelyik fiú.
yesterday danced not only one girl-with none boy

2.3 Wide scope focus and distr. negative quantifier

focus op. > *distr. quantifier* > *negation* scope reading (Olsvay, 00, É.Kiss, 07, 08)

distr. negative quantifier: (11)

distr. non-negative quantifier: (12b)

(11) Csak egy lánnyal nem táncolt semelyik fiú.
only one girl-with not danced none boy

'There was only one girl who none of the boys danced with.'

only one g. > none (of the) b. (∀) > not

(12) Ki nem válaszolt több, mint két kérdésre?
who not answered more than two question-SUBL

a. 'Who did not answer more than two questions?'

b. 'For which person x were there more than two questions that x did not answer?'

a. who > not > more than two q.

b. who > more than two q. > not

(É.Kiss, 07)

- it can only be expressed by inverse scope! (12b) – *(13)

(13) *Ki több, mint két kérdésre nem válaszolt?
who more than two question-SUBL not answered

(11),(12b): FocP > NegP > NNP (ÉKK)

*(13): focus – V: no phonological word is formed!
 => left-adjunction of the distr. quantifier is not allowed

syntactic explanation? (infinitives, empty copula, *nem* vs. other particles)

Problem with operator series (Brody–Szabolcsi, 01, 03):

the op. series imm. above AgrS: not necessarily the highest!
 (or the hierarchy in the op. series is not valid)

(11),(12b): * Foc > Dist > Neg > AgrS (hierarchy!) (BM-SZA)

=> Foc > NN > Dist > Neg > AgrS 2 operator series!

(8): DistP > NegP > FocP > NNP

(11), (12b): FocP > NNP > DistP > NegP

(6): FocP > NNP > DistP > NegP > FocP > NNP

3 Proposal

3.1 Basic assumptions

--- Foc: *selects* a [nonneut] phrase (NNP/NegP)
 NN, Neg: inherent [nonneut] feature

--- NNP separates operator series

=> FocP: the lowest phrase in the series, non-recursive in *all* series

op.series *op.series* *op.series*
 FOCUS₁ | ... FOCUS₂ | ...
 | | |
 NNP NNP

clause *clause* *clause*
 FOCUS₁ | ... FOCUS₂ | ... (Kenesei, 06)
 | | |
 CP CP

--- *more than one* operator series above AgrS (possible) (3.4)

--- V-movement to the head of NNP or VP-movement to Spec, NNP
 triggered by the morphosyntactic licensing of NN

Morphosyntactic Licensing Condition

The head X is morphosyntactically licensed iff X is morphologically realized or the feature-sharer element in Spec, XP is morphosyntactically licensed.

X is morphologically realized: as a suffix or by head movement

(14) [_{FocP} Kit [_{NegP} nem hívtál_i [_{PredP} meg hívtál_i]]]] (Str.: (1a))

(15) [_{FocP1} Ki [_{NNP1} [_{NNP2} látott_k [_{PredP} látott_k]]_i] [_{FocP2} csak egy filmet [_{NNP2} látott_k [_{PredP} látott_k]]_i]]] (Str.: (2a))

(16) [_{DistP} Semelyik fiú sem [_{NegP} (nem) [_{FocP} csak egy lánnyal [_{NNP} táncolt]]]] (Str.: (8))

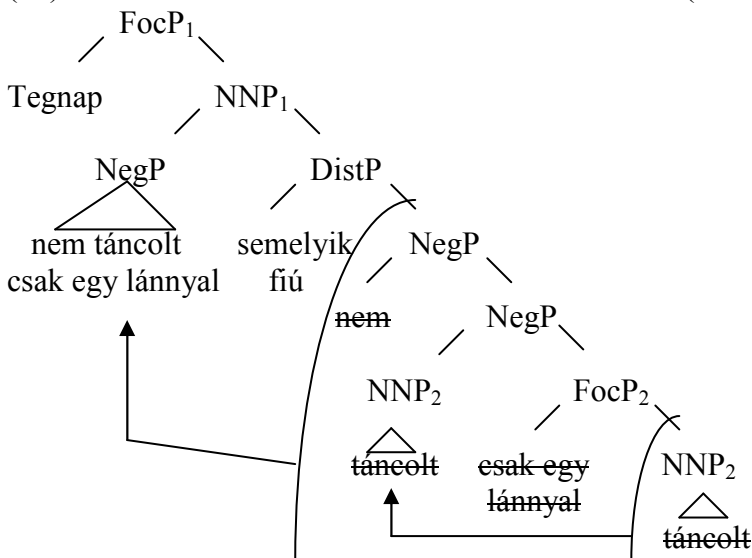
(17) [_{FocP} Csak egy lánnyal [_{NNP} [_{NegP} nem táncolt]_i] [_{DistP} semelyik fiú [_{NegP} ~~nem táncolt~~]_i]]] (Str.: (11))

(18) a. [_{FocP} Ki [_{NNP} [_{NegP} nem válaszolt]_i] [_{DistP} több, mint két kérdésre [_{NegP} ~~nem válaszolt~~]_i]]] (Str.: (12b))

b. [_{FocP} Ki [_{NNP} [_{NegP} nem válaszolt]_i] [_{DistP} [_{NegP} ~~nem válaszolt~~]_i] [_{DistP} több, mint két kérdésre]]]

(18): NegP-movement to Spec, NNP: from Comp, DistP (18a) / Spec, DistP (WP) (18b)

(19) (Str.: (6))



NN does not have a [+neg] feature

=> *nem* does not c-command the neg. quantifier
NNP₂: in the lower Spec, NegP

*(10a): MLC-violation: NNP₂-movement to Spec, NNP₁,
but NegP is a closer [nonneut] element than NNP₂ !

*(9): NN₁ is not morphosyntactically licensed!

*(9a): no element in Spec, NNP₁!

*(9b): NegP in Spec, NNP₁ is not morphosyntactically licensed!

=> NNP₂-movement to Spec, NegP (unnecessary in (8))
 NegP-movement to Spec, NNP₁

*(13): * FocP > DistP > NegP (selection of Foc!)

*(9): * FocP > DistP > NegP > FocP > NNP (selection of Foc!)

3.2 Evidence for VP-movement

-- Two postverbal foci

inverse scope reading: *postv. focus op. > postv. focus op.* (21b)

* *postv. focus op. > prev. focus op.* (20b)

(20) Csak egy filmet látott pontosan három ember.

only one film-ACC saw exactly three man

a. 'Only one film was seen by exactly three men.'

b. * 'Exactly three men saw only one film.'

a. only one f. > exactly three m.

b. * exactly three m. > only one f.

(21) Mikor látott csak egy filmet pontosan három ember?

when saw only one film-ACC exactly three man

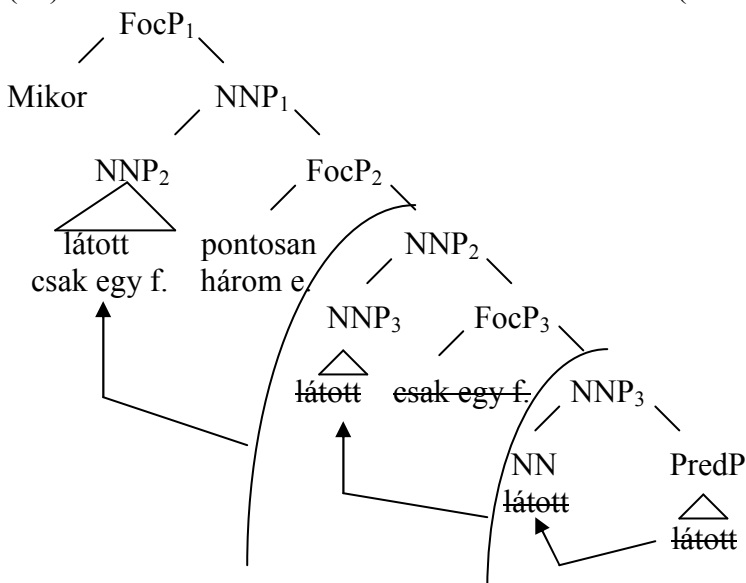
a. 'When was only one film seen by exactly three men?'

b. 'When did exactly three men see only one film?'

a. when > only one f. > exactly three m.

b. when > exactly three m. > only one f.

(22) (Str.: (21b))



-- **Focused infinitival clauses**

the infinitive must follow the focus unless the matrix clause also contains a focus

(23) – (24)

(23) a. Ki fog csak két tárgyból vizsgázni?
who will only two subject-from [take-an-exam]-INF

b. Ki fog vizsgázni csak két tárgyból?
who will [take-an-exam]-INF only two subject-from

a,b. 'Who will take an exam in only two subjects?'

(24) a. Szeretnék csak két tárgyból vizsgázni.
would-like-SG1 only two subject-from [take-an-exam]-INF
 'I would like to take an exam in only two subjects?'

b. * Szeretnék vizsgázni csak két tárgyból.
would-like-SG1 [take-an-exam]-INF only two subject-from

(25) a. [_{FocP1} Ki [_{NNP1} fog ... [_{FocP2} csak két tárgyból [_{NNP2} vizsgázni ...]]]] (Str.: (23a))

b. [_{FocP1} Ki [_{NNP1} [_{NNP2} fog ... [_{InfP} vizsgázni]_i] [_{FocP2} csak két t. [_{NNP2} fog ... [_{InfP} vizsgázni]_i]]] (Str.: (23b))

(24), (26): evidence against free PF-linearization in the postverbal field (É.Kiss, 07, 08)

(26) a. Ki fog akarni csak két tárgyból vizsgázni?
who will want-INF only two subject-from [take-an-exam]-INF
 'Who will want to take an exam in only two subjects?'

b. * Ki fog vizsgázni csak két tárgyból akarni?
who will [take-an-exam]-INF only two subject-from want-INF

3.3 Wide scope focus, negation and narrow scope focus

focus op. > negation > focus op. scope reading:

FOCUS₁ nem FOCUS₂ V (27a)

FOCUS₁ nem V FOCUS₂ (27b)

FOCUS₁ V nem FOCUS₂ (27c)

(27) a. Ki nem A LAKÓHELYÉN dolgozik?
who not the living-place-SG3-on work

b. Ki nem dolgozik A LAKÓHELYÉN?
who not work the living-place-SG3-on

c. Ki dolgozik nem A LAKÓHELYÉN?
who work not the living-place-SG3-on

a,b,c. 'Who does not work in the same town where he lives?'

(27a), (28): two preverbal foci: (Kenesei, 06)
 (higher focus: specific wh-phrase)
 lower focus: negated (cf. (2b))

(28) Ki nem A HAMLET-et olvasta?
who not the Hamlet-ACC read(PAST)
 'For which person x was it not *Hamlet* that x read?' (Kenesei, 06)

(27a), (28): FocP > NegP > FocP > NNP
 *(2b): * FocP > FocP > NNP (selection of Foc!)
 (27b): FocP > NNP > NegP > FocP > NNP (economy?)

(29) [_{FocP1} Ki [_{NegP} nem [_{FocP2} a *Hamlet*-et [_{NNP} olvasta]]]] (Str.: (28))

- if a distr. quantifier appears the postv. focus will be preferred! (27) – (30), (31)

(30) a. Hány hónapig nem dolgozott egyikünk sem A LAKÓHELYÉN?
how-many month-for not worked none-of-us NEG the living-place-SG3-on

b. Hány hónapig nem dolgozott A LAKÓHELYÉN egyikünk sem?
how-many month-for not worked the living-place-SG3-on none-of-us NEG

a,b. 'For how many months did none of us work in the same town where we live?'

a,b. how many m. > none of us (∇) > not > focus op.

(31) ?? Hány hónapig nem A LAKÓHELYÉN dolgozott egyikünk sem?
how-many month-for not the living-place-SG3-on worked none-of-us NEG

(30): FocP > NNP > DistP > NegP > FocP > NNP
 (31): * FocP > DistP > NegP > FocP > NNP (selection of Foc!)

(32) [_{FocP1} Hány hónapig [_{NNP} [_{NegP} nem [_{NNP2} dolgozott]_i] [_{FocP2} a lakóhelyén [_{NNP2} dolgozott]_i]]_k
 [_{DistP} egyikünk sem [_{NegP} nem [_{NNP2} dolgozott]_i] [_{FocP2} a lakóhelyén [_{NNP2} dolgozott]_i]]_k (Str.: (30b))

3.4 The language-specific parameter

scope: *focus op.* > *distr. quantifier* => FocP in a higher series than DistP
 (Ranking generalization (Liu, 90, Beghelli–Stowell, 97, Szabolcsi, 97))

English * OBJ > SUBJ (33b)

Hungarian OBJ > SUBJ (34a)

(33) Every man saw few films.

a. every m. > few f.

b. * few f. > every m.

(34) Kevés filmet látott minden ember.

few film-ACC saw every man

'There were few films that every man saw.'

a. few f. > every m.

b. every m. > few f.

*(33b): * FocP > DistP > AgrSP (hierarchy!)

(34a): FocP > NNP > DistP > ... AgrSP

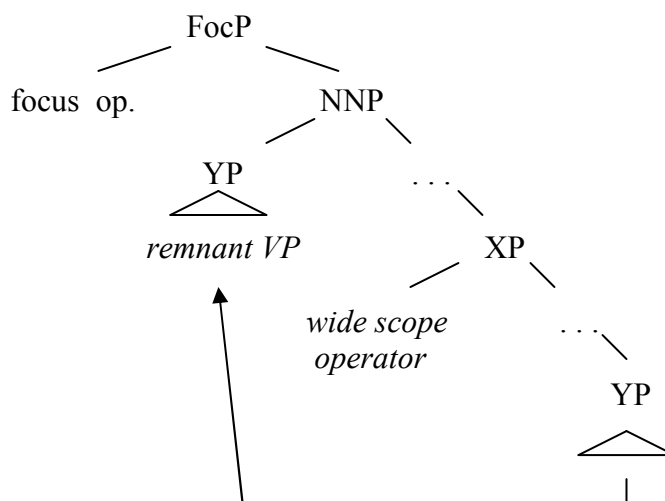
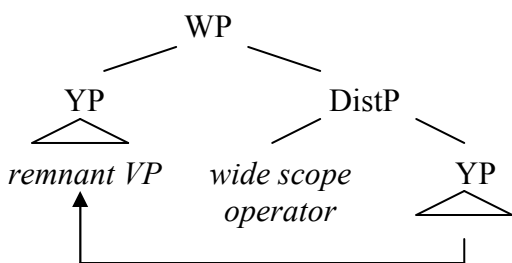
	[nonneut] feature	the op. series imm. above AgrS	
English	not on a distinct head	the highest	*(33b)
	=>		
Hungarian	on the NN head	not the highest	(34a)

4 Conclusion

selectional restrictions: [+neg] / [-neg] Dist selects a [+neg] / [-neg] XP
 Foc selects a [nonneut] XP

hierarchical restrictions: AgrS > T > AgrO > ...
Ref > Dist > Foc (in an operator series)

	short distance (Kaynean)	long distance
	<u>r e m n a n t m o v e m e n t</u>	
locality	strictly local	Minimal Link Condition
trigger	----	Morphosyntactic Licensing Condition
mirror theory	base-gen. VP in Spec	VP-chain



References

- Beghelli, F. – Stowell, T. (1997) "Distributivity and negation: The syntax of *each* and *every*." In: Szabolcsi, A. ed.: *Ways of scope taking*, 71-107. Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Brody, M. (2000) "Mirror Theory: Syntactic Representation in Perfect Syntax." *Linguistic Inquiry* 31: 29-56.
- Brody, M. – Szabolcsi, A. (2001) "Az egyenes és az inverz hatókörű mondatokról." In: Bakró-Nagy M., Bánréti Z., É.Kiss K. eds.: *Újabb tanulmányok a strukturális magyar nyelvtan és a nyelvtörténet köréből*, 120-144. Osiris, Budapest.
- Brody, M. – Szabolcsi, A. (2003) "Overt scope in Hungarian." *Syntax* 6 : 1, 19-51.
- É.Kiss, K. (1992) "Az egyszerű mondat szerkezete." In: Kiefer, F. ed.: *Strukturális magyar nyelvtan I. Mondattan*, 79-177. Akadémiai, Budapest.
- É.Kiss, K. (2002) "Negative quantifiers and specificity." In: Kenesei, I., Siptár, P. eds.: *Approaches to Hungarian 8*, 41-60. Akadémiai, Budapest.
- É.Kiss, K. (2007) "Substitution or adjunction? Quantifiers and adverbials in the Hungarian sentence." To appear, *Lingua*.
- É.Kiss, K. (2008) "Negative quantifiers in Hungarian." Ms., MTA NYTI.
- Kayne, R. (1998) "Overt vs. covert movement." *Syntax* 1 : 2, 128-191.
- Kenesei, I. (2006) "Multiple focus and multiple negation in Hungarian." To appear, *Lingua*.
- Liu, F.-h. (1990) *Scope and Dependency in English and Chinese*. PhD dissertation, UCLA.
- Olsvay, Cs. (1998) "On the syntax of negation and quantification in Hungarian." Presentation at the *Fourth International Conference on the Structure of Hungarian. (ICSH 4)*, Pécs.
- Olsvay, Cs. (2000) "Formális jegyek egyeztetése a magyar nemsemleges mondatokban." In: Büky, L., Maleczki, M. eds.: *A mai magyar nyelv leírásának újabb módszerei IV*. 119-151. SZTE, Szeged.
- Olsvay, Cs. (2006) "Negative universal quantifiers in Hungarian." *Lingua* 116 : 245-271.
- Puskas, G. (2000) *Word order in Hungarian. The syntax of A-bar positions*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Surányi, B. (2002a) *Multiple operator movements in Hungarian*. PhD dissertation, UiL OTS, Utrecht.
- Surányi, B. (2002b) "Negation and the negativity of n-words in Hungarian." In: Kenesei, I., Siptár, P. eds.: *Approaches to Hungarian 8*, 107-132. Akadémiai, Budapest.
- Surányi, B. (2006) "Predicates, negative quantifiers and focus: specificity and quantificationality of n-words." In: É.Kiss, K. ed.: *Event Structure and the Left Periphery*, 255-286. Springer, Dordrecht.
- Szabolcsi, A. (1997) "Strategies for Scope Taking." In: Szabolcsi, A. ed.: *Ways of scope taking*, 109-154. Kluwer, Dordrecht.